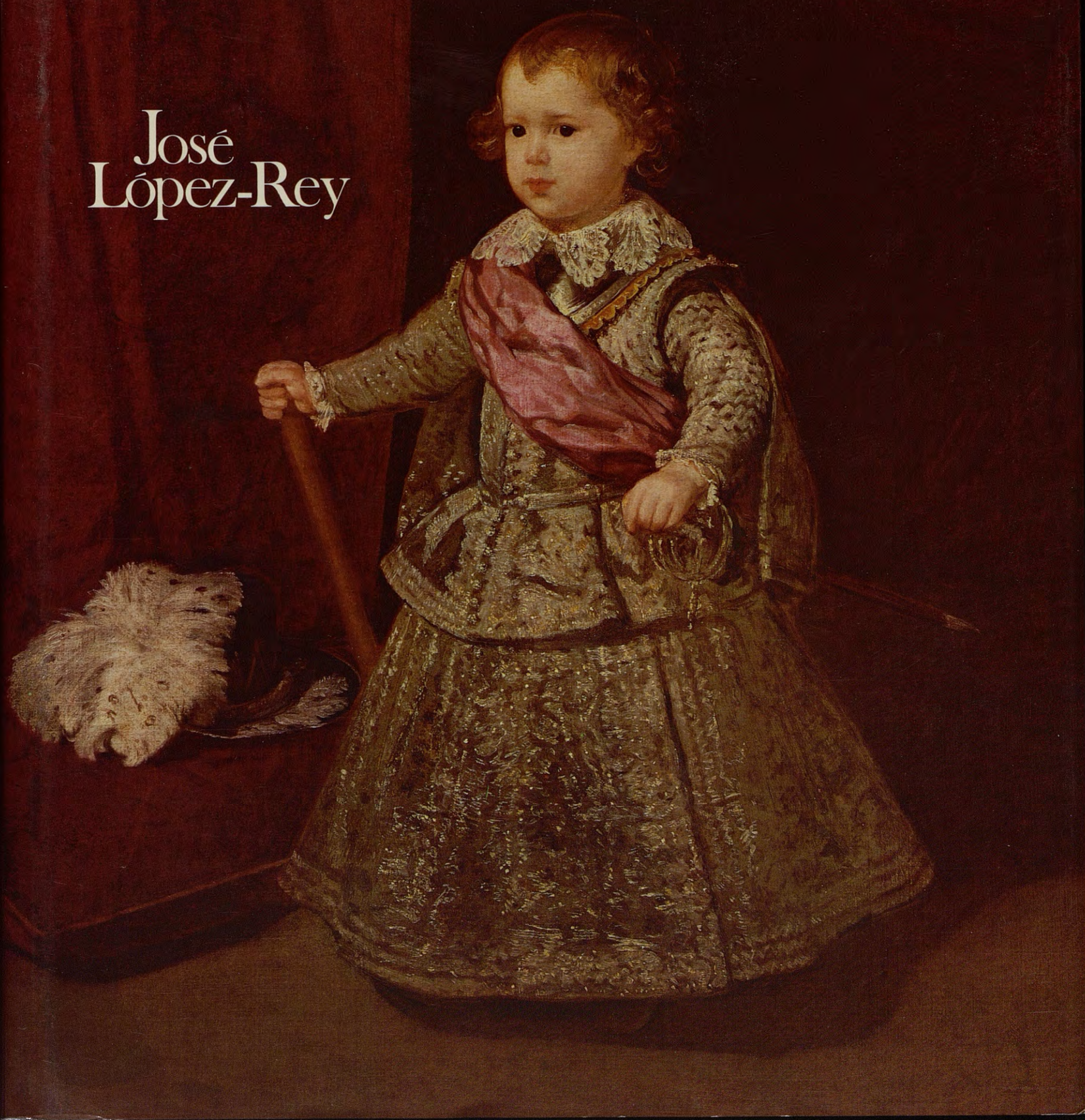
VELAZQUEZ

José López-Rey



BIBLIOTHÈQUE DES ARTS

LAUSANNE - PARIS

VELAZQUEZ

Detail of *Velázquez and the royal family* (Cat. No. 124).
Reproduced by courtesy of the Prado Museum.

VELAZQUEZ

THE ARTIST AS A MAKER

with a

CATALOGUE RAISONNÉ OF HIS EXTANT WORKS

By

José López-Rey

Professor Emeritus, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University

BIBLIOTHÈQUE DES ARTS
LAUSANNE-PARIS

OTHER BOOKS BY JOSÉ LÓPEZ-REY

Antonio del Pollaiuolo y el fin del 'Quattrocento', Madrid, Hauser y Menet, 1935.

Goya y el mundo a su alrededor, Buenos Aires, Sudamericana, 1947.

Francisco de Goya, London, Longman, Green and Co., 1951.

Goya's Caprichos: Beauty, Reason and Caricature, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1953, 2 vols. (Reprint edition, Greenwood Press, Westport, Connecticut, 1970).

A Cycle of Goya's Drawings: The expression of Truth and Liberty, London, Faber and Faber, 1956.

Velázquez: A Catalogue Raisonné of his Œuvre, London, Faber and Faber, 1963.

Velázquez' Work and World, London, Faber and Faber, 1968.

© Copyright by José López-Rey and by La Bibliothèque des Arts, Lausanne-Paris, 1979.

For JUSTA,

Viva vida viva

CONTENTS

FOREWORD XI

VELÁZQUEZ: THE ARTIST AS A MAKER 1
Family and name 3
Education and apprenticeship 4
The teacher and the pupil 5
Young Velázquez and Caravaggio 7
Early success and higher ambition 9
Men, things and art realities 12
The young master of bodegón painting 14
Bodegón-like biblical compositions 16
Early portraits 18
The divine and the human 18
First stay at the Court 21
Painters and painting at Madrid 24
Death of Villandrando and Velázquez' success 30
The likeness of the King 31
Other portraits 35
The crucial years 36
Rubens at the Spanish Court 41
True-to-life and conceptual traits 42
The painter's Italian journey 45
Titian's greatness and Velázquez' freedom 48
The return to the Court: Work, chores and rewards 50
The brushwork as the painter's medium 52
The Prince and the dwarf 54
Portraits of Queen Isabel 55
Light upon black 56
Portraits of the King 57
The Great Hall of the Buen Retiro 58
The equestrian royal portraits 62
The King and the Prince, equestrian 63

Olivares, equestrian 67
Velázquez' portrayal of military victory 69
Other painters' portrayal of military victory 77
The royal hunting lodge 78
The royal hunting portraits 79
The portrayal of antiquity 81
Sheer depiction of human nature and quirks 84
The artist as a maker 90
The person of the King — and the redundancy of allegory 92
Reality of painting 95
The diaphanous world of Christianity 99
The luxuriant world of the fable 101
Velázquez' naturalism 102
Velázquez and iconographical dicta 106
Two measures of Velázquez' stature at the Court 107
Italy again: The master's success 110
The Roman portraits 115
The return to the Court: Chamberlain and painter 118
Velázquez' workshop 121
The coin of imitation 124
Life, fashion and painting 129
Last portrait of the King 131
The master and the follower 133
Velázquez at work in his world 139
Velázquez knighted 145
The Hall of Mirrors 147
Last works 148
Last service to the King, and death 151
Notes 153

CATALOGUE RAISONNÉ OF VELÁZQUEZ' EXTANT WORKS
Explanatory notes 175
Catalogue entries 177

BIBLIOGRAPHY 521

INDEX TO THE FIRST PART: THE ARTIST AS A MAKER (pp. XIII-XVI, 1-152) 531

INDEXES TO THE SECOND PART: CATALOGUE RAISONNÉ OF VELÁZQUEZ' EXTANT WORKS (pp. 173-520) . . . . . .
I. Subjects of the catalogued works 537
II. Location of the catalogued works 538

ILLUSTRATIONS: FIRST PART:
I. Colour plates of Velázquez' works 540
II. Black-and-white plates (1-53) 540

THE CATALOGUE RAISONNÉ (plates 54-230, pp. 173-520) 542

FOREWORD

The purpose of this book is twofold: to offer an interpretation of Velázquez as a creative and as such a historical individual, and to provide a catalogue raisonné of his extant works. Both are, of course, interrelated matters, and I could hardly have applied myself to one without tackling the other.[1]

My study of Velázquez' life and work appeared first in 1963 as the introduction to my catalogue raisonné of his *œuvre* and of the paintings from his workshop and other derivative pieces. In 1968, I published a somewhat lengthened version, in monograph form, in which I revised or strenghthened certain points in the light of documentary evidence which I had uncovered and of my further thought on the matter.[2] The version that I now offer has been revised again, mainly on the basis of data brought to light here for the first time; some of the new data give additional support to my earlier conclusions.

Once more I have benefitted not only from my own work and good luck, but also from the work of other historians of art, whose contributions I have duly acknowledged in the proper place. I have taken issue with their conclusions only when I thought that it could help to clarify the matter at hand or at least to show its complexity. In a few cases I have limited myself to summarizing or just noting their views as opposite to mine. I have mentioned only occasionally the kind of derivative or trifling publications to which Molière alone could have done justice.

I have changed the title of my study of Velázquez' life and work, and have re-written some sections and interpolated new ones to make as clear as possible the ideas which underlie my interpretation of his art.

As some reviewers of the earlier versions of this study perceptively noted, Velázquez is, in my view, one of the few painters whose work vitally responds to a creative intention. It follows that the meaning of any of his paintings ought to be sought precisely where it was achieved, in the painting itself. The tenets of tradition or of modernity, artistic theories, iconographical lore, and ways of life and thought current in Velázquez' time or with which he may have been acquainted were, of course, part of his world, and I have delved into them. They form the common background from which he distinctly starts as a maker of new art realities.

Velázquez learned, of course, from other painters, notably Titian, but the hints that he took from their works, even from Titian's, were developed in so creative a manner that

efforts to pinpoint them have proven futile. The ransacking of 16th- and 17th-century paintings and engravings for the purpose of finding the sources of Velázquez' works has so far yielded rather unsubstantial results. And, as far as I can see, it could not have been otherwise.

Throughout my discussion of Velázquez' works, I have paid attention to the significance of the harmonies, or contrasts, of light, shade, texture and hue, smooth and rough brushwork, light touch and sharp stroke, as essential compositional elements. I have also underlined — with the help of radiographs as in the past — that for him the process of composition was often one with that of execution.

Unfortunately, a relatively large number of Velázquez' works have come down to us in an unsatisfactory condition, as noted in the corresponding catalogue entries. Some were enlarged, cut down, or folded over to fit them within a larger or smaller wall space or to meet standards of taste alien to Velázquez — sometimes, in the case of portraits, to 'centre' the figure of the sitter, which Velázquez had placed off-centre as was his wont. These liberties seem to have been common practice in the 18th century, though they did not begin or end with it. In 1772, after the newly built Royal Palace at Madrid had been furnished and decorated, the size of several Velázquez paintings was recorded as substantially larger than in earlier inventories of the royal collections; those differences in size resulted from the fact that additions had been made to the original canvases, as it is today plain to the naked eye (see catalogue numbers *44*, *72* and *127*).

The fire that gutted the Madrid Royal Alcázar in 1734 destroyed at least ten or twelve Velázquez paintings and damaged many others, including such masterpieces as the so-called *The drinkers* and *The meninas* (see catalogue numbers *41* and *124*). At all times, damaged paintings have been cut off without much regard for their composition, and so has been the case with some Velázquez' works.

Naturally, Velázquez' paintings have now and then suffered from rubbing or abrasion, notably in thinly painted areas. Restorers have sometimes failed to understand that for him changes in the texture of pigment were as essential as changes in hue, and that he purposely brushed certain areas or spots lightly and thinly while laying the pigment thickly, though not uniformly, on the rest of the canvas.

As for drawings, though it is known that Velázquez made many, at least in his apprentice days and during his 1629-31 Italian journey, only a few are extant that can reasonably be ascribed to him in the light of available evidence. As it happens, the valid comparative material that we have for them consists mainly of paintings from various periods of his art. Consequently, our knowledge of his work as a draughtsman remains rather fragmentary and tentative.[3]

Lately, a few Velázquez paintings have suffered at the hands of restorers, partly as a result of overconfidence in the growing technological means at their disposal, partly too owing to opinionated aims (see catalogue numbers *7* and *106*). At the same time though other Velázquez works have been impeccably cleaned and returned as nearly as possible to their pristine condition by restorers who had a full command of the available

technological means and a sound understanding of the pertinent scholarly data; as a result, stylistic traits which had been hidden for long have come back to light.

The Velázquez' works at the Prado — over one third of his extant paintings, and a larger proportion of his masterpieces — have fared badly during the last twenty years or so, owing mainly to continuous exposure to pollution, common to all the Prado's galleries. To refer only to one Velázquez' masterpiece, the grey background of the portrait of the buffoon Pablo de Valladolid was so subtly hued that Manet wrote in 1865: the background 'disappears' and 'it is the air that surrounds' the sitter, clad in black.[4] The background remained grey till about 1960, but it has since turned ochre — and a foul ochre at that. Inadvertent art-historians have taken this ochre background — a compound of old varnish and grime — to be one of the portrait's remarkable stylistic features,[5] which has naturally impaired their understanding of a work that Manet held to be 'perhaps the most astonishing piece of painting' ever done (catalogue number *82*).

I call attention to so depressing a matter because readers will probably find that my references, or those of earlier scholars, to colour, light, texture and even overall composition, are sometimes at variance with the present appearance of certain Velázquez works, especially though not exclusively those at the Prado Museum. I am fully aware that pigments do not remain unalterable even under the best system of conservation. I am also aware that, in the process of cleaning paintings, original nuances of colour are sometimes lost, and Velázquez works have been no exception. However, the situation at the Prado, which houses a collection of paintings of universal worth, goes beyond anything that could be reasonably explained. I should parenthetically note that in March 1976 work was begun for the installation of an air-conditioning system and other conservation equipment in the Prado; it is to be hoped that the project will be completed soon and that proper care will be taken of those paintings which have been subject for too long to incessant pollution or to other unsuitable conditions.

As for the catalogue raisonné, in revising matters of attribution and dating, I have been guided by my conviction that connoisseurship, like other intellectual pursuits, depends on and is the result of intuition attuned to live knowledge and controlled by critical thought, and that knowledge, whether humanistic, scientific or technological, is subject to rational change. Hence, the rectifications, additions or omissions in this catalogue are based on an examination or re-examination of the works concerned,[6] including those recently attributed to Velázquez, and on an evaluation of old and recent scholarly views on the matter, as well as on the study of data, stylistic, documentary or technological, which has lately come to light — a significant part of which, as already indicated, is published here for the first time.

The catalogue includes those paintings and drawings which, in my opinion, are totally or partly by Velázquez, or can reasonably be ascribed to him; it does not include the large body of workshop pieces and other derivative works, some of which are, however, occasionally referred to for the sake of elucidation or illustration.

Since I do not share the belief that denying the authenticity of a work of art by a

great master is a lesser error than attributing a spurious work to him, I have included in the catalogue works whose state of preservation, duly noted in the corresponding entry, makes their ascription to Velázquez less than conclusive. I have done so notably when discerning scholars had regarded the work as by Velázquez before the painting reached its present condition, as well as when documentary data, distinguishable stylistic traits, or both, make the ascription to Velázquez tenable in spite of the painting's impaired condition.

Indeed, even works seriously impaired by accident or restoration are not necessarily dispossessed of every vestige of authenticity, and whenever such vestiges are evident an effort ought to be made to identify the master's hand. Naturally, the stylistic evidence found in seriously impaired works is of limited range, and it does not always make it possible to arrive at a firm conclusion. Nor can the conclusion be made firmer — or safer — by the expedient of attributing to the workshop of the master in question what is in fact a restorer's handiwork, as it is sometimes done. It is worth trying to distinguish a restorer's craft from that developed — for somewhat different purposes — in an old master's workshop.

I have noted in the corresponding catalogue entry the cleanings and restorations undergone by each painting whenever the information was available to me; this information, however, is far from exhaustive. I have also indicated to the best of my knowledge, sometimes with the help of curators or private owners, the paintings' condition up to the time when I last examined them — which in most cases means within the last two or three years.

I have travelled wide and long, back and forth, in Europe and America for the purpose of this book. Nearly everywhere I have found kind assistance from men and women of learning in various fields, including museum curators, archivists, librarians, art collectors, dealers and historians. It would be impossible to try to mention all of them without falling into unwitting omissions. Throughout the book though I have expressly acknowledged my indebtedness to those who have provided, or helped to obtain, specific data on certain points.

José López-Rey

Lausanne, 14 April, 1978.

Because of obvious considerations I have not mentioned publications that came to my notice after February 1978, when the first proofreading of this book was completed—except in one case (catalogue No. 91*). Moreover, I have found no cogent reason to alter my conclusions, and I am rather glad to have been spared the task of making some incidental comment. I regret though that I could not avail myself earlier of Shirley B. Whitaker's paper on 'The first performance of Calderón's* El sitio de Bredá' *(*Renaissance Quarterly, *Winter 1978, pp. 515-31); its convincing conclusion that Calderón's play was first performed in 1625 cancels my suggestion that the 'matter needs further study' (p. 163, n. 111).*

VELAZQUEZ:

The artist as a maker

Family and name

On Sunday, 6 June 1599, Diego, the child of Juan Rodríguez de Silva and Jerónima Velázquez, was baptized at the church of St. Peter, in Seville, with Pablo de Ojeda as godfather. The christening must have followed the baby's birth by no more than a few weeks, or perhaps only a few days.[7]

The boy's grandparents, Diego Rodríguez de Silva and María Rodríguez, had moved to Seville from their native Porto, probably within the previous two decades, at a time when the political boundaries between Spain and Portugal had been removed by the expansion of the Spanish monarchy. The Portuguese crown was then held by the Spanish king, who would lose it, together with much of his power over the world, within Velázquez' lifetime.

As for Juan Rodríguez de Silva and his wife, both were born in Seville, where they were married, also at the church of St. Peter, on 28 December 1597. There were held to come from the lesser nobility — which he, at least, certainly did — and were accorded the privileges generally enjoyed by the gentry. Diego was their first child; he was followed by three brothers Juan, Fernando, and Silvestre; then, by a sister, Juana, and finally by two more brothers, Roque and Francisco. The last was born on 28 May 1617, when Diego had just passed the guild's examination and was starting on his own as a painter. Of Velázquez's brothers and sister we know little more than their names and the dates of their christenings.

With the freedom in the adoption of family names then prevailing, it was as Diego Velázquez that the lad was apprenticed at twelve to the painter Francisco Pacheco by his father, who signed himself Juan Rodríguez. Some five years later, when the young man was admitted to the painter's guild, he gave and signed his name as Diego Velázquez de Silva. Whether he did this out of affection for his father or simply to assert his gentle birth, the fact is that he immediately went back to the name of his apprenticeship, plain Diego Velázquez, as his signatures on paintings and documents up to the late 1640's show. Even the church registries where his marriage and the baptisms of his two daughters were entered, consistently record his name as just Diego Velázquez, while that of his brother, godfather to his second daughter, is given as Juan Velázquez de Silva.

Obviously, though, he remained sensible of his gentle birth, and from 1634 on, when his renown as a painter and his steady advancement at the Court underscored each other, Velázquez, moving as he did in an aristocratic society, sought to be known by the more

genteel name of Diego de Silva Velázquez. This wish of his, which several documents and the one painting that he signed after 1640 make obvious, was on occasion complied with at the royal offices.

Pacheco, in the manuscript of his *Arte de la Pintura*, finished in January 1638, mentioned five times the man who was then his son-in-law as Diego Velázquez de Silva; three of the references occur in the narrative of the artist's life, and the other two elsewhere in the text. Eleven years later, when the book was published posthumously, the painter's name had been changed to Diego de Silva Velázquez in all three passages on his life, though not in the other two. The changes may well have been made in deference to Velázquez' own preference, rather marked at the time. In any event, even though one of the corrections was entered in the manuscript, it seems unlikely that the change originated with Pacheco who, in his testament, drawn one and a half years after the completion of the manuscript of *Arte de la Pintura*, still repeatedly gave his son-in-law's name as Diego Velázquez de Silva.[8]

Plain Velázquez, however, remained the name by which the artist was readily known in the Royal Palace and elsewhere, except to those of his friends and colleagues at Madrid who called him just 'the Sevillian',[9] and when in 1627 he signed the painting, now lost, by which his superiority over the other painters to the King was conclusively acknowledged at the Court, he added *Hispalensis*, Latin for Sevillian, to his name.

Education and apprenticeship

The boy's early education was, in the fashion of the time, grounded on the study of the humanities, in which he did very well, revealing a knack for languages — which must have included Latin — and philosophy, the taste for which he kept throughout the years as the books he gathered in his library show.[10] Nevertheless, his vocation for painting led him to enter a painter's workshop at the then not unusual age of eleven.

His own statement when he petitioned in 1617 for admission to the guild of St. Luke, that he had 'learned the painter's art' in Seville from 'qualified teachers', clearly indicates that he owed his training to more than one. According to Palomino — whose life of Velázquez is largely based on one written by a pupil of the artist — Francisco de Herrera, the Elder (c. 1590–1656), and Francisco Pacheco (1564–1644) were those teachers.[11] As the story has been developed by other writers, the lad seems to have entered Herrera's workshop only to be soon frightened away by the unbearable temper of the master, whom he left for Pacheco.

We know from Pacheco himself that he gave 'five years of education and training' to Velázquez.[12] This statement coincides with another contained in the contract by which the boy's father apprenticed him to Pacheco, on 17 Septembre 1611. Like similar agreements

entered into by Pacheco and other masters of the time, it called for a six-year apprenticeship; it was, however, stated that the agreed period of time had 'begun to run on 1st December, of the past year, 1610'. Consequently, the contract was actually binding for little more than five years from the date of signature — which happens to be the length of time that Pacheco remembered Velázquez had spent with him as an apprentice.

Pacheco was away from home on an extended journey during a good part of 1611, and it is possible that he had left Seville before 1 December 1610, when Velázquez began his apprenticeship. Indeed, for all we know, Pacheco may have started on his journey any time after 7 October 1610, when he signed a document as security for a fellow artist in Seville;[13] the following year, according to his own testimony, he was in Madrid, the Escorial and Toledo, at times that he did not specify,[14] and the earliest reference to his being back in Seville is provided by the contract for Velázquez' apprenticeship, which he signed on 27 September, ten days after the boy's father had done so.

This absence of Pacheco from Seville explains the exact coincidence between the terms of the contract and Pacheco's specific recollection of the length of Velázquez' apprenticeship with him. It is possible that the lad came to Pacheco's workshop on 1 December 1610, as the master was about to leave, or had already left, on his journey, and was tentatively entrusted to, or accepted by, an assistant, leaving the final decision for Pacheco to make on his return. On the other hand, it might also be that, on that date, the boy entered Herrera's or some other master's workshop and quit it within ten months to study with Pacheco, who would then have given him credit, as it were, for the time he had served his apprenticeship elsewhere.

Pacheco in his *Arte de la Pintura* denounced the 'audacity' of someone — whom he chose to leave unnamed — who claimed to have been Velázquez' teacher. Whether this 'someone' was Herrera, one of Pacheco's former assistants, or some other painter, he may have had some basis for his claim, which would make all the more understandable both Pacheco's indignation and his factual statement as to the 'five years of education and training' that he had given to Velázquez.

In formally accepting Velázquez as an apprentice, Pacheco undertook to teach him the art of painting as well and as thoroughly as he knew how — this was the 'training' that he imparted to the boy during those five years of apprenticeship. As for the 'education' which, though unmentioned in the contract, went with it, it must have come about in a spontaneous vital manner since both the pupil and the teacher had a penchant for humanistic studies.

The teacher and the pupil

Pacheco's workshop was a meeting place not only for painters but for poets and scholars as well. Most of them were men of substantial attainments whose learning readily flowed from work into leisure and from leisure into work and whose various interests were

held together and alive by the weight and tension of discriminating taste. As recorded in *Arte de la Pintura*, they enjoyed discussing, among other subjects, the achievements and techniques of outstanding artists, and the significance of their works. Pacheco's references to other authors show that he was well read in the humanities and up to date in the literature on art. He must have owned a sizeable library, and probably from it Velázquez derived the interest which led him to accumulate that substantial number of books listed among his possessions at the time of his death.

It would be idle to try to ascertain what topics young Velázquez heard discussed at Pacheco's workshop during his apprenticeship there. The evidence provided by *Arte de la Pintura* is hardly conclusive, for Pacheco did not complete the manuscript till some twenty years after Velázquez had left his workshop, a period during which he remained much alive to new experiences, including a two-year stay in Madrid, where he witnessed the early success of his former apprentice, and the correspondence which, *Arte de la Pintura* makes plain, he had with him throughout the years.

Certainly Velázquez must have heard Pacheco expound the importance of copying from antique sculptures, and Michelangelo's or Raphael's works, in order to achieve mastery in painting.[15] Pacheco, who confessed to having always striven to imitate Raphael, owned for many years what he described as an original wash drawing for *The School of Athens*, over which he very likely pored with his friends, and perhaps with Velázquez too.

As we know from Pacheco himself, Velázquez during his first Italian journey, in 1629–30, made many drawings from Michelangelo's *Last Judgement* and Raphael's frescoes at the Vatican, as well as from antique sculptures at Villa Medici, in Rome. Unfortunately none of these drawings has come down to us, and we cannot even surmise the nature of his response to the two masters whom Pacheco admired above all others. We know, of course, that some twenty years later he emphatically declared that Raphael did not please him a bit, and that Venetian painting, particularly Titian's, was the thing.

Titian, who had for decades been regarded as a paragon by leading painters at the Spanish Court, must have come up for discussion at Pacheco's workshop after his return from Madrid, just at the time when he signed up Velázquez as an apprentice. Pacheco was then, of course, fresh from his visits to the royal collections, rich in masterpieces by the Venetian master, whom he extols in *Arte de la Pintura* as one of the greatest colourists, even making an effort to explain the 'unfinished' nature of his works.[16]

Pacheco must also have mentioned his astonishment at hearing from Dominico Greco, whom he had visited in Toledo, that Michelangelo was a good man who did not know how to paint. That was probably the first time that young Velázquez had heard about that 'singular' painter who, according to Pacheco, was a great master in spite of his blotchy brushstrokes and paradoxes.[17]

If the subjects touched on in *Arte de la Pintura* are any guide, the lad most likely listened to discussions of such favourite topics of the time as, for instance, *ut pictura poesis*, the superiority of painting over sculpture, the hierarchy of the different kinds of subject

matter in painting, or the comparison of naturalist painting with the images of things or men reflected in full colour and motion on shining surfaces, like water or mirrors.

Out of the stream of these conversations young Velázquez must have seized for himself now and then a distinct idea of the world into which he was born. He must also have arrived soon at a divination of his own purpose in the midst of the sentiments, ideas, tastes, achievements and traditions which he encountered or which were revealed to him. As we know, it was then and there that he reached out for the world of painting that was to be his own.

Pacheco, in discussing the ideas on portraiture in which Velázquez had been raised, tells in a truly understanding manner how the lad, while still an apprentice, devised a method of his own to 'attain assurance in portraying'. He used to bribe a peasant-boy apprentice — presumably one of menial rank — to sit for him 'in different gestures and poses, now crying, now laughing, without shrinking from any difficulty', and would draw from him a good many heads and other parts of the body in charcoal with white chalk for the highlights on blue paper.[18] Unfortunately, none of these drawings has been preserved.

Young Velázquez and Caravaggio

In the 1610's nearly every painter, within and outside of Italy, had Caravaggesque naturalism at the centre or, at the least, at the edges of his attention. As Giulio Mancini, writing at the end of the decade, put it: 'our time is much indebted to Michelangelo de Caravaggio for the colouring that he has brought out and which is now followed quite generally'.[19]

Velázquez and the youths of his generation could see works by Caravaggio, or copies after them, in Seville and elsewhere in Spain.[20]. Pacheco praised Caravaggio, together with Jacopo Bassano, Ribera and El Greco, as a painter whose works could be lacking in beauty or polish but not in relief. In Pacheco's view, Caravaggio effected a life-like reality by painting from nature not only the human face, limbs or nude body, but also clothing, whether of wool or silk, and everything else, as could be seen in the pictures of *The Crucifixion of St. Peter*, 'even though they are just copies'.[21] Pacheco's offhand mention of these copies, one of which at least was in Seville, indicates that they were widely known.

The *Arte de la Pintura* reveals a conflict between Pacheco's theoretical views, rooted, as his marginal notes acknowledge, in treatises of the *Cinquecento*, and the taste that, well along in his sixties, he developed for the new mode of painting, Caravaggesque naturalism. It is hard to decide whether Pacheco had acquired that taste by the time he signed up Velázquez as an apprentice or had developed it later. His praise of Caravaggio could not have been written before 1631. Indeed, the paragraph includes a mention of the pictures by Ribera in the collection of the Duke of Alcalá, who had been Viceroy of Naples till that year, when he returned to Spain, bringing with him the works that he had acquired from

Ribera. It might, of course, be that Pacheco had not actually seen these paintings, even though he described them as looking 'alive' among all the others in the Duke's collection. If so, Pacheco might have echoed his son-in-law's views, for Velázquez was in Naples in December 1630, when he portrayed the Infanta Maria at the Viceregal Palace (plate *123*), where he undoubtedly saw the Duke's collection. Even in that event, Pacheco could not have written the paragraph in question before 1631.

There is a distinct analogy between young Velázquez' device of drawing from his model 'in different gestures and poses, now crying, now laughing' and what, to Mancini, was the high accomplishment, as well as the limitation, of Caravaggism: the portrayal of human figures 'laughing or crying, walking or still', though lacking in the refinements of gracefulness and sentiment.[22] It is to Pacheco's credit, both as a connoisseur and as a teacher, that his knowledge, rooted in the past, did not dull him to the present, and that he came to enjoy the tang of the new naturalism, of which that bright lad, Velázquez, was so much a partisan. As for the bright lad, he had a creative outlook, and so he took hold of the modernity of his day, seeing in it not an aim, but an exhilarating point of departure, which he soon left behind.

Caravaggio's vivid chiaroscuro was fundamental to his followers. He achieved it by the use of a sheer light which draws men and things out of shadow, heightening their shapes and colours with an unvaried sheen. Neither the quality of the brushwork, nor the texture of pigment, nor the intensity of light varies significantly within any one of Caravaggio's works, not even in *The Supper at Emmaus* (London, National Gallery, plate **1**), where he uses the same brushwork for the figure of Christ and for those of the Apostles, the pilgrim, the food or the tableware. In this, Caravaggio was within the tradition from which he had otherwise departed in a naturalist manner that was as creative with him as it was appealing or offensive to others. His portrayal of men and things is the more emphatic as a direct light shapes the corporeal out of shadow in an airless space.

If *Caravaggism* was the main tenet of modernism to Velázquez' generation, his early works show that he soon went beyond it. Indeed, unlike Caravaggio, young Velázquez uses a diffused light, with a greenish tinge, that sets men and things in a fluid environment, bringing out at the same time their textural differences. Much as he may have had Caravaggio at the back of his mind, Velázquez achieved from the beginning a sensuous depiction of the variety of shape, colour and texture, an atmospheric rendition of spatial depth, and a distinct expression of the polarity of the divine and the human — all of which were alien to Caravaggio's naturalism.[23]

In achieving that Velázquez revealed a commanding feeling for both the texture of whatever he depicted and the texture of the pigment itself. This led him to a fluid handling of light and shade and to use a variety of brushstrokes, rough or smooth, filmy or thick, always vigorous, more akin to Titian's than to Caravaggio's.

Young Velázquez was obviously impelled by his own disposition to admire, as he later did first in Madrid and then in Italy, Titian's sketchy strokes and the chiaroscural effects which gave sensorial depth to his compositions.[24] It may well be that he imparted his

enthusiasm to his father-in-law, whose praise of Titian, admittedly based on Lodovico Dolce's *L'Aretino* (1557), appears greater than his understanding of the Venetian master's works.

Pacheco, in extolling a 'famous' self-portrait, now lost, executed by Velázquez in Rome in 1630, pointed out that it 'was painted in the manner of the great Titian, and if it is permissible to say so, not inferior to his heads'. Pacheco was, of course, aware that his former pupil had attained the freedom of an individual creator, and he must have had that in mind when he proudly wrote that 'the teacher's honour is greater than the father-in-law's'.[25]

Early success and higher ambition

On 14 March 1617, Velázquez was made a member of the Guild of St. Luke, after having passed a qualifying examination. His examiners were Pacheco and Juan de Uceda, another painter. Once admitted to the guild the eighteen-year-old artist was entitled to have his own workshop, to take in apprentices and to paint for churches or public places — privileges he lost no time in availing himself of.

He advanced smoothly into comfort and recognition. On 23 April 1618 he married Juana Pacheco who was three years younger than he. Her father gave to them, as part of the dowry, 'some houses' in the city which they sold ten years later. Pacheco had favoured the marriage, induced by Velázquez' 'virtue, purity of blood, and good parts, and by the hopes of his natural and great intellect'.[26]

The wedding took place in the church of St. Michael, with the poet Francisco de Rioja (1583–1659), who was soon to become influential at the Court, among the official witnesses. At the bountiful wedding banquet, in Pacheco's house, the occasion was made the more festive by the wit of the learned guests and by the singing and dancing which followed.[27]

Within less than three years, two daughters were born to the young couple: Francisca, who was baptized on 18 May 1619, and Ignacia, to whom her uncle, Juan Velázquez de Silva, was godfather on 29 January 1621. Ignacia died rather soon, and Francisca remained the painter's only child.

Young Velázquez seldom signed or dated, and even more rarely both signed and dated, his works — a custom which he followed throughtout his whole life and which sometimes he emphasized by depicting a folded-out piece of blank paper in one of the composition's lower corners.[28] *Christ in the house of Martha and Mary* and *Old woman frying eggs*, neither of which is signed, bear the date 1618 (plates *61* and *62*). The following year he dated but again did not sign *The adoration of the Magi*, a work which he probably painted on commission and must consequently have been encouraging to him (plate *71*). In 1620 he excepcionally signed and dated two portraits of *Mother Jerónima de la Fuente* (plates *80* and *81*).

1. Caravaggio, *The supper at Emmaus* (1.41 × 1.96 m), London, National Gallery. Courtesy of The National Gallery.

2. Beuckelaer, *Jesus in the house of Martha and Mary*, 1565 (1.13 × 1.63 m), Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts. Courtesy of the Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts.

3. Pacheco, *St. Sebastian nursed by St. Irene*, 1616, (destroyed in 1936), Church of San Sebastian, Alcalá de Guadaira.

On 1 February 1620, Diego de Melgar, a thirteen or fourteen years old boy, entered into a six-year bond of apprenticeship with Velázquez, whose works had made an impact on the Sevillian painters of his generation, and possibly on older ones too. This was particularly true in the field of *bodegón* painting, where painters then still active had partly built their reputation at Seville as elsewhere. According to Pacheco, young Velázquez soon stood head and shoulders above every painter of *bodegones*.

Of the twenty-odd extant works which he painted at Seville between 1617 and 1622, nine are *bodegones*, including *Christ in the house of Martha and Mary* and *Supper at Emmaus* which lend themselves to this classification in spite of their Biblical subjects (plates *62* and *75*). A large number of copies or imitations of Velázquez' *bodegones* has come down to us; many appear to date back to approximately those years. These early derivative works reveal an eager acceptance of the young master's achievements. Some evince a desire for emulation which gives them the appearance though not the aim of creative intent. Most of them though are without significance other than the begrudging or open admiration which they may betray as it is so frequently the case with imitators' works.

As imitators pressed the young master's style into lifelessness, he went on striking new forms of expression, vitally asserting the freedom and cogency of his art, not only in his *bodegones* but in his portraits and religious compositions as well. By the spring of 1622 he felt so confident of himself that he set out for Madrid, 'desirous' — as Pacheco put it — 'of seeing the Escorial', which housed a wealth of pictures by great masters, and with the ambition of portraying young Philip IV, recently come to the throne, and his Queen.

Men, things and art realities

In art terminology *bodegón* is nowadays almost synonymous with still-life. In Velázquez' day though it retained, even as an art term, a strong connotation from its ordinary meaning — a low eating place; it generally meant a composition keyed to the portrayal of one or more common people and to the depiction of food, drink, tableware or the like.

Bodegón painting had for long been a challenging subject in Flanders, Italy, Spain and elsewhere. Juan Pantoja de la Crúz (1553–1608), renowned at the Spanish Court for his portraits and religious compositions, tried his hand at it in 1592, when he painted three large '*bodegones de Italia*'.[29] The reference to an Italian manner or sense of composition is too vague to identify it with that of any particular master or school.

Pacheco clearly distinguished *bodegones* from the genre composition then known in Italy as *bambocciatta* and in Spain first as *bamboche* and later as *bambochada*. He made an equally clear distinction between *bodegón* paintings and paintings of victuals such as fruit, fish, fowl, meat, vegetables and the like — a genre which had been widely cultivated in Spain and elsewhere since the turn of the century, and for which the term *stilleven* was coined in Holland about 1650. Still-life is clearly of Dutch origin as an art term though not as an art form.[30]

The suggestion has been made, however, that still-life sprang as an independent subject for easel painting in Holland about 1600 as a manifestation of the national élan which pervaded the country in the wake of the recently won democratie freedom and independence and her ensuing prosperity and recognition as a colonial and world power; positive forces to which, so the argument runs, one should add the opposition of the Dutch Church to any form of figural decoration in the House of God.[31] The difficulty with this view is that, as it happened, still-life became an art form on its own right in Spain also about 1600, or slightly earlier, when the country, under absolute monarchical rule, was declining as a world power, her empire was threatened by the Dutch among others, and her finances were in a ruinous state, while yet Spanish churches and convents were being decorated with large altarpieces and other series of figural compositions.

In fact, still-life sprang as an independent subject for easel painting late in the sixteenth or early in the seventeenth century in Italy, Spain, Flanders, Holland, France and Germany — countries then separated from one another not only by their political boundaries, new or old, but also because of bitter religious differences, antagonistic political systems, divergent social structures, and even conflicting views on the purpose of life, whether national or individual. It was in that torn Europe that the artist turned his mind's eye from the idea of man and nature to the accidents of appearance of men and things.

New schools of painting, national or local, evolved here and there, each with characteristics of its own. Naturalism was their common, or universal, trait, and so was the naturalistic painter's penchant for letting the brushstroke accent the very texture of the pigment while shaping his vivid images on the canvas, whatever the subject may be. That was the painter's way to emphasize the superiority of the work of art over both the stuff it was made of and the natural appearances which it portrayed. It was, indeed, the naturalistic painter's way to come forth as a maker of art realities. In a like manner, writers such as Shakespeare, Cervantes, Marino, Quevedo and Molière used conceits, puns and other wordplay, sometimes involving vulgar expressions, to underscore the very structure of words — the writer's medium — while striking literary images of reality with them. Naturally, the lower the subject, the greater the challenge, which explains the fascination that *bodegón* or still-life painting held even for painters who did not make a practice of either.[32]

Pacheco was among those who at least once tried his hand at *bodegón* painting — in 1625, at Madrid, induced by his son-in-law's achievements, as he explained. He also expressed his views, admittedly based on Velázquez' works, and probably too on discussions with him, on what a painter of *bodegones* must achieve to win recognition: he ought to depict men and women life-like, and make equally vivid the things with which they are grouped together.[33]

The young master of bodegón painting

Velázquez' earliest extant paintings are two *bodegones, Musical trio* and *Three men at table*; both are related in different ways to a small canvas, showing on the surface the head of a man in profile, while underneath X-rays reveal the full face of another man (plates *55, 58, 63* and *64*). The latter looks like a discarded partial sketch for *Musical trio* or a fragment of a like painting depicting the full face of the musician at the centre, turned to his right rather than to his left. The head of a man in profile, visible to the naked eye, is obviously a study for Velázquez' transformation of *Three men at table* into a new *bodegón* composition.

Unfortunately, *Musical trio* has come down to us in a poor state of preservation, and the condition of *Three men at table*, though certainly better, is not good either (see catalogue *Nos. 1 and 3*).

In these two *bodegones*, there is an intentness on the portrayal of human expression which brings to mind the time when Velázquez applied himself to a depiction of elementary moods, modelled for him by that hireling apprentice at Pacheco's workshop. It is safe to assume that Velázquez painted them in 1617 or early in 1618, that is, either when he was completing his training or just after he had passed his examination for admission to the painters' guild — all the more so since *Old woman frying eggs* and *Christ in the house of Martha and Mary*, both dated 1618, appear to mark a dividing line with the next group of his youthful works.

In *Musical trio* and *Three men at table*, three half- or three-quarter length figures sit or stand round a table laid with food and drink. The point of view is high, and local lights accent the shape of edibles and tableware and stress the grimacing faces and gesturing hands which are well built in the round, while the bodies are not so substantially set in space; indeed, spatial depth is mainly achieved by the multiplicity of points of distance marked off by hands, faces and inanimate objects. This is particularly true of *Musical trio*, a rather tentative work which seems to have exercised Velázquez' sense of composition.

Such manner of defining space, fairly common in the late *Cinquecento*, had been handed down to young Velázquez and would not serve for long his purpose of portraying the live and the transient; he achieved nonetheless a sort of equilibrium as the vivid depiction of the grimaces and gestures of the figures, whose bodies do not quite occupy the space plotted by means of the table, vies with the depiction of victuals or tableware which underlying shadows make the sharper.

Three men at table (plate *58*) displays a variety of yellow hues in the costume of the youth at the right, the rinds of the pomegranate, the loaf of bread and the wine in the glass and in the bottle held by the boy; a purplish tinge on the old man's grey sleeve enhances the purple hue of the turnip he is eating, while white touches light up both the buckle of the boys' dark brown costume and the mussels and herring in the bowl in front of him. The shadow which keenly duplicates the shape of the sword hanging on the wall reveals Velázquez' gift for the depiction of aerial depth, which he was to master soon.

Velázquez, *Old woman frying eggs*. 1618.
Catalogue No. 6.
Reproduced by courtesy of The National Gallery of Scotland.

Velázquez, *The waterseller*. About 1620.
Catalogue No. 16.
Reproduced by courtesy of The Wellington Museum, London.

Old woman frying eggs, dated 1618, shows a surer sense of composition than either of Velázquez' extant earlier *bodegones*, though his hand still appears fettered under the restrain of study, as in the point of the knife which bends down, shadowlike, and in the boy's forearm, seen distorted through the glass in too studied a manner (plate *61*). Velázquez represented more objects in this picture than in either *Musical trio* or *Three men at table*. Yet gone is the fussiness of local definitions of objects which make both of these compositions somewhat unstable; gone also is the emphasis on human expressions and motions. Now there is a subtle interplay of light and shade which rounds human figures and things into a quiet atmosphere. Both the woman and the boy truly occupy space beyond and above the victuals and kitchenware which build the foreground plane. The gestures of both converge round the reddish frying pan where the eggs are seen in the very process of coalescing; yet the expressions of the two are rather unrelated, vacant of thought or aim; both are, indeed, as much earthly presences as the fully-hued things they are handling.

The figure of the old woman, with her head but not her bust in profile, somehow makes one realize the problem which exercised young Velázquez' sense of composition when he transformed one of the figures in *Three men at table*, of about 1618, into that of the young man in *A girl and two men at table*, datable to 1618–9 (plate *65*). These two *bodegones* are based to a large extent on the same studies of men and things, The glass and the loaf of bread on the table are almost identical in both paintings, and so seems to have been, except for the hands, the figure of the old man, now extensively restored (see catalogue *No. 9*). The young man's arms and trunk are also nearly identical in both works, but not his head — for which Velázquez used in the later composition the study of facial expression now at the Hermitage (plate *64*).

A girl and two men at table has been extensively damaged and restored. Nonetheless, a comparison with *Three men at table*, which is in a better condition, shows that in the later work the width and depth of the composition have been underscored by pushing the figure of the young man more to the side, thus disencumbering the foreground edge of the table, and by making the figure of the girl in the background bend over slightly. Velázquez, moreover, built the composition on fewer diagonals but of greater range.

The young master achieved a compelling depiction of the stillness of the earthly in *The waterseller*, datable to about 1620, and in *Two young men at table*, painted some two years later (plates *74* and *84*). Live but quiescent diagonals build the breadth and depth in each composition; in both the figures are related to one another by their poses rather than by their vacant expressions. Though the subject of only one of them could be said to require it, both works appear to be portrayals of slumber, accented in *Two young men at table* by the lustre of the mortar, of the pieces of earthenware — some with green, some with a white glaze — and of the fully textured orange which sits in the mouth of a jug.

In *The waterseller* — Velázquez' earliest masterpiece — the subtlest of greenish tints tinge men and objects, notably those in the foreground. The vender hands a glass of water, with a fig for freshening it at the bottom, to a lad as another youth — his figure just

shadowed forth — drinks from a jar. The shapes and expressions of the three men are not more vivid, or less quiet, than the watery film shimmering on the stopper of the jug, or the three drops of water which trickle down its side, or the interplay of transparencies which intensely define the glass, the water and the fig within.

Indeed, as young Velázquez went on mastering the art of *bodegón* painting, he put less and less emphasis on the portrayal of human expression or gesture. In *The waterseller* and *Two young men at table* he finally depicted men and things as much of the same clay and mortised them into a quiet visual whole, where the narrative counts for little or nothing.

Bodegón-like biblical compositions

Two Velázquez *bodegón*-like paintings are, however, lit up by Biblical scenes framed in the background (plates *62* and *75*). Their composition stems from a sixteenth-century Flemish tradition which originated with Peter Aertsen (1508–75).[34] Many of this master's works were destroyed by iconoclasts in his own day and there is no reason to conclude that Velázquez did see any painting by him or by Joachim Beuckelaer, Aertsen's nephew and outstanding follower (c. 1535–74). It might, however, be that, even if Velázquez had not seen any of those pictures, he was acquainted with their compositional scheme through derivative paintings, whether or not they were Flemish, or drawings, or engravings — which certainly were not lacking — or perhaps even from oral descriptions, never so infrequent a means of communication among painters as might be supposed.

Many of Aertsen's and Beuckelaer's extant works represent an interior, sometimes just a merchant's stall open on all sides, where pots, vessels and baskets with fruits, vegetables, raw or cured meats, cheese, game, fish, or the like nearly fill the foreground, their profusion underlined by bright local colours and the somewhat jerky manner in which the various planes recede; often, though not always, there are figures in the foreground, the middle distance, or both; whether or not they are handling food, they are related to the narrative, or at least to the sense, of the smallish figure-scene from the New Testament which an architectural structure frames in the far background.

Several of these paintings have *Christ in the house of Martha and Mary* for subject (plate **2**). And so does the earlier of the two extant Velázquez *bodegón*-like Biblical pictures, dated 1618 (plate *62*). Though the condition of this much restored painting is poor, the main lines of its composition remain visible as a somewhat tantalizing suggestion of what it originally was. The foreground is taken up by the three-quarter figures of an old woman and a girl who is busy with mortar and pestle at a table where other pieces of kitchenware, some fish and other food are displayed. The girl, identifiable as Martha, looks into the space outside the field of the composition. In the background, in what appears to be a reflection in a mirror,[35] there is the scene of Jesus seated with Mary at His feet and another woman standing. The sides of the mirror, seen as the rest of the composi-

Velázquez, *Two young men at table*. About 1622.
Catalogue No. 24.
Reproduced by courtesy of The Wellington Museum, London.

tion in a diagonal perspective, are naturally of unequal apparent width and, for that matter, height.

The other Velázquez *bodegón*-like painting of a subject taken from the New Testament, *Christ at Emaus*, shows a finer interplay of light and shade. This suggests that it was painted later, probably about 1620–2 (plate *75*). The composition — which originally was wider than at present — has also two foci. It represents a kitchen interior where, in the foreground, a mulatto servant dawdles over his work (see catalogue *No. 17*); in the background, Velázquez has depicted an open hatch, with its door plainly visible, which gives upon another room where Christ and his two companions are seated at table. The canvas has been cut down and, as a result, the left arm is all that remains of the man that Velázquez represented at the right of Christ. A contrast with this work is provided by the replica, without the lit-up background scene, in which the shabby figure of the servant centres the dusky composition (plate *77*).

The analogies between either of the two *bodegón*-like Biblical paintings by Velázquez and works by Aertsen or Beuckelaer are evident but of limited range. In Velázquez' paintings, as in those by the earlier Flemish masters, the food and kitchenware take up most of the foreground, where together with some human figures they form the outstanding scene, related to the smallish one in the background. However, in Velázquez' works there is neither the galaxy of comestibles to which the figures are rather ancillary in both Aertsen's and Beuckelaer's compositions, nor the sense of bustling activity which fills them. To begin with, in Velázquez' pictures the victuals and pieces of kitchenware are few in number, and, striking though they are, they do not dominate the composition; secondly, instead of the manifold bright local colours which make luxuriant the perspective-heavy space of the Flemish pictures, there is in Velázquez' a unifying atmospheric tint which makes the textures of food, brass and earthenware pieces glow one against the other, thus achieving a sensorial expression of disarray with just a few objects, without overpowering the three-quarter or half-length human figures, to whose pose and prominence the overall composition is keyed; indeed, the relation between the large and the small, more luminous background scene is vividly enhanced rather than lessened by the impact of the main figures.

A plainer and closer analogy is to be found between Pacheco's *St. Sebastian nursed by St. Irene* (plate **3**), of 1616, and the later Velázquez' *bodegón*-like Biblical compositions. In Pacheco's painting — destroyed by fire in 1936 — St. Sebastian was seen in an interior, the blood-stained arrows hanging on the wall; a window framed the view of a landscape with St. Sebastian tied to a tree and the archers aiming their arrows at him.[36] Unlike Pacheco, however, Velázquez does not represent two moments of the same narrative in either *Christ in the house of Martha and Mary* or in *Supper at Emmaus*. In composition, moreover, Velázquez differs as much from Pacheco as from Aertsen or Beuckelaer. His is a different sense of space. Indeed, the stare of Martha — and for that matter, the gaze of the mulatto servant — suggests a diagonal leading to the outlying space from where the viewer encompasses both the foreground and the background scenes as a dynamic whole.

Early portraits

Half a dozen likenesses of the young and the old, men and women, who sat to Velázquez or whom he portrayed from memory in his early Sevillian years, have come down to us: two drawings, each of a young girl, both datable to about 1618 (plates *59* and *60*); a posthumous full-length portrait of the priest *Don Cristobal Suárez de Ribera*, godfather to Velázquez' wife, probably painted in 1620 (plate *78*); the two full-lengths of *Mother Jerónima de la Fuente*, both dated 1620 (plates *80* and *81*), and the head-and-shoulders portrait of *A man with a goatee*, datable to 1620–2 (plate *83*).

In each of these portraits, Velázquez brings out the sitter's mettle and earthliness, that is his or her human nature, letting the individual expression accent age and character traits. It is so in the two portraits of *Mother Jerónima de la Fuente*, whose commission apparently called for the inclusion of a scroll with a given Latin text around the crucifix held by the sitter. It must have been an odd challenge to young Velázquez' sense of composition; he overcame it though. Indeed, in the two portraits, the scroll around the crucifix originally had an architectural, space-building quality that endowed the effigy of Christ on the Cross with a fit sense of heroic monumentality, as one could still see in the early 1960's in the version at the Fernández Araoz collection before the painting had darkened to its present dullness (plate *81*). In the version at the Prado, the scroll was erased soon after its acquisition by the museum in 1944 on the random assumption that it was a later addition. Now the crucifix held by the sitter looks awkward and void of its intended monumentality, as a comparison of its original and present condition reveals (plates *79* and *80*).

The divine and the human

Young Velázquez compelling rendering of the mundane and transient, whether a light-permeated cord round the rind of a melon, a few drops of water trickling down the side of a jug, or a human face on which age and character traits are accented, exists side by side with his portrayal of the divine persons in *The adoration of the Magi*, dated 1619 (plate *71*). This composition is quite different from the *bodegón*-like Biblical paintings which Velázquez painted just before and after that year (plates *62* and *75*). The religious scene is not framed in the background as a meaningful sketchy counterturn to the portrayal of the earthly. Rather, in a somewhat more traditional vein, the young master of *bodegón* painting has centred the composition of *The adoration of the Magi* about a vivid portrayal of the divine nature of the Virgin and the Infant Christ. Indeed, light models the faces of the Virgin and the Child into unblemished shapes while the facial characteristics of the nondivine persons — St. Joseph, the Three Kings and their manservant — are accented by live contrasts of light and shade.

The same distinction in the depiction of human and divine persons is evident in *The Immaculate Conception* and *St. John writing the Apocalypse* with the vision of the woman followed by the dragon (plates *69* and *70*). These two works must also have been painted about 1619 as their composition and execution suggest. Their subjects are closely related, and they are of identical size and provenance, the Chapter Room of a Carmelite convent in Seville; yet, as the difference in the scale of the figures indicates, they were not intended to be on the same wall or altar, or at least not at the same level.

The belief that the Virgin had been conceived without taint of original sin did not become Catholic dogma till 1854. Debated for centuries, it aroused a great deal of feeling among its upholders in the mid- and late 1610's, especially in Seville. In 1615, the Carmelites of this city urged all the Spanish prelates to request from the Pope an affirmative declaration on the matter. Two learned treatises furthering the point were pubished in Seville that very year.[37] By 1619 the number of such books printed in Spain was at least thirty-eight.[38] On 1 January 1620, Pacheco completed a paper on the subject.[39]

Though Pacheco's paper on the sinless conception of the Virgin did not touch upon matters of iconography, such matters must have been discussed at his workshop in the late 1610's, when he was writing it, all the more so since precisely then Velázquez undertook to paint the two companion pieces on the subject, which very likely had some impact on the development of Pacheco's views.

In *Arte de la Pintura*, Pacheco discusses the iconography of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin as related to the vision of the woman chased by the dragon described in the *Apocalypse*.[40] He advises the painter that, though the youth of St. John when he joined Jesus signifies his perpetual virginity, pictures of him writing the *Apocalypse* ought to represent him as the old man that he then was.

As for *The Immaculate Conception*, Pacheco says that the Virgin ought to look twelve or thirteen years old, have twelve stars round her head, and wear an imperial crown on golden hair; she must be dressed in a white tunic and blue mantle, and her feet should rest on the moon, depicted with its points downward; she must also be enclosed in the sun, represented as an oval shape in ochre and white.

Obviously Pacheco did not arrive at the final formulation of these views before 1626, a date which he mentions as significant for his argument. Nor did he, as far as it is known, paint *The Immaculate Conception* before 1621, when he signed two pictures of the subject, in both of which the Virgin wears a crown (Seville, Cathedral and collection of the Marqués de la Reunión de Nueva España). In 1624, however, he signed another *Immaculate Conception* (Seville, Church of San Lorenzo); it shows the Virgin in a red tunic and with no crown, contrary to his earlier depictions of the subject, as well as to his final views on the matter (plates **4** and **5**).

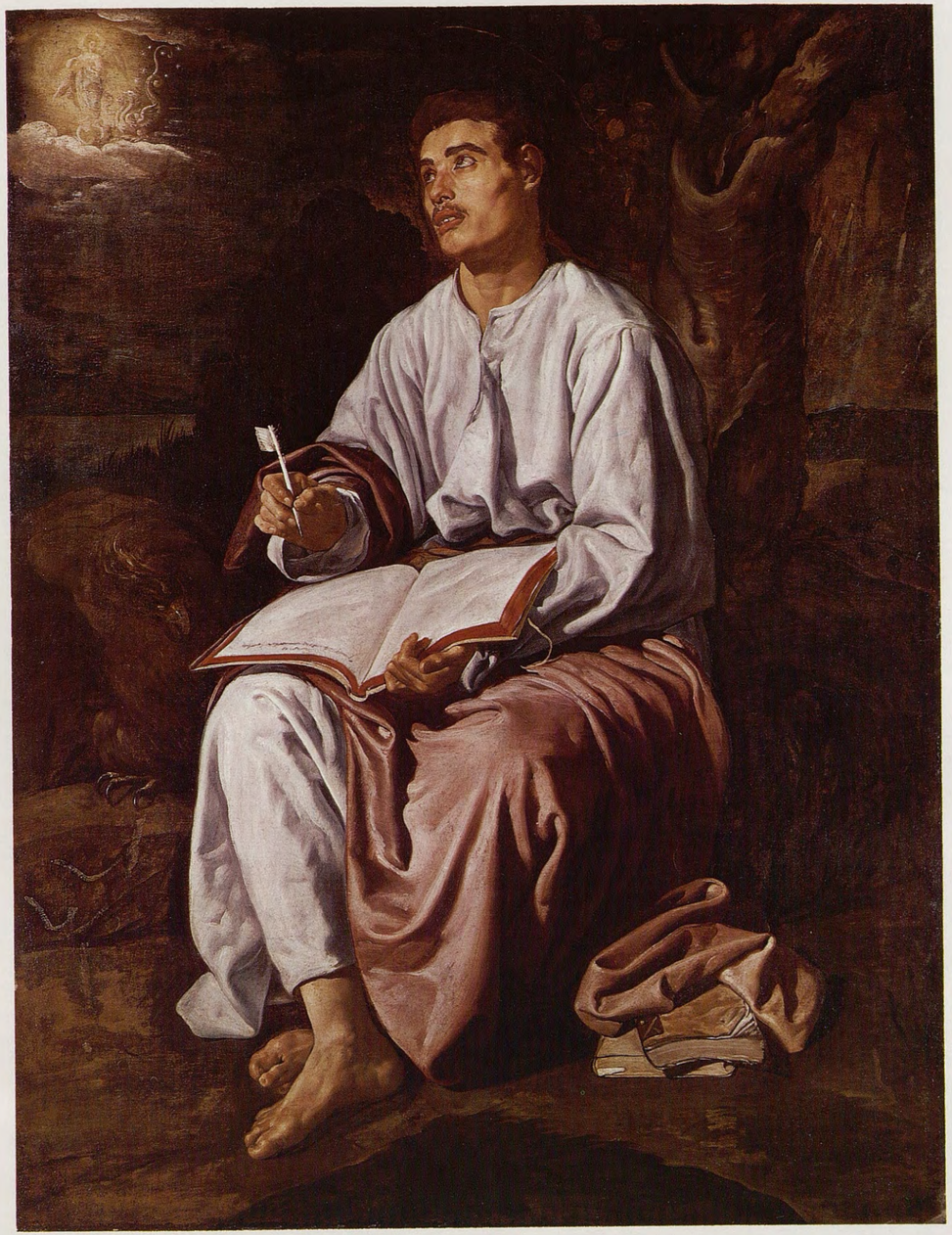
As indicated above, Velázquez' *The Immaculate Conception* is earlier than any of the pictures of the same subject painted by Pacheco or that the latter's formulation of his iconographical views on the matter. In Velázquez' painting the Virgin wears no crown but has twelve stars round her head; her white tunic is shadowed by purplish tints as she

4. Pacheco, *Immaculate Conception of the Virgin* (with the portrait of Miguel Cid, author of a poem on the subject), 1621 (1.235 × 0.925 m), Seville, Cathedral.

5. Pacheco, *Immaculate Conception of the Virgin*, 1624 (3.05 × 1.95 m), Seville, Church of San Lorenzo.

6. Sánchez Cotán, *Still-life*, 1602 (0.69 × 0.89), Madrid, Duke of Hernani. Photo Más.

Velázquez, *The Immaculate Conception of the Virgin*. About 1619.
Catalogue No. 11.
Reproduced by courtesy of The National Gallery, London.



Velázquez, *St. John writing the Apocalypse*. About 1619.
Catalogue No. 12.
Reproduced by courtesy of The National Gallery, London.

stands against the sun, painted in ochre within luminous white clouds, with the moon under her feet, and the symbols of the litanies built into the landscape below. Her face, framed by her golden-brown hair, and her hands are flawless, limpid shapes, laved as it were by the smooth brushwork. It is a masterpiece, alive with a naturalism which is as visual as conceptual.

In the companion piece, Velázquez represented *St. John writing the Apocalypse* as a young, brown-haired man, in a white tunic and umber-rose mantle, his shape roughened by shadow and gesture which the uneven impasto makes sharper. The saint's vision of the winged woman and the three-headed dragon is seen in the upper left corner, as he, with his half-open mouth and the quill suspended over the page for live centres, embodies in his figure the wondrous experience of the Revelation and the contemplative pause needed to put it into words.

One cannot fully understand Velázquez' art unless one realizes the differentiation he makes between the portrayal of the divine and that of the human, which, as we have just seen, extends to the textural quality of the brushwork and is to be found not only between companion pieces, such as *The Immaculate Conception* and *St. John writing the Apocalypse*, but even within one single work, as in the case of *The adoration of the Magi*.

Throughout his life, Velázquez made use not only of the variety of hues but also of the variety of textures that pigments afforded to express pictorially the divine-human polarity which makes his world of painting cogent. Had he been a poet, he might likewise have coupled, balanced, aligned, opposed, reflected, contrasted, accented or subdued the various, at times diverging, connotations and shades of words. Pigments though, were the materials for his work, and he used them with a fullness of meaning which we can grasp today — provided, of course, we do not mistake the lines of our understanding for a programme to which the artist would have worked.[41]

First stay at the Court

Young Velázquez started from Seville on his first journey to Madrid in the second half of April 1622.[42] As we know, he was desirous of seeing the Escorial, a marvel of architecture in itself, where a great many masterpieces, mainly paintings, were displayed. Another of his ambitions was to portray the new sovereigns, a venture which might have sped his success.

Philip IV, now seventeen, had come to the throne just one year earlier and had from the beginning left the cares of state to the Count of Olivares, who had been in his service ever since, as a Prince, he had had a household of his own. He retained as Court painters Rodrigo de Villandrando, Bartolomé González, Eugenio Caxés, and Vincencio Carducho, all of whom had served his father, the late Philip III.

It is likely that Velázquez' work was known to Olivares, who in 1619, as he was toying with the idea of withdrawing from the Court, had spent several months at Seville,

7. Alejandro de Loarte, *The fowlmonger*, 1626 (1.60 × 1.30 m), Avila, Duchess of Valencia.

where he surrounded himself with scholars, poets, artists and connoisseurs. One of them was Francisco de Rioja, whom he held in high esteem. Rioja, who was a close friend of Pacheco and had the year before acted as a witness at Velázquez' wedding, might have mentioned the promising young painter to the Count, whose sense of power sharpened his interests as an art patron — which has frequently occurred in Western society. Pacheco also knew the Count, whose portrait he had painted in 1610,[43] and he surely would not have let his son-in-law, painter of such pieces as *Old woman frying eggs* and *Christ in the house of Martha and Mary*, go unnoticed by so important a Maecenas as Olivares.

Those whom Pacheco mentioned as having taken care of his son-in-law in Madrid came from Seville. Particularly obliging was Don Juan de Fonseca, a canon from the Cathedral of Seville and writer on art, who was now a chaplain to the new King; he was fond of Velázquez's paintings and decided to further his success at the Court. He failed though in his effort to secure an opportunity for his protégé to portray the sovereigns. It was instead with the portrait of the famous poet Don Luís de Góngora that Velázquez first won recognition in Madrid (plate *86*). The likeness of Góngora — his eyes and hair black, clad in a black cassock and a white collar permeated by light — is quite vivid; his head, half in the light and half in the shadow, stands out against a greenish background, half of which is dark while the rest is lighted — the rose and yellowish flesh tones, the blackish shade on the shaven face, and the grey moustache resulting in a golden glow.

Besides the royal collections at the Madrid Alcázar, the Escorial and other nearby places, Velázquez would naturally have seen some of the outstanding private collections at Madrid. It is likely that he also stopped at Toledo on his way from or to Seville, for Pacheco would probably have urged him to do so. That he went there is all the more likely since admirers of El Greco were still prominent in Madrid intellectual life. Góngora (1561–1627) had written a sonnet on the occasion of his death, and the subtle poet and fashionable Trinitarian preacher, Fray Hortensio Félix Paravicino (1580–1633), then at the peak of his reputation, was the author of four sonnets exalting the meaning of El Greco's art. Young Velázquez must have admired the old master's handling of pigment, sure and free, and the naturalism of his portraits.

Since El Greco's day, Toledo had been a more vital art centre than the Escorial, where his *Martyrdom of St. Maurice* failed to please Philip II in 1580. It was at Toledo, in El Greco's circle, that Pedro de Orrente (1580–1645), sometimes referred to as the 'Spanish Bassano', acquired the mastery in the handling of light and texture that was to make of him a naturalist painter, admired and imitated at the Court and other Spanish art centres. On 10 August 1603, when Juan Sánchez Cotán (1561–1627), then in his forties, closed up his workshop at Toledo to enter monastic life, he left behind a number of still-lifes in which sheer space intensified the reality of things to a degree that no other seventeenth-century painter would surpass (plate **6**). By the 1620's, Alejandro de Loarte, who, after spending some time in Madrid, had returned to Toledo, had become an outstanding master of still-lifes and *bodegones*; he signed the last one in 1626, when he died, apparently still a young man (plate **7**).

Painters and painting at Madrid

As for the painters influential at the Court, most of them had been brought up in the tenets of mannerism which, from the 1570's till early in the 1600's, had radiated from the Escorial. Spanish masters such as Juan Fernández de Navarrete (1526–79) and Alonso Sánchez Coello (ca. 1532–88) had executed paintings for the church, the monastery or the royal chambers there, and so had a good many Italian painters, including Luca Cambiaso (1527–1585) and Federico Zuccaro (1542–1609).

When Bartolomé Carducho (1554–1608) left his native Florence to become an assistant to Zuccaro at the Escorial, he took with him his fifteen-year-old brother, Vincencio (1570–1638).[44] Zuccaro himself was less than a success at the Escorial and he returned to Italy scarcely three years later. Bartolomé Carducho, however, remained in Spain in the service of Philipp II, who in 1598 appointed him Court painter, a position which at his death was granted to his brother Vincencio by the new king, Philip III. Eugenio Caxés (1573 or 1574–1634), another Court painter, owed his training to his father, Patricio (ca. 1544–1612), who in his early twenties had come from Rome to Spain, where he remained in the royal service till his death.

Vincencio Carducho and Eugenio Caxés had won recognition and influence at the Court during the reign of Philip III, who came to the throne in Septembre 1598. When Rubens visited the Spanish Court, at Valladolid in 1603, he commented that the painters there were pathetically incompetent or sloppy.

By the 1620's painters and connoisseurs at Madrid, where the Court had been moved back, generally followed a trend towards naturalim. Orazio Borgianni (1575–1608), whose naturalistic outlook was more akin to the Carracci's than to Caravaggio's, whom nonetheless he strove to imitate, had contributed initially to this current. He had been early in the century at the Valladolid Court and elsewhere in Spain; his success is attested by the important commissions which he carried out there; moreover, there is reason to surmise that his works continued to find a market in Spain after he returned to Rome sometime about 1608.[45]

As early as 1605 Eugenio Caxés had endeavored, and failed, to give a life-like cast to stock Michelangelesque figures in his *Fall of the angels* (plate **9**). Much more spirited, though also derivative was Antonio de Lanchares (d. 1630),[46] who at least in his *Adoration of the shepherds*, of 1612, had carried his naturalism, rooted, like Orrente's, in the Bassanesque tradition, somewhat closer to Caravaggio's use of sheer light for dramatic composition (plate **11**).

Other Spanish painters had seen Caravaggio's works in Italy, and paintings by him, or copies of them, had certainly arrived in Spain shortly after his death, and probably before. In any case, by 1622, they could be seen in churches and private collections at Madrid, Seville and elsewhere.[47] In 1610, on retiring as Viceroy of Naples, the Count of Benavente had brought with him to his palace in Valladolid a 'very large' *Crucifixion of St. Andrew* by the hand of Caravaggio.[48]

The popularity of Caravaggio in Spain is documented by many references, eulogistic most of them, found in writings of that time. It is also evidenced by the sarcasm with which Vincencio Carducho, influential as a painter and as a connoisseur in the Madrid of the 1620's, retold in his *Diálogos de la Pintura* sometime later the story of the success of that 'Antichrist' or 'Antimichelangelo'. Carducho's prose is weighted with images of food, gluttony, digestion, ill-digestion, and the like as he disparingly describes the naturalism of Caravaggio and his followers, even contriving to bring in 'natural' as a noun in an awkward effort to suggest the picture of a simpleton.[49]

As a painter, Vincencio Carducho developed a cautious approach to naturalism. At an unknown date, presumably before the 1620's, he painted a *Colossal head of a man* (2.46x2.05 m), in which line and shading define the individual features without in the least aiming at an expression of the momentary such as Caravaggio and like-minded painters achieved by a striking use of light (plate **10**).

Still later, in the early 1630's, Carducho would define Painting as 'a likeness and portrayal of anything visible, as represented to our eye, composed by lines and colours on a surface'; he further explained that lines ought to 'determine and circumscribe' the areas 'within' which colours 'imitate shades and lights'.[50]

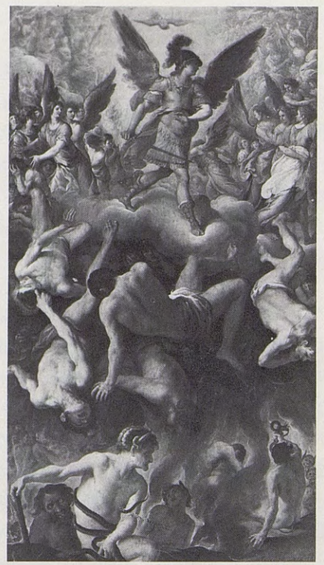
Carducho's views must have carried weight in the Madrid of the 1620's for he was a knowledgeable man, well read on art and other subjects, and counted among his friends distinguished men of letters, including the much admired Lope de Vega (1562–1635). Moreover, like other artists of his day, he engaged in buying and selling sculptures, paintings and drawings by old masters, as well as works by living, some times anonymous, painters — which considerably enlarged his social circle.[51]

More sensitive and responsive to the new art trends — and fortunately closer to the new King — was Fray Juan Bautista Maino (1578–1649). He had practiced the art of painting at Toledo during El Greco's last years. Around 1611 he apparently spent some time in Italy; two years later, at thirty-five, he entered the Dominican Order at Toledo, and by 1619 he was at Madrid as drawing master to Prince Philip, who after ascending the throne kept him on at the Court, where he died. Some of his paintings of the early 1610's show an awareness of Caravaggio's sense of light and hue; yet his art as a whole appears generally oriented to that of the Carracci.[52]

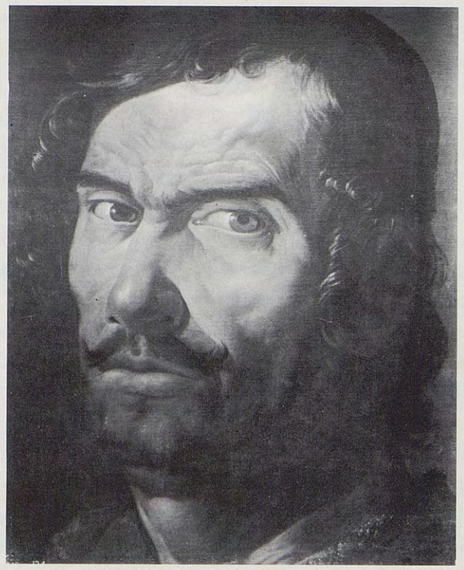
Truly creative was the Madrilenian Juan van der Hamen y León (1596–1632), whose work as a still-life painter was rooted in that of Juan Sánchez Cotán (1561-1627). Though Sánchez Cotán's activity as a painter had since 1603 been limited to conventual works, the still-lifes which he left behind in the world — only three of which are extant —[53] had a lasting impact on younger painters, for whom he seemed to have discovered the very appearance of things by depicting them against sheer space. He cast an ordinary vegetable, a cardoon, into so compelling an art reality that other painters emulated it time and again in their still-life compositions (plate **6**).

Van der Hamen's earliest recorded work is a still-life, now lost, painted in 1619 for the Royal Palace at El Pardo, near Madrid. Though he also painted portraits and other

8. Bartolomé Gonzalez, *St. John the Baptist*, 1621 (1.50 × 0.90 m), Budapest, Hungarian Museum of Fine Arts. Courtesy of the Museum.

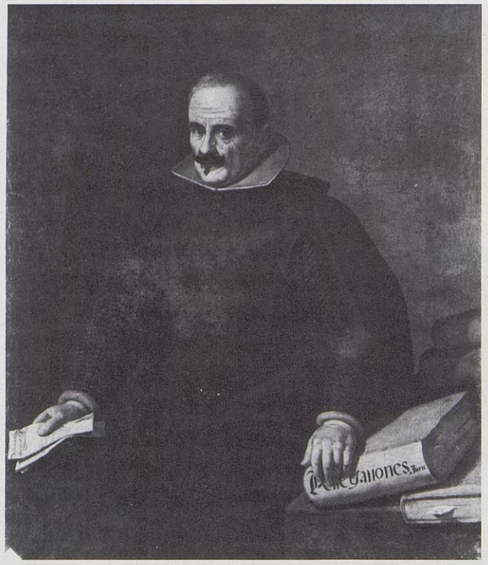


9. Eugenio Caxés, *The fall of the angels*, 1605 (0.74 × 0.41 m), Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst. Courtesy of the Museum.



10. Vincencio Carducho, *Colossal head* (2.46 × 2.05 m), Madrid, Academia de San Fernando.

11. Lanchares, *Adoration of the shepherds*, 1612 (2.17 × 1.61 m), Madrid, art market (1960's).



12. Van der Hamen, *Don Francisco de la Cueva*, 1625 (1.17 × 1.05 m), Madrid, Academia de San Fernando.

13. Van der Hamen, *Still-life*, 1622 (0.52 × 0.89 m), Madrid, Prado, Courtesy of the Museum.

figure-compositions, his contemporaries admired him mainly for his still-lifes, rather to his annoyance. Yet they were right for, as can be seen in the one extant portrait by his hand, *Don Francisco de la Cueva*, of 1625 (plate **12**), Van der Hamen, not unlike Carducho, effected a naturalist portrayal of the human figure chiefly by the overdrawing of details, which, without the flux of light, appear stark, almost lifeless.

Curiously, the one recorded contemporary stricture on Velázquez as portrait-painter comes from an Italian antiquarian and connoisseur of great learning and deep-seated taste, who thought that Van der Hamen was excellent as a painter of portraits, flowers, fruits, and the like. Cassiano dal Pozzo (1588–1657), who was in Madrid in July 1626, disapproved of a portrait that Velázquez painted then of Cardinal Francesco Barberini 'with a melancholy and severe air', and suggested to the Cardinal that he should sit to Van der Hamen. The Cardinal agreed, and Van der Hamen painted his portrait, of which Dal Pozzo only said that it was done 'well enough'.[54]

Van der Hamen's still-lifes, however are unique for the architectural quality with which he endows the spaces between the various things represented — a quality which brings order into the disarray of fruits, sweetmeats, tableware and the like (plate **13**).[55]

Young Philip IV favoured Rodrigo de Villandrando (d. 1622) over the other Court painters — González, Caxés and Carducho — whom he found at his service when he came to the throne. A few months later, on 5 July 1621, he granted Villandrando's ambition to be Usher of the Chamber, a much coveted distinction.[56]

In 1620 or thereabouts Villandrando had portrayed Philip IV, then still a Prince, and his wife, Princess Isabel.[57] Velázquez probably saw these two portraits at the Royal Palace during his first stay in Madrid (both are now in the Prado). It is also likely that he saw then the portraits of the late sovereigns, Philip III and Queen Margarita, as well as those of Philip IV's brother and sister, the Infante Don Fernando and the Infanta Doña María, all by the hand of Villandrando, now lost or unidentified.

Villandrando's portrait of Philip IV depicts the king resting his right hand on the head of the dwarf *Soplillo* (plate **16**). As a work of art, it shows the refinement of a tradition which for some sixty years, since the time of Alonso Sánchez Coello (1531/2–88), had been kept alive by a few masters of succeeding generations at the Spanish Court.

Such was the world of art in which young Velázquez' portrait of Góngora, a keen admirer of El Greco, was 'much praised', as Pacheco wrote without indicating either the nature or the source of the praise. The view was by then current in Madrid intellectual circles that the highest achievement of a protrait painter was to endow his work with a true-to-life likeness that would cause the sitter to doubt whether his true self was the painted image or his own being. This view, strikingly expressed early in the century by Giambattista Marino in Italy and by Fray Hortensio Félix Paravicino in Spain,[58] had since become common place.

Velázquez painted the portrait of Góngora at the request of Pacheco, who probably intended to draw from it a likeness of the poet for his *Libro de retratos*. Eight of the portraits made by Pacheco for this book, left unfinished, represent poets or humanists crowned with

laurel wreaths. And so Velázquez did originally depict Góngora; however, at an unkown later date, he painted over the wreath, still noticeable under X-ray examination, casting the portrait into a fully naturalistic image (plates *85* and *86*).

While in Madrid, Velázquez would surely have heard that Philip IV had rewarded Rodrigo de Villandrando the year before with the appointment to the position of Usher of the Chamber. On his way back to Seville, the young painter probably mused over the high recognition and honours that an artist could attaint only at the Court.

Death of Villandrando and Velázquez' success

Don Juan de Fonseca, that early, and as such presumably keen admirer of Velázquez, kept a watchful eye on the Court scene, waiting for a new opportunity for the young painter. He did not have to wait long, for within a matter of months, in December 1622, Rodrigo de Villandrando died, and in the spring of 1623 Fonseca conveyed to Velázquez the Count of Olivares' command to come to the Court.

Velázquez set out again for Madrid, this time with brighter prospects.[59] Now Fonseca left nothing to chance; he lodged the young painter in his own home. Even more, he sat to him, and as soon as the portrait was finished, Don Gaspar de Bracamonte, also a Sevillian, and chamberlain to the King's brother, Cardinal Infante Don Fernando, took it to the Royal Palace, where within an hour everybody, the courtiers, the Infantes, and even the King, had seen and admired it. Velázquez was directed to paint the portrait of the Cardinal Infante but 'it was thought more advisable' that he should first portray His Majesty — which gives the full measure of the painter's and Fonseca's success — even though it was necessary to wait till Philip could spare the time for the sittings.

According to Pacheco, Velázquez painted the portrait of the King on 30 August 1623. Needless to say, in one day, the painter could hardly have done more than a sketch of the head. It is, however, more likely that Pacheco meant that the portrait was finished on the mentioned date.

The King was pleased with the portrait; Olivares said that till then no one had really portrayed Philip IV and all the noblemen felt the same way. The young master's highest expectations were fulfilled as Olivares commanded him to move his home to Madrid and promised him that from then on he would be the only painter to portray the King and that such other portraits of the sovereign as existed would be withdrawn.

Those were days of both concern and festivity at the Spanish Court where the Prince of Wales, later Charles I, was discussing his contemplated marriage to the Infanta María, Philip IV's sister. At the time when Velázquez painted the portrait of the King he also did a colour sketch, now lost, of the Prince of Wales, who rewarded him with one hundred *escudos*.[60] The Prince's visit, which had at the beginning appeared promising for both countries, came to a dead end, and on 9 September 1623 the Spanish King accompanied his royal visitor from Madrid to the Escorial where they said their adieus.

Velázquez was formally admitted into Philip IV's service on 6 October 1623 at a salary of twenty ducats a month with the obligation of painting such works as might be ordered; but before the month was over Philip IV bettered the financial terms ordering that, in addition to his salary, Velázquez was to be paid for whatever paintings he should paint as painter to the King.

The likeness of the King

Neither the portrait of Fonseca, which opened the way for the success of Velázquez at the Royal Palace, nor that of the Prince of Wales, which was probably taken to England, has been identified.[61] As for the portrait of the King that won for Velázquez the appointment as Court painter, it has been preserved though only underneath another likeness of the sovereign painted by Velázquez a few years later.

In fact, radiographs made in 1960 show, though, of course, only in black and white, what appears to be the first portrait of Philip IV painted by Velázquez (plate *99*): the King is seen standing by a table, his right hand holding a petition while the left one rests on the sword hilt; he has a flabby face, roundish at the chin, and a short neck — the same features that he has in the portrait painted from life by Rubens some years later (plate **20**).

Such was the portrait with which Velázquez won his decisive success at the Court, where even the King admired it. Yet, the young master soon became dissatisfied with it, as he set out to portray the august nature of the person of the King rather than the reality of his physique. Hence, in 1626–8, he painted out that true-to-life likeness of Philip, substituting for it another in which the royal sitter's natural characteristics were not his subject (plate *100*).

The earliest portrait of Philip IV executed by Velázquez which has come down to us in visible pigments is bust-length. The young master painted it probably still within 1623, surely no later than 1624, when he used it for a full-length which was finished by 4 December.

In the bust portrait, Philip is seen clad in black with a greyish-white collar, against an olive-grey background; a quiet light bathes his countenance, thinning the shadows to the faintest veil; the face is firmly modelled in ivory and rose hues with redder touches for the ear and eyelids, the gleam in the blue-grey eyes as still as the highlights on the crimson lips. The broad outline of the shoulders adds to the quiet monumentality of the composition (plate *89*). Velázquez achieved in this portrait a sentient image of the King which was to remain his own, as even his latest portrait of Philip, painted some thirty years later, shows (plate *212*).

A full-length portrait of Philip IV and another of the Count of Olivares, painted by Velázquez in 1624, are extant. Both were commissioned, or at least paid for, by the widow of Don García Pérez de Araciel, Professor of Law at the University of Salamanca and a member of the Council of Castille. Ever since coming into power, Olivares had had Pérez

de Araciel at his elbow, having appointed him to some of the most demanding positions, such as the commission of judges instituted to investigate the conduct of the former Viceroy of Naples, the Duke of Osuna.[62]

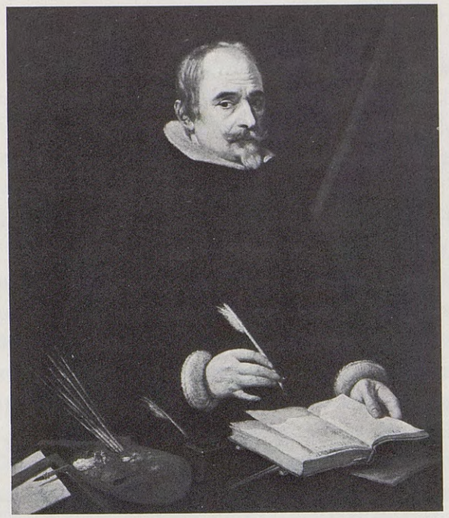
A document signed by Velázquez on 4 December 1624 shows that he had received from the widow of Pérez de Araciel a payment on account for the portraits of Philip IV, the Count of Olivares and the deceased professor.[63] Since the latter had died only a few months earlier, it might be that he rather than his widow had commissioned the three portraits, of which only those of the King and his chief minister are known today.

It is unlikely that Philip IV would have sat for a portrait commissioned by a royal servant or his widow. It is more probable that Velázquez painted the head after the bust I have just discussed, while he used for the rest of the figure the full-length of 1623, now visible only under X-rays.

Unfortunately the portrait of Philip IV executed in 1624 has been restored here and there, notably about the face and in the background (plate *91*). Both eyes, particularly the left, have been redone to cover losses of pigment (plate *92*). Yet, it is still noticeable that Velázquez shaped the head and hands by dint of light with shading used most sparingly. The sitter, clad in black with greyish-white collar and cuffs, stands against a light background, the space around him built by the floor line and shadows and by the table in the middle distance. The quiet rhythm of the King's figure is underscored by the gold chain falling in a long curve from his shoulder and by the badge of the Golden Fleece hanging from a black ribbon. There is no emphasis on his natural characteristics; his kingly power is embodied in an effortless gesture, one hand on the sword hilt and the other holding a petition.

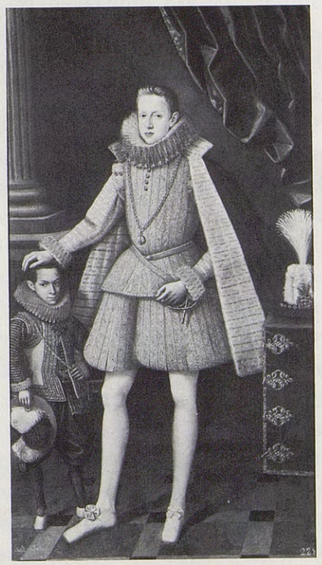
For a contrast, we may look at another full-length portrait, approximately of the same size, representing *Philip IV in parade armour*, probably painted as I have suggested elsewhere by Juan Bautista Maino, not before January 1623, when the King adopted the simple collar he is seen wearing, perhaps even sometime after 30 August of that year, when Velázquez' overwhelming success with his first likeness of Philip IV led to the thought, hardly to the decision, that only the young master should portray the King (plate **15**).

In this portrait, the blond Philip is seen in black, gold-inlaid full armour, with red at the edges of the main pieces. His face painted in grey and pink hues, he stands, baton in his right hand, against the red velvet curtain and the red-velvet-draped stand where his helmet rests. The brushwork is smooth throughout the whole composition, and the highlights, whether on the subject's face, the armour, or the drapes, bring about a soft sheen. The design of the armour, the folds of the drapes reaching the floor, the sitter's formal and yet animated pose, and the interplay between his idle left hand and his sword hilt, both dynamically shaped, imbue the composition with a brisk rhythm which binds together the figure of Philip IV and his royal attributes.[64] The contrast between these two portraits, both now at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, does reveal the originality of young Velázquez, who portrayed the person of the King in a casual pose, dispensing with outward signs of power, yet as the very embodiment of the majestic.



14. Vincencio Carducho, *Self-portrait*, 1633-35 (0.919 × 0.851 m), Glasgow, The Stirling Maxwell Collection, Pollok House. Courtesy of The Stirling Maxwell Collection.

15. Maino, *Philip IV in parade armour*, Mid-1620's (1.981 × 1.181 m), New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Courtesy of the Museum.



16. Villandrando, *Philip IV with the dwarf Soplillo*, 1619-20 (2.01 × 1.10 m), Madrid, Prado. Courtesy of the Museum.

In 1625 he achieved another resounding success at the Court with an equestrian portrait of Philip IV, then twenty. This portrait, painted entirely 'from nature, even the landscape', won praise from courtiers and poets and aroused envy among the painters, as Pacheco, who was then in Madrid, recorded. The King rewarded Velázquez with three hundred ducats plus a life annuity in the same amount, and allowed the portrait to be displayed at the favourite spot of the Madrilenian cognoscenti, a public walk across the convent of San Felipe.

That equestrian portrait is now lost. However, there is at the Prado Museum a bust portrait of *Philip IV in armour* painted by Velázquez, probably also about 1625, though he later repainted it. A radiograph reveals that, as originally executed, this portrait still represented the King with a round chin and a short neck (plates *102* and *103*).

Some years later, most likely between 1626 and 1628, Velázquez repainted the full-lengh portrait of the King which he had executed in August 1623 and which, as radiographs show, had been somewhat damaged. It was not a restoration, though, that Velázquez undertook. Rather, he repainted the whole composition, substantially altering the royal sitter's pose, introducing changes in his costume, and, more significantly, endowing him with distinctly different features, going even further in that than in the other likenesses of 1623–4 (plates *89* and *91*). In the resulting new portrait, there is no floor line and the sense of space is achieved by a subtle interplay of light and shade (plate *100*). The King's face and hands are unmarked by shadows or any natural flaw; his chin is somewhat pointed, and his neck quite elongated; the verticality of his figure has been enhanced by the change in his stance and the omission of the looped gold chain; yet his gesture is as effortless as in the earlier portrait.

As for the bust portrait of *Philip IV in armour*, which had also remained in the royal collection, Velázquez repainted it in much the same spirit and presumably about the same time, making the King's chin pointed and his neck elongated; he also added a red scarf across the King's armour. The brushwork texture of this scarf, made of vivid highlights and a variety of red hues, underscores the rose tones of the sovereign's face and the serene light that bathes it (plate *103*).

In the bust portrait of 1623 or 1624, as well as in the full-length of the latter year, Velázquez had still depicted Philip's chin as round and his neck as short (plates *89* and *91*). Yet, in those painted after 1624, he made the King's chin look somewhat pointed and his neck long (plates *100* and *103*). This appears more obvious if one compares the portrait of 1626–8 with either of those of 1623–4 since in all three the King wears identical collars and his face is seen from the same point of view (plates *89*, *91* and *100*).[65]

Similar devices had been used for the purpose of improving the sitter's appearance long before Velázquez' time. For him, they became another means to refine the likeness of the King out of the accidental and the accessory. Flattery could hardly have been his motive, as he had won his first and astonishing success at the Court precisely with a true-to-life likeness of Philip which was praised to the utmost by the King himself, Olivares and all the courtiers. Moreover, if the portraits of Philip IV executed throughout the years by other painters,

even in the workshop of Velázquez, are any indication, the prevailing taste at the Court continued to favour likenesses of the King which were truer to life than those that came from Velázquez' hand — a preference that Philip himself seemingly came to share in his melancholy last years. As it happened, Velázquez always left it for his assistants to meet that taste.

Diego de Saavedra Fajardo (1584-1648), a leading intellectual who was rather keen on the matter of artistic creation and on the 'idea' of the monarch and the monarchy, described an imaginary city where artists, mostly from the past, were seen at work. Only two artists then living were included, Bernini and Velázquez. Bernini was seen in the act of completing the statue of Daphne being changed into a laurel tree — which kept the viewer in suspense, waiting for the bark to entirely cover the nymph's body and for the wind to stir the leaves into which her hair was turned. As for Velázquez, he was portraying Philip IV, endowing the likeness of the King with such a graceful air and achieving so compelling an expression of the 'majestic and the august' in the depiction of the face that Saavedra felt overwhelmed and knelt down, lowering his eyes, in an act of reverence. The fictional episode reflected a deep-seated sentiment. It was not uncommon, indeed, for some of the best minds of the time to regard the King as a quasi divine person, as a 'deity' or 'Vicegod on earth' as it was occasionally said.[66] Velázquez' portraits of Philip IV suggest that he shared that view.

Other portraits

The portrait of the Count of Olivares painted by Velázquez in 1624 at the same time and for the same person as the portrait of Philip IV standing has also come down to us. They differ from one another in the sitter's pose, and even more in the painter's depiction of mien and costume (plates *91* and *92*). Both sitters are clad in black; yet Olivares' dress, contrary to the King's, is sharply highlighted. His corpulent figure is made rather ponderous by the vivid display of the red cross of Calatrava, the heavy gold chain, drawn firmly across the chest — instead of falling in the light curve of the King's — and the other symbols of his high offices, the key of the Lord of the Bedchamber and the spurs of the Master of the Royal Horse, dangling from his belt. His forceful gesture emphasizes the mundane nature of his power, as his left hand rests on the sword hilt under the weight of the cloak draped on the shoulder, and the right one upon the table top — the fingers curved over the edge. Though the head has been somewhat damaged, the portrait still is impressive. The light that falls on the face, leaving the left side in shadow, brings forth Olivares' reality of appearance without relieving it of the accidental.

The indicated differences between these two companion portraits are so obvious that they have led some scholars to cast doubts on the authenticity of one or the other, or even of both pictures. Such doubts arise from the idle assumption that Velázquez' sense of composition and handling of pigment was unvaried within any one given time, and that

such dissimilarities in execution as are noticeable between any two paintings bearing his name are evidence either that they were painted at different periods, or that at least one of them is not by his hand. Assumptions of this kind, often made in relation to great masters, overlook the complexity of a creative artist's work and lead to conclusions which are not more convincing for the simplicity of argument to which they lend themselves. In the case of Velázquez, available data make such simplifications untenable.

Dissimilarities in execution appear quite early in Velázquez' art, and are apparent not only in companion pieces, such as *The Immaculate Conception* and *St. John writing the Apocalypse*, but also within one single picture, as in *The adoration of the Magi* (plates *69*, *70* and *71*). Rather than being disconcerting, such dissimilarities reveal the freedom and consistency of Velázquez' work. He made use of dissimilarities in the treatment of light and shade, or in the quality of the brushwork, for various expressive purposes, often to emphasize the artistic reality of the images that he put on canvas. He consistently used them to express the polarity of the human and the divine or the contrast that he saw between the King as the embodiment of a divine right and the King's minister as the personification of worldly power.

As in the portrait of Olivares, Velázquez used contrast of light and shade to accent the peculiarities of appearance of the unidentified *Young man*, datable to approximately the same time (plate *88*).

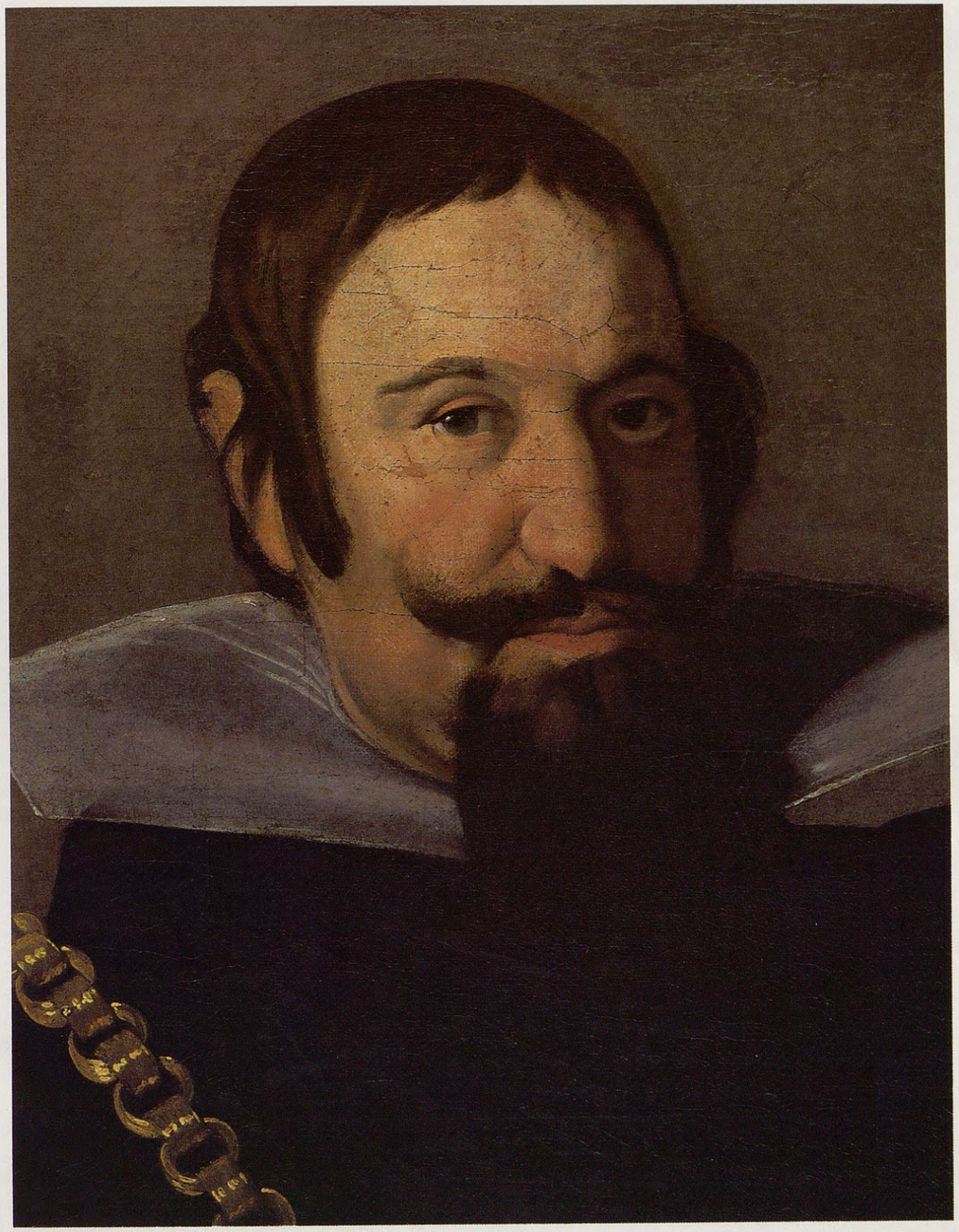
About, 1628, when Velázquez re-made his early full-length portrait of Philip IV (plate *100*), he portrayed the Infante Don Carlos, who was two years younger than his brother, the King. The portrait of the Infante, though, is quite different from that of the monarch: the light on his face is intermingled with shadows which make somewhat weightier his character traits, and highlights make vivid the wrinkles and textural qualities of his black costume and gold bandolier, as with a worldly gesture he nonchalantly holds a glove in his right hand and his hat in his left (plate *101*).

As shall be seen, the differences I have been illustrating between Velázquez' depiction of the person of the King and that of other sitters, including the Infante Don Carlos, runs through the whole of his art, and only a cursory viewer can skip them or explain them away as casual or without significance.

The crucial years

By his appointment in 1623 as salaried titular painter to the King, the twenty-four-year old Velázquez joined the exclusive company of three painters who were at least double his age and who had achieved recognition in the preceding reign: Bartolomé González (1564–1627), Vincencio Carducho (1570–1638), and Eugenio Caxés (baptized on 10 January 1574 – d. 1634).

Bartolomé González had mainly been engaged in painting portraits of royal persons; though older in years than either Carducho or Caxés, he was more attuned to the times,



Velázquez, *Count-Duke of Olivares* (detail). 1624.
Catalogue No. 30.
Reproduced by courtesy of the Museo de Arte, São Paolo.

for he had grown up in the live Titianesque tradition of his master, Juan Pantoja de la Cruz (1553–1608), and had later been attracted to Caravaggism (plate **8**). Carducho and Caxés had been trained in the taste and routine of mannerism, which had ceased to be a creative attitude before they could be fullfledged atists. Like other painters of their background, in Spain and elsewhere in Europe, they groped or forged ahead into the new taste by casting naturalist images, usually as secondary counterthrusts, within the linear framework of their compositions.

Velázquez' success at the Court had been based on his mastery as a portrait painter. His *bodegones* though were also admired in Madrid. According to Pacheco, Velázquez' 'forceful example' had led other painters to paint *bodegones*; indeed, Pacheco himself had felt compelled to paint a *bodegón* piece when he was in Madrid in 1625.

Velázquez thought very highly of his painting of *The waterseller*. Don Juan de Fonseca, who owned it, died in Madrid early in 1627, leaving a sizeable number of paintings which Velázquez appraised at the request of the heirs on 28 January. The portrait that Velázquez had painted of his early protector was not among them. Included though was *The waterseller*, which Fonseca had acquired from his protegee, perhaps as a gift.

Velázquez appraised *The waterseller* at four hundred *reales*, higher than any other painting in the collection. It was bought by Don Gaspar de Bracamonte, another of the courtiers instrumental in securing Velázquez' early success, for a lesser amount, three hundred and thirty *reales*, which however, was equalled only by two anonymous portraits, one of the King and the other of the Cardinal Infante Don Fernando, and surpassed by no painting in the sale.[67]

As Pacheco saw it, Velázquez had achieved a 'true imitation' of nature in both his *bodegones* and his portraits. Vincencio Carducho, however, looked down on *bodegones* and naturalist portraits as not quite proper subjects for Painting. He very likely had Velázquez' works in mind when he chastised men of letters, art lovers and wealthy individuals who praised, and paid high prices for, paintings which faithfully imitated everything, cloth, linen, 'the pitcher, the knife, the bench, the loaf of bread, the fruit', animals and even rational man — all done without the benefit of intellectual labor, reflective drawing or study.[68]

Carducho's ideas on art did not appear in print till 1634; yet, they must have been widely known in Madrid in the mid-1620's that is, when Velázquez came to the fore as a Court painter. Indeed, Carducho who, as a writer on art, hovered inconclusively between the mannerist doctrine, learned in his youth, and the baroque concepts which he seems to have acquired from some of his literary friends, embodied in his book the crosscurrents of faded convictions, persistent routines, vested interests and carping recognition which were in Velázquez' way and which, from all we know, he just ignored.

One of the main aims of Carducho's *Diálogos de la Pintura* was to prove that Painting was a liberal art, and that, consequently, painters ought to be exempted from taxation as had been argued, by El Greco among others, since early in the century, and as Carducho, Angelo Nardi, Eugenio Caxés and other painters requested the proper authorities to

acknowledge as a matter of law in 1625. Apparently, Velázquez was not among the petitioners.[69] In 1629, Carducho brought out in book form, under the title *Memorial informatorio por los pintores*, seven briefs written in support of the painters' claim by authors of varying literary persuasions, including Lope de Vega (1562–1635), one of the outstanding literary figures of the time. In the *Diálogos*, Carducho reprinted those briefs as an appendix, which also included the decision rendered by the Royal Council of Finance on 11 January 1633, granting the exception requested by Carducho and his fellow petitioners; facing the text of the decision there was an endpiece that exalted theoretic knowledge as requisite to the *act* of painting — an act regarded by some as purely manual and, hence, as a valid objection to the inclusion of Painting among the liberal arts.

Diálogos de la Pintura has the appearance of a collective undertaking, even though the main body of the book, eight *dialogues*, is undoubtedly the work of Carducho. A poem by one of his friends is printed at the end of each dialogue, except the first, and there is after every one of them an engraving with an allegory of Painting. Both the poems and the engraved allegories bear on matters which the corresponding dialogue also touches upon, sometimes just in passing.

Carducho makes no claim to the design or invention of any of the engravings in the book; it is, indeed, likely that some of the men of letters who contributed poems or essays to the *Diálogos*, as well as other learned men from his wide intellectual circle, made suggestions for the allegorical engravings.[70] Therefore, it is hard to guess what Carducho's contribution actually was to the ideas, some of them novel, embodied in the engravings. It should be born in mind that Carducho, like most mediocre people, was truer to his prejudices than to the ideas that he appropriated from others. For instance, he favoured the state and other types of formal portrait, in which conventional attributes made explicit the preeminence, deeds or achievements of the royal or otherwise illustrious sitter, and scorned portraits of ordinary men or women dressed or otherwise represented as if they belonged to a higher class, which in his view only the sitter's vanity and the painter's lack of self-esteem could explain. Thus, he portrayed himself as both painter and writer, pen in hand, the *Diálogos* open before him, an inkwell, a palette, brushes and other painter's instruments on his right, and a background curtain for decorum (plate **14**).

Carducho found particularly aggravating the naturalist portrayal of lowly people which he lumped together with paintings of *bodegones* and like subjects such as topplers, ruffians, *pícaros* or hussies.[71]

It is likely that Pacheco, during his stay at Madrid in 1624–6, discussed such matters with his 'intimate' Vincencio Carducho, who was his junior by six years.[72] If so, Pacheco's clearheaded understanding of the new artistic trends — which led him to paint a *bodegón* precisely then — must have been disconcerting to Carducho — all the more so since both painters were equal in their admiration for Michelangelo and Raphael, and the two were equally articulate and well-read on artistic matters.

Seven or eight years later, the *Diálogos de la Pintura* would betray Carducho's realization that his most cherished ideas about art had become past history, even if it was a

history to which hardly any one would take exception. To him, Michelangelo remained unsurpassed as a painter, particularly in point of drawing, and Titian, though not as great an artist, still deserved to be called the master of colour *(dueño de los colores)*. These views, rather close to Pacheco's, were not likely to meet with sharp disagreement, not even among those who shared El Greco's opinion of Michelangelo qua painter. On the other hand, Carducho's fear that the art of painting might be rapidly declining was obviously not widespread. Indeed, there was a general feeling of gratification at the fact that 'some modern' painters, to use Carducho's own words, 'excelled' in the live depiction of landscapes, fruits, animals and like subjects which the old masters regarded as of 'little consequence'.[73] Still more, the naturalist portrait that heightened the actual appearance of the sitter without making it conform to an idea of beauty or decorum was acclaimed as a telling expression of the superiority of art over nature.

I have discussed at some length Carducho's ideas because he cut a figure in the Madrid art world of the mid-1620's, when he and other painters of his persuasion regarded Velázquez as an upstart who ought to be checked. Indeed, in 1625, Velázquez' success reached a peak with his equestrian portrait of Philip IV, now lost, and aroused envy among the painters at Madrid, as Pacheco noted, adding that he had been a witness to the fact.

This animus, which turned the mid-1620's into Velázquez' crucial years, came to a head in 1627 when, at Philip IV's command three of his four salaried painters, Carducho, Caxés, and Velázquez, plus Angelo Nardi — probably filling in for the fourth, Bartolomé González, apparently ill — painted each 'a large canvas with the portrait of Philip III and the unexpected expulsion of the Moriscos' decreed by him in 1609.

Angelo Nardi (1584-mid-1660's) was born in Florence, but spent seven formative years in Venice, from 1600 till 1607, when he went to Madrid where he established his workshop and became one more unsalaried 'painter to the King'.[74] He was the sort of uncreative fellow who, being as receptive to his elders' ideas as to those of the younger generation, is regarded as a promising man by nearly everyone while yet his work steadily blurs out of interest. The compositions which he had executed in Madrid up to the mid-1620's show his dependence on Titian's and other Venetian masters' works.

Philip IV appointed Juan Bautista Maino and the Roman architect Giovanni Battista Crescenzi as a two-man jury; both found Velázquez' picture superior to the others; the King agreed with their verdict and as a reward he appointed Velázquez Usher of the Chamber. It was the same position that six years earlier, shortly before Velázquez's first stay in Madrid, Philip IV had awarded to Rodrigo de Villandrando, distinguishing him above all the other Court painters. For Velázquez, it was the first in a long series of royal distinctions that he was to receive throughout his life. Philip was six years younger than Velázquez. In that year of 1627, both were in their twenties.

On 7 March 1627 Velázquez was sworn in; his new office, regarded by Pacheco as a great honour, entailed the use of a rent-free apartment and the services of a physician and of a chemist. It was, moreover, in the wake of that success that the Master was able to

reach a settlement with the treasury of the royal household which had been remiss in making the payments due to him. As it was finally worked out, in documents dated 18 and 27 Septembre 1628 and 8 February 1629, he was to receive a daily allowance of twelve *reales* in return for foregoing his claims and as payment for the 'original portraits' which the King might command him to paint.[75]

Nor was that all. According to Pacheco, Philip IV, who had several times promised to grant Velázquez' wish to visit Italy, was impelled by the painter's success in the 1627 competition to make good his promise. Velázquez, however, did not set out for Italy till July 1629, perhaps because he wanted first to have spelt out his settlement with the treasury, which took close to two years, perhaps too because he did not want to miss the impending visit of the famous Peter Paul Rubens to the Spanish Court.

Before the end of 1627 Velázquez clashed again with Carducho and Caxés. This time the issue was the position of salaried titular painter to the King left vacant by the death of Bartolomé González. There were twelve applicants for the position, and Carducho, Caxés and Velázquez were commanded to examine their qualifications and to submit a list of candidates in order of their merit. Van der Hamen, a friend of Carducho, was among the eight applicants unanimously excluded very likely because, in spite of his efforts at figure-composition, he was primarily considered a still-life painter and, as such, not really qualified for the position. Unanimously excluded too was Pedro de las Cuevas, whose major, and true, claim was his long experience as a teacher of drawing and painting.

Though Velázquez, Caxés and Carducho placed Antonio de Lanchares first, the wording of Caxés and Carducho's joint recommendation suggests that they rather favoured Félix Castelo, a former pupil of Carducho, whom they placed second, listing Angelo Nardi as their third choice and Pedro Núñez del Valle, then held to be a painter of promise, as the fourth. Velázquez wrote somewhat acidly that he had no knowledge of Castelo's competence, while he knew about Nardi's, whom he therefore listed as his second choice giving the third place to Castelo, and the fourth to Núñez del Valle.

Lanchares was certainly a better painter than either Nardi or Castelo (plate **11**). Actually though none of the three was worthy of an affirmative choice, and Philip IV whose sense of values was high when it came to art, decided not to fill the position for reasons of economy, adding that the same should be done whenever other positions of salaried painters became vacant since the stipends paid were of no use owing to the fact that the painters were still paid for every work they were commanded to do. There the matter rested till Lanchares' death in 1630. Less than a year later, early in 1631, Philip IV's appointed Velázquez' protegee, Nardi, though rather parsimoniously, to the vacant position which he still coveted. As for Carducho and Caxés, they kept losing ground with the King, who consistently denied their petitions, despite the open support lent to them by the corresponding royal office. Indeed, even though Caxés petitioned time and again for an appointment as Usher of the Chamber, pointing out that Philip IV had so honoured both Villandrando and Velázquez, his wish remained unfulfilled.[76]

Rubens at the Spanish Court

Rubens arrived at Madrid in August 1628. Even though he made this second trip to Spain in the political service of his sovereign, Philip IV, it was his personality as a painter which was to the fore at the Court. He brought with him eight of his own paintings for the King who had them hung in the 'new chamber' over the entrance hall of the Royal Palace among other outstanding pictures — one of which was Titian's allegory of Philipp II after the victory of Lepanto (Prado, No. 431). Then, since the political matters relative to the contemplated peace between the Catholic Spanish King and the Protestant monarch of England, who as Prince of Wales had been in Madrid a few years earlier, did not take much of his time, he gave himself to his art. He had been given a studio at the Royal Palace, where Philip IV often visited him, and it is safe to assume that Velázquez would not have missed the opportunity of seeing the famous master at work. Among the many paintings that Rubens executed either for the King or for private individuals, there were a considerable number of copies after Titian and quite a few portraits. Velázquez, with his admiration for Titian and his own mastery of portrait painting, must have been particularly interested in those facets of Rubens's art. This interest may even have been increased by the fact that Rubens painted no fewer than five portraits of Philip IV (plate **20**), as well as several of the Queen and other members of the Royal family.

In spite of the promise, if it was a promise, made by Olivares to Velázquez that he would be the only painter to portray Philip IV, the young master could not be jealous of the great Rubens. On the contrary, after his daily contacts with his hollow colleagues at the Court he must have found refreshing the challenge of the older master's works, success, and words.

We know from Pacheco,[77] who doubtless had it from his son-in-law himself, that during the nine months that Rubens stayed in Madrid he had hardly any contact with other artists, except Velázquez, with whom he had corresponded before, possibly in 1626 when the Fleming was instrumental in Paul Pontius's commission to engrave an allegorical portrait of Olivares after a likeness of the head by Velázquez. It was the young Court painter who accompanied Rubens to the Escorial — the visit to which had been paramount in Velázquez' mind when he left his native Seville for the first time. Pacheco also tells that the great Flemish master spoke favourably of his younger colleague's works.

In closing his encomium of Rubens, Pacheco praises 'the greatness, beauty and richness of his intellect', which shines in his paintings as the mainstay of his success with Kings and Princes, though, Pacheco explains, it is only the painter's own hand which truly helps him and which earns all the honours that he receives. These words probably reflect, or are a commentary on Velázquez' feelings about a painter's creative and social success that he saw embodied in Rubens and about which he is likely to have written to his father-in-law. The paragraph with which Pacheco closed his eulogy of Rubens significantly precedes his enthusiastic narrative of Velázquez' life. Yet, it is also significant that Velázquez' aims and achievements qua painter were then, and remained, clearly different from Rubens.

Of the portraits of Philip IV painted by Rubens at Madrid, Pacheco singles out for praise one showing the sovereign on horseback 'with other figures, very striking'. It depicted the twenty-two-year-old monarch on a chestnut horse, holding the baton in his hand; in the upper part, Faith was seen offering a wreath of laurel to him and holding a cross on a globe supported by two angels, while Divine Justice was hurling a thunderbolt at her enemies; on the ground an Indian, representing Philip IV's kingdoms in the New World, carried the royal helmet.

This allegorical portrait was greatly admired at the Court then and in later years. As for Velázquez, he went on representing the person of Philip IV as the quintessence of kingly power, dispensing with what was doubtless to him the redundancy of allegory — and in doing so he won acclaim too.

Velázquez' admiration for Rubens's creative power and resplendent success had a short-lived impact on his work, noticeable in *Bacchus* and *Democritus*, both painted in 1628–9 (plates *108* and *110*). These two paintings appear to be consistent with *Head of a stag*, a fragment of a painting, restored in some spots, possibly executed somewhat earlier; in it Velázquez used rough impasto to achieve a sweeping contour line that makes the animal's head stand out as a dynamic shape against a grey blue sky (plate *95*). It is nevertheless likely that, as Velázquez came to realize the unfettered aim of Rubens' copies after Titian, his own response to the Venetian master's handling of pigment, light and space grew warmer and freer, as can be surmised from the pictorial handling of the wraps about Bacchus' loin.

True-to-life and conceptual traits

On 22 July 1629 Philip ordered that Velázquez — he had just formally granted him leave to go to Italy — be paid one hundred ducats for 'a picture of Bacchus that he has done on my service' (plate *110*). Obviously the painting had been delivered by the artist after 9 February of that year when he agreed to the financial settlement covering all the works he had painted for the King up to that date. It is likely, however, that he had started work on so large a composition much earlier, probably some time in 1628.

Since about 1828 the prevailing view has been that this work, known as 'the painting of Bacchus' in Velázquez' day, depicts an actual event which calls for a title such as 'The Drinkers' or the like. That of *The triumph of Bacchus in burlesque*, recorded by Palomino in 1724, reflected a real understanding of the painting and was certainly more apt. In more recent times the discussion of the picture has been rather unrewarding probably on account of the idle points on which it has centred. The point has, for instance, been made that, though the composition with its nine life-size figures is an open-air scene, it was painted in the artist's studio rather than on the slopes of the Guadarrama Mountains, at

Velázquez, *Bacchus*. 1628.
Catalogue No. 41.
Reproduced by courtesy of the Prado Museum.

some distance from Madrid. The question has also been raised whether it represents a Flemish fête, which Rubens would have described to Velázquez, or some popular scene that he happened upon. Moreover, the variety in the handling of various figures has been taken as evidence that Velázquez did each one separately, the corollary being that he failed to bring about a sense of impressionist unity — a kind of unity which, I may interpolate, was alien to Velázquez' art, much as the Impressionist painters were to admire him. The suggestion has also been made that such differences in handling argue in favour of the assumption that Velázquez partly repainted the composition after his return from Italy in 1631.

Before proceeding further it must be said that the picture was damaged in the fire that gutted the Royal Palace in 1734; as a result, the composition darkened considerably and unevenly; the canvas was, moreover, cut down on the sides. The vine-crowned man sitting in the foreground to the left has been blurred into a brown shape that hardly fulfils its intended repoussoir function; it fails to add to the dynamic intercrossing of diagonals, now mainly supported by the man being crowned and the nude youth holding a glass. This intercrossing of diagonals underscores the heads of Bacchus and of the hatted drinker as two off-centre focal points; it also builds a unifying rhythm which runs from the roomy area where the god officiates, across the huddle of tosspots, up to the standing beggar — identified as such by his open palm — at the back of the group.

As the reveller clad in a yellow jacket and dark breeches kneels in a communion-like pose by a brown earthen jug and a greenish glass, his face sinks away in shadows under the vine wreath which Bacchus is crowning him with. Blotches of shadow make more clodlike both the flabby god and his soft-muscled nude attendant. Similar shadows and rather rougher impasto emphasize the grimacing features of the four carousers bunched together on the other side, in contrast to the face of the standing beggar which Velázquez has just shadowed forth. The composition is made the more dynamic by the lusty counterpoise of the vine-crowned Bacchus to the toper in the shapeless hat, and by the white bowl of red wine, which by its vivid textures and reflections marks another centre, and an intense one, in the *bodegón*-like composition.

The picture is, of course, a baroque, double-edged parody of the world of the fable and of sinful human ways, and the laugh is made heartier, healthier, and pregnant, as the clowning tosspots vie in their bearing with the loutish nudes of Bacchus and his attendant; the underlying religious sentiment is keyed to the figure of the beggar who, lightly sketched, looms in the background over the drunkards who ignore him.

The virtue of Charity, then readily identified with alms-giving, almost invariably led the Catholic mind to the contemplation of the Cross where Jesus shed His blood for the redemption of Mankind. In Velázquez burlesque of Bacchus and his soulless fellows, the beggar is made to underplay his part in a pithy baroque manner, while the false god emphasizes his, as does his counterfigure, the drunkard, who holds up a bowl, his dull senses still responsive to the wine's pungency, his mind obviously blank to its symbolic meaning, Eucharistic or otherwise.

There is no need to suppose that Velázquez made sketchier or less distinct the figure of the beggar, or any other, after he returned from Italy, for, as we shall see, about 1629, when he was paid for this painting, a perceptive mind's eye discerned 'distant blobs of colour' as particularly significant in Velázquez' art, a view which could hardly have been limited to this painting.

Two Velázquez' religious compositions are roughly datable to the late 1620's, before his departure for Italy. Both show similarities in point of execution with the painting of *Bacchus*, from which at the same time they differ, in point of execution too, owing to their explicit religious intent.

In *The Supper at Emmaus*, representing the moment when Christ breaks the bread and His divine nature is revealed to His astonished companions, Velázquez once more rendered the difference between the divine and the human. Luminous tints and smooth brushwork model the figure of Jesus, whose humanity, which connotes His humility, is expressed by weightless shadows on the faint rose tones of His face; a rosy glare that lits up His pink tunic sets Him apart as an unearthly presence from the reality of His gesturing companions, whose coppery-brown flesh tones harmonize with the yellows, dusky browns and darkish blue of their surroundings and heavily-textured costumes. The natural characteristics of age and expression are depicted on the disciples' faces, modelled by energetic strokes and shadows though without the heavy impasto which weighs down the visages of the topers — one of whom, incidentally, resembles the disciple in the background (plates *110* and *111*).

Christ after the flagellation contemplated by the Christian Soul appears to have been painted by Velázquez also before leaving for Italy, probably some time between 1626 and 1628. The torso of Jesus, with His arms stretched toward the column, and that of *Bacchus*, with his hands extended to the kneeling reveller, are rather alike in execution and shape; both, markedly curved at the back, are modelled by a similar interplay of light and shade (plates *98* and *110*). However, contrary to Bacchus, Christ looks monumental in relation to the other figures in the composition, the Christian Soul and the guardian angel. Velázquez has achieved a subtle depiction of the humanity of Christ as the measure of both His humility and the immensity of His sacrifice. The readiness with which the Redeemer submits to torture and humiliation is not lessened either by the rope which ties His hands together or by the blood, a vivid red, which drops from His body and limbs to the ground. The harmonious rhythm that pervades Jesus's serene face, shackled arms and sprawling legs has as a foil the nervous modelling of the plaintive Christian Soul.

It is worth underlining that about 1628 Velázquez painted out the true-to-life likeness of Philip IV with which he had won his signal success of 1623, and substituted for it, on the same canvas, a new image of the King, making his roundish chin somewhat pointed, elongating his short neck, and depicting his face and hands as luminous shapes. This image of Philip IV was to remain Velázquez' own. Indeed, no other painter seems to have grasped it, and certainly none imitated it. As already noted, in the portrait of the Infante

Velázquez, *Philip IV*. About 1628-9.
Catalogue No. 36.
Reproduced by courtesy of the Prado Museum.

Don Carlos, also of 1628, Velázquez accented somewhat the interplay of light and shade on the face (plate *101*).

Francisco de Quevedo (1580–1645), a most uncompromising intellectual, who had a wide wordly experience, acquired in Italy and in Spain, an extraordinarily broad knowledge and a penchant for contemplation, wrote, apparently in 1629, two or more drafts for a poem, *The brush*, which he left unfinished. In one of the drafts he praised Velázquez' skill and intellectual gift to enliven the beautiful and to imbue human flesh with meaning by 'distant blobs of colour' which 'are truth', not likeness, in his depiction of sentiments:

... el gran Velázquez ha podido,
diestro cuanto ingenioso,
ansí animar lo hermoso,
ansi dar a lo mórbido sentido
con las manchas distantes
que son verdad en él, no semejantes,
si los afectos pinta;[78]

For all we know, Quevedo was the first to see, or at least to say, that Velázquez' naturalism did not merely aim at the by then familiar true-to-life likeness, and that, indeed, he could endow his vivid depiction of the human figure with conceptual traits.

The painter's Italian journey

In August 1629 Velázquez left for Italy preceded by letters of recommendation to the Spanish ambassadors in the states he wast to visit.[79] The King had three hundred ducats advanced to him on account for paintings not yet completed, and ordered that he should continue to receive all his emoluments for the duration of his absence, the length of which was not even indicated. The Count-Duke of Olivares secured a royal order by which Don Juan de Velilla, Secretary of State, requested the ambassadors from the Italian states in Madrid to provide Velázquez with passports and letters of recommendation. The request was complied with, not without some apprehension that the true aim of the painter's visit to Italy might be espionage. The suspicion probably arose from the knowledge that Velázquez' position at the Court was, in point of fact, far superior to what his office of Usher of the Chamber would suggest; the young painter was not only a favourite of the King, who often watched him painting, but of the King's chief minister as well; he was, moreover, sailing with the famous General Spínola, who had been appointed governor of the State of Milan and was to take command of the Spanish armies in Italy. If the petty ambassadors suspected, as they might have been expected to do, that politics rather than art was the true aim of Velázquez' trip to their lands, they were at least aware that it was as a portrait-painter that he was well known, and so they wrote in their cautious dispatches.

Landing at Genoa on 19 September, Velázquez proceeded a few days later to Milan, probably still in the company of Spínola; he then set out for Venice, presumably making a halt at Verona, to whose *Capitano*, or politico-military chief, he had a letter of introduction.

In Venice he stayed at the home of the Spanish ambassador, Don Cristobal de Benavente y Benavides. Since there was unrest in the city, where, moreover, Spaniards were then most unpopular, the ambassador ordered that some of his men should accompany his guest whenever he left the house to see the city. 'Leaving that unquietness', as Pacheco put it, Velázquez started with his servant on his way to Rome. The first stop was Ferrara, where he spent two days, and was extended many courtesies by the papal legate, Cardinal Giulio Sachetti, who had been nuncio in Spain. The Cardinal insisted that Velázquez should stay at the palace and have his meals with him, which the painter courteously declined on the excuse that he did not keep regular meal hours. Sachetti then assigned one of the Spanish gentlemen on his service to look after Velázquez, and to show him the things of major interest in the city.

The last evening of his stay Velázquez went to take leave of his host, who kept him for more than three hours, talking about various matters, and ordered the gentleman who had been attending Velázquez to accompany him the following day 'to a place called Cento' sixteen miles away. Velázquez' visit to Cento lasted only a little while; though he was 'very well entertained', he dismissed his guide, and decided to proceed immediately to Rome, through Bologna, where, however, he did no stop, not even to present the letters he had for the Archbishop, Cardinal Ludovico Ludovisi, and for the papal legate, Cardinal Bernardino Spada, though he understood that they were in the city.

It might be that, as some scholars have suggested, Velázquez visited Guercino at Cento:[80] it is, indeed, conceivable that Cardinal Giulio Sachetti, a patron of Guercino, would have induced, or prevailed upon, Velázquez to go to Cento for that purpose. If so, some significance ought to be attached to the fact that Pacheco, who undoubtedly follows Velázquez' own account of the journey, does not refer to Guercino either in this passage or anywhere else in his *Arte de la Pintura*. Guercino was then carrying on 'an extremely successful mail-order business in large altar-pieces', as has been aptly said.[81] The thought occurs that Velázquez, whose aims and achievements as a painter, to say nothing of his vital purpose, differed essentially from Guercino's, might have found that the latter overbuilt his compositions and that his brushstroke was jejune. This might have had some bearing on his decision not to visit Cardinals Spada and Ludovisi, since the latter, like Sachetti, was an admirer of Guercino.

It is most likely that he stopped at Florence as he had intended to do when he secured letters of introduction from Averardo Medici, Florentine ambassador in Madrid, a protocol-minded individual whose main concern, according to a dispatch that he wrote on 22 September 1629, was that Velázquez, the 'favourite painter' of both Philip IV and Olivares, should not be treated with either too much or too little courtesy. It is probably to this stay in Florence that Don Gaspar de Fuensalida referred in 1658.[82]

In Rome, where he was to stay for about a year, Velázquez was lodged in the Vatican Palace; he was given the keys to several rooms, the main one of which was decorated in fresco by Federico Zuccaro. There is no indication though that the Pontiff, Urban VIII, or anyone at the Papal court, showed any particular interest in his work. Finding that lodging too lonely and out-of-the-way he left it, first assuring himself, however, that the Vatican guards would let him in without difficulty whenever he wished to return to draw after Michelangelo's *Last Judgment* or Raphael's works. And he spent a good many days so occupied.

Pacheco's statement that his son-in-law left his lodging at the Vatican Palace because it was out-of-the-way and he did not wish to be so lonely, reveals that Velázquez enjoyed city life and intercourse with other people. It is well documented that throughout his life he won the friendship of a good many men who, by reason of background, profession and social station, must have been rather discriminating in their choice of friends.

Much as he cared for city life, however, he feared the heat of the Roman summer. Hence late in April 1630, he set eyes on the Villa de' Medici, thinking that it would be a convenient place to spend the summer, for it had a high and breezy location and a good many antique statues, from which he could study, adorned its walls, and gardens. The Spanish ambassador, the Count of Monterrey — Olivares's brother-in-law — took care of the matter, and within a few days, on 4 May, the reply came that a room had been made available for Velázquez at the villa. For more than two months he stayed there, most likely glad of the opportunity to study antique sculpture, which he had learned to admire in his Sevillian days, by copying from the fine pieces he had at hand, among them reliefs from the Ara Pacis, and the Niobe and Niobide now at the Uffizi. Unfortunately all these drawings are lost, as are most of the many that Velázquez made throughout his life.

It was an illness, a tertian fever, that forced the painter to move down into the city, near the residence of the Count of Monterrey, who did him many kindnesses, providing him with the services of his own physician, as well as with medicines, and sending him sweets and specially cooked meals; the Count, moreover, frequently sent someone from his own household to call on the sick painter.

From Pacheco's narrative, it appears that, while at Rome, Velázquez made 'studies' for the most part, one of them being 'a famous self-portrait'. It is also known that the Countess of Monterrey, on the advice of her brother, the Count-Duke of Olivares, had her portrait painted by Velázquez. Neither of these portraits has been convincingly identified among the Master's extant works.

On his way back to Spain he made a halt at Naples where his older fellow-countryman, José de Ribera (1591–1652), was the outstanding painter. The sister of the Spanish monarch, the Infanta María, had stopped at the vice-regal court in April, and stayed there till 18 December, when she resumed her journey to Hungary where she was to join her husband, Ferdinand III, whom she had married by proxy at Madrid. Velázquez made a portrait of her to be taken back to Philip IV (plate *123*).

The painter must have left Naples around the same time as the Infanta, about 18 December, for he was in Madrid in January 1631. The Count-Duke of Olivares

received him cordially. He ordered him to go at once to kiss the hand of His Majesty and thank him, for Philip had not let himself be portrayed by another painter during Velázquez's absence and had waited for him to paint the first portrait of Prince Baltasar Carlos, born shortly after the painter's departure for Italy.

Titian's greatness and Velázquez' freedom

Of the works painted by Velázquez in Italy, Pacheco mentions only 'a famous self-portrait', now lost, and the 'fine portrait' of the Infanta María (plate *123*). Palomino, writing early in the eighteenth century, adds that the Master painted at Rome in 1630 both *The forge of Vulcan* and *Joseph's bloody coat* (plates *113* and *117*). Palomino states further that Velázquez, in the days that he spent in Venice, made many drawings, especially from Tintoretto's large *Crucifixion*, at the Scuola di San Rocco, and that he painted a copy of another work by the same master, 'where Christ is depicted giving the communion to His disciples', possibly the one at the Scuola di San Rocco, too.

Velázquez had most likely been acquainted with Tintoretto's *Crucifixion* since his apprentice days, for Pacheco owned what he described as part of a preliminary cartoon for it, and was familiar with the whole composition from an engraving, probably the one made by Agostino Carracci in 1589. Pacheco admired the dexterity and daring of Tintoretto, whom, however, as he made clear, he could not recommend as an example to follow.

A painting of *The last supper* listed as by Velázquez in the inventory of the Madrid Royal Palace drawn up in 1666 by Mazo, the Master's son-in-law, may have been the copy after Tintoretto's painting which, according to Palomino, Velázquez presented to Philip IV, and which has not come down to us.

From what Pacheco reported, obviously on the basis of Velázquez' own account, and from what Palomino added, seemingly borrowing data collected in the 1650's by Alfaro, one of the Master's pupils, Velázquez spent a good deal of his time in Italy drawing or painting after old masters' works, particularly Tintoretto's, Raphael's and Michelangelo's, as well as trying his hand at 'studies' in oils. Pacheco mentioned only the subject of one of these studies, that 'famous self-portrait', painted 'in the manner of the great Titian', which, as he put it, he kept for the admiration of true connoisseurs and to the honour of art.

As Pacheco came to see it — most likely through Velázquez' eyes — Titian's greatness lay in his masterly use of sketchy strokes to achieve relief and depth by dint of light and shade. Velázquez used sketchy strokes in *The forge of Vulcan* and in *Joseph's bloody coat*, and more markedly in the two small studies of *Villa Medici*, probably painted during his summer stay there (plates *119* and *120*). In execution there is a similarity between these studies, which are fluidly painted with impasto used for luminous accents of form, and the landscapes in the two large compositions, particularly the one in *The forge of Vulcan*.

Velázquez, *The forge of Vulcan*. 1630.
Catalogue No. 44.
Reproduced by courtesy of the Prado Museum.

In both *The forge of Vulcan* and *Joseph's bloody coat*, there is a live contrast between well-drawn figures and those shaped as blobs. Such contrast exists also in *Bacchus*, painted earlier in Madrid (plate *110*). There are, however, outstanding differences between the works executed by Velázquez before his Italian journey and those which he painted in Rome. In these, indeed, the space is deeper and the colouring richer in hues and glow. Another difference brings tantalizingly to mind Velázquez' lost studies after Raphael, whom he later came to dislike: the proportion of the human figure in both *Joseph's bloody coat* and *The forge of Vulcan* is more slender than in either *Bacchus* or *Christ after the flagellation*, painted by Velázquez before he left Madrid (plates *98* and *110*). This is also the case with *Christ on the Cross*, datable to about 1632, shortly after the Master's return from Italy (plate *139*).

It would be idle to try to retrace Velázquez' thoughts as his mind's eye ran through Raphael's and Michelangelo's works and seized upon Titian's brushstroke. Since his apprentice days he had been approaching the confrontation which took place in the Vatican when he started drawing from Michelangelo's and Raphael's frescoes. Pacheco, true to his convictions, must have advised his young apprentice to take the path of Michelangelo, Raphael and their followers as the way to master drawing and to achieve smoothness, beauty, profundity, and power of expression. He must also have warned him against the sort of sketchy and indistinct painting which, as he wrote, imitates neither the manner of the ancients nor the truth of nature.

It was in Madrid that the young master learned to admire Titian's and other Venetian masters' works. This admiration was necessarily heightened as he saw the enthusiasm and freedom with which Rubens made copies after Titian's works at the Spanish Court, and later by the copies after Tintoretto that he himself made at Venice. In Rome, he finally faced the achievements of Raphael and Michelangelo, whose greatness had been impressed on him, and came to grips with them. It is a thousand pities that the drawings he then made are lost, for they might have revealed to us the interplay of his understanding of those great masters and his own creative disposition.

Another grievous loss is that of the self-portrait painted by Velázquez at Rome in 1630 'in the manner of the great Titian'. It must have been significantly different in execution from the 'fine portrait' of *Infanta Maria*, which he painted probably later the same year (plate *123*).

Scholars of various persuasions have commented that the modelling of the *Infanta María's* well-drawn face is somewhat dry, though her blond hair is fluidly painted,[83] a contrast of the kind which can also be found in the larger and more elaborate compositions of 1630, *The forge of Vulcan* and *Joseph's bloody coat*, neither of which could, of course, be described as painted in the manner of Titian, in spite of the sketchy passages common to both. Pacheco was a discerning connoisseur; hence his characterisation of Velázquez' self-portrait as a Titianesque masterpiece confirms that the quality of Velázquez' brushwork was not invariably uniform at any one period, not even at any one year, of his creative life.

Either while in Italy or soon after his return to Spain, Velázquez must have written to Pacheco of his enthusiasm for Titian, whom he very likely regarded as the stem of creative freedom. As some of Velázquez' works painted in the early and mid-1630's reveal, it was after his return to Madrid that his kinship with Titian became more noticeable. It was, however, as his paintings also reveal, a vital kinship that precluded imitation; that, in fact, quickened the sense of individual creation.

The return to the Court: Work, chores and rewards

Soon after his return to Madrid, Velázquez began to work on the portrait of *Prince Baltasar Carlos,* which the King had been waiting for him to paint and that he finished in March 1631 (plate *126*). Sometime later, in 1631–2, he repainted entirely a portrait of *Queen Isabel* which he had painted before leaving for Italy, modifying the costume and the hairdo in accordance with the new fashion of the day (plate *130*). He also painted in those years, probably over an extended period of time, the full-length of *Philip IV* in brown and silver (plate *127*).

Portraits of the sovereigns and other royal persons, in great demand among people of various social stations, were sold at painters' and dealers' shops, as well as on the streets and in other public places. Most of them were, of course, perfunctory works, copies of copies, so many steps removed from the original that they neither bore a resemblance to the sitter nor showed any sense of royal decorum. One of Velázquez' occasional chores as a Court painter was to determine whether they were offensive on either point.

In October, 1633, Velázquez and his colleague, Carducho, had to view over eighty such portraits confiscated from various painters, whose names are recorded, though with no lasting claim to attention. They let twelve of the portraits pass, and recommended that the others be returned to their painters, instructing them to erase and paint anew the heads of the sitters in every one, as well as the rest of the figure in a few. A portrait of Philip IV was singled out as particularly offensive because it represented the King wearing green breeches and hose.

Don Jerónimo de Villanueva, Protonotary of the Kingdom of Aragon, stated in 1634 that Velázquez had received several payments, totalling one thousand ducats, for the following eighteen pictures acquired for Philip IV: 'Cambiaso's *Susannah*, an original by Bassano, Titian's *Danae*, the picture of *Joseph*, the picture of *Vulcan*, five flower pieces, four small landscapes, two *bodegones*, a portrait of *Our Lord, the Prince*, and another of *Our Mistress, the Queen*'.

The listings 'the picture of *Joseph*' and 'the picture of *Vulcan*' sound as if they referred to wellknown, readily identifiable works. As is generally held, they can only be *Joseph's bloody coat* and *The forge of Vulcan*, which, according to Palomino, Velázquez painted in Rome.

As for the portraits of the Prince, that is, Baltasar Carlos, and the Queen, they probably were replicas or workshop copies after Velázquez' originals. Indeed, according to the terms of the royal order of 9 February 1629, meant for the benefit of the painter, he was to receive no payment in addition to his regular emoluments for the 'original portraits' which the King might command him to paint. It is improbable that the Protonotary of Aragon would have bought original portraits of the Queen and the Prince for the King, together with sixteen sundry pictures, just to get round a royal order which, needless to say, was not too binding on the monarch.

The pictures had been evaluated by Francisco de Rioja — whom we know as a friend of both Pacheco and Velázquez. Cruzada held that one thousand ducats for a group of paintings, which included a 'masterpiece by Titian' was a rather paltry sum. Yet, if we read carefully, it is notable that the one painting mentioned as 'original' is Bassano's and it would appear that the references to the Cambiaso and the Titian are to copies.

As Cruzada himself pointed out, Velázquez was often paid under one hundred ducats, in addition to his regular emoluments, for pictures executed for the King. Consequently, one thousand ducats for the lot, though not a generous price, would not be an unusual one if one realizes: first, that, apart from two, or perhaps four, paintings by Velázquez, the lot included only one original work, by one of the Bassani, which was probably not regarded as exceptional, since its title or subject is not mentioned; secondly, that, as we shall presently see, it is unlikely that any of the other pictures was by any well-known master; and finally, that at least half of them — five flower-pieces and four small landscapes — would at the time have commanded low prices on account of their subject or size.

The possibility cannot be excluded that Velázquez himself made the copies of Cambiaso's and Titian's works, perhaps while in Italy. One of Titian's *Danae*, now in the Naples Museum, was then in the Collection Farnese in Rome, and another had been in the Spanish royal collection since the 1550's (Prado Museum).[84] Yet, as neither of the copies is extant, and the pertaining document is unclear, speculation on this point would be idle.

As for the five flower-pieces, it is safe to assume that Velázquez had purchased, rather than painted, them for the King. Pacheco, writing at that time, regarded flower-pieces as a trifling subject, and cited only Van der Hamen as a painter who had succeeded in painting them with vigour and art. Had Velázquez painted flower-pieces, it is unlikely that Pacheco would not have mentioned it.

The four small landscapes and the two *bodegones* might have been Velázquez' works as far as subject matter is concerned, though of course they might as well have been by some other painter. It is in any case worth underlining that in the 1630's *bodegones*, whose validity as an art form Velázquez had so powerfully asserted, were in favour at the Spanish Court.

On 21 August 1633, Velázquez' fourteen-year-old daughter, Francisca, married Juan Bautista Martínez del Mazo, a painter about whom nothing is known before that date.

The wedding was at the church of Santiago in Madrid. As his daughter's dowry, Velázquez passed on to his son-in-law the position of Usher of the Chamber, which he had held for several years. The King's permission to do so had been preceded by granting to Velázquez the privilege of designating, for a financial consideration, an individual to be appointed constable of justice. At the time, there was an interdiction against this old lucrative privilege, but, after some legal quibbling, the interdiction was waived in favour of Velázquez with the stipulation that it would, however, remain in force for others.

The brushwork as the painter's medium

Five paintings datable to the time of Velázquez' 1629–31 Italian journey have come down to us: two large compositions, each including six figures, a colour sketch for one of these, and two small landscapes of *Villa Medici*. The large compositions, *Joseph's bloody coat* and *The forge of Vulcan*, have at least one of the models in common (plates *113* and *117*). There is no reason to conclude that they were intended as companion pieces nor that they were originally identical in size; there is moreover no indication that they ever hung in the same room.

In *Joseph's coat*, Velázquez cleared the space around the human figures by emphasizing the geometric pattern of the brown and white floor tiles, a perspective device that he used in just one other painting, the portrait of the jester *Don Juan de Austria*, painted soon after his return to Madrid (plate *146*). Gerstenberg has plausibly suggested that this perspective rendition closely conforms to the manner discussed and illustrated in Daniello Barbari's *Pratica della Prospetiva* of 1568, a copy of which was in Velázquez' library at the time of his death.[85] It may, however, be that Velázquez learned the use of such perspective device for dramatic effect from Tintoretto's works at Venice and that it exercised his imagination during his Italian journey and even for a while after his return to Spain. Yet, it is significant that, if he painted *Joseph's coat* at Rome in 1630, he also painted then *The forge of Vulcan*, in which he did not underline the geometric design of the interior and did achieve spatial airiness.

Velázquez, well read as he was in architecture — if the books he kept till his death are any indication[86] — persevered in what from early in his career as a painter appears as his aim: mortising, as it were, the depiction of the human figure or group with that of spatial depth, as he did, for instance, in *The fable of Arachne* (plate *198*).

It is worth pointing out here that an art treatise can throw about as much light on a painter's paintings as a book of rhetoric can on a poet's poems; either may express what earlier creative men were understood to have achieved, or what the painter or poet was admonished to do on the authority of past achievement or current speculation. In short, books of rhetoric or art treatises can provide us with a clue to the views that a creative artist may have learned by rote in his youth, grown up with, or come to know in later years. On the other hand, whatever the time and circumstances of a creative artist's

acquaintance with a book of rhetoric or art treatise may have been, the meaning of his work is not to be found therein.

As in the case of *Bacchus* (plate *110*), it has become customary to assume that *The forge of Vulcan* and, to a lesser degree, *Joseph's bloody coat*, were repainted by Velázquez after 1630, the reason given being that in each composition there is at least one figure which is more 'impressionistic' than the others.

It is a fact, conclusively proved by X-rays and at times made all too plain by overzealous cleanings, that Velázquez substantially repainted no small number of his works after the pigment he had originally laid on the canvas had dried and hardened; to determine the length of the intervening time, which may have been a matter of months, or years, is however, not always possible.

Even when radical changes are evident, one should not jump to the conclusion, lacking other evidence, that Velázquez made the changes after having regarded the painting as finished. *The surrender of Breda* is a case in point (plates *154* and *155*). We know, in fact, that Velázquez often worked at a leisurely pace; it is, moreover, documented that there were times when he was working at more than one picture — and it would be in the nature of his baroque imagination to find in the unfinished canvas, where the paint had already dried, an invitation to change.

Beruete is mainly responsible for the view that the differences in the handling and texture of pigment noticeable within a number of individual works by Velázquez are to be explained as the result of later repaints by the Master himself. In the case of *The forge of Vulcan*, he was convinced that Velázquez had repainted it 'towards the end of his life' since 'there are in the head, and also in the body' of Vulcan 'a boldness, a freshness of touch, and a happiness of execution at which the Master only arrived in his latest works.[87] A good many of the pictures which Beruete included among Velázquez' latest works are now known to have been painted one or two decades earlier; some, indeed, not later than the mid-1630's, which cuts the ground from under his argument.

The fact, indeed, is that as in the case of other creative painters, the structure, texture, sweep and hue of Velázquez' brushstrokes do vary within a single work, subject to his intent as a maker. The changes of hue and of brushwork texture that he purposely made were compelling means of expression.[88]

In *The forge of Vulcan* and in *Joseph's bloody coat* the build of most of the figures is strongly accented by a light which comes from high up outside the composition, and in both a sense of airy depth is achieved by the fluid landscapes in the distance and by the blobs into which the background figures are shaped: the shadowy figures of the two youths standing beside Jacob against a light wall in the Biblical scene, or the lit-up half-length nude seen against the shadow at the chimney corner in the mythological painting (plates *113* and *117*).

Velázquez, who made many studies at Rome, must have made at least a few for these large paintings. Unfortunately, only one, a colour sketch for the head of Apollo, has come down to us (plate *60*): painted in full light, it shows the god's youthful countenance

contoured by a filmy shadow which, in the final composition, overspreads the whole face. This sketch corresponds more closely to the outline of Apollo's face and neck as first painted by Velázquez in *The forge of Vulcan*, before he somewhat modified the contour of the god's face, a change which is clearly visible in a radiograph made in 1960 (plates *114*, *115*, *118*).

Apollo's figure, clad in an earth-yellow mantle, is as fleshy and dappled with shadows as that of Bacchus in the earlier and considerably less airy composition; his shadowed face stands against a thick-textured yellow light as he discloses Venus' and Mars' infidelity to Vulcan, who is as thick-hided a blacksmith as his assistant Cyclopes. The cuckolded Vulcan stops in his work, the surprise on his face made the more bumpkinlike by his bushy moustache and by his fast grip on the hammer. The comedy is maintained by the gestures of the three Cyclopes in full view and by the intent stare of the one in the background, whose figure keys the diagonals which fan the composition open.

While in Italy or soon after his return to Spain, Velázquez painted, mainly in earth-yellow and grey hues, the profile of a woman — held by some to be a sibyl — whose face is finely built by light and shade (plate *124*).

The Prince and the dwarf

In March 1631 Velázquez finished the portrait of *Prince Baltasar Carlos with a dwarf* (plate *126*). The blond, sixteen-month-old prince, wearing a gold-embroidered dark-green costume, stands majestically on a dais, his right hand on a baton and his left one on the sword hilt. In the foreground, to the left, there is a chestnut-haired girl dwarf in a dark-green dress lined in red and a white apron; holding a silver rattle in one hand and an apple in the other, she turns her head as she looks intently across the composition. The smooth modelling of the Prince's luminous face and the uneven handling of the shadowed visage of the dwarf contrast, as much as do their bearing and pose; as the dwarf's glance and gesture tie her to her surroundings, the Prince towers over everything around him; the varying hues of purplish red which dominate in the composition become particularly luminous on the sash across his formal costume.

Painters in Spain and elsewhere had for a long time included dwarfs in some of their royal portraits, even when there was only one royal sitter. As we know, in 1619 or soon after, Villandrando had represented Philip IV, then a Prince, resting his right hand on the head of *Soplillo*, his favourite dwarf (plate **16**).

In Villandrando's portrait, there is no contrast, except for the stature, between the figure of Philip and that of *Soplillo*, not even in their stance or gesture, much less in the brushwork used to depict them; indeed, the dwarf quietly merges, as one more attribute, into the Prince's regalia. As for Velázquez' portrait, where the Prince and the dwarf are about the same height, there are constrasts in their stance and gesture, and, more significantly, in the handling of pigment. It is mainly this contrast that makes the child-dwarf appear as a foil to the majesty embodied in the figure of the child-Prince.

Velázquez, *Prince Baltasar Carlos*. 1632.
Catalogue No. 60.
Reproduced by courtesy of The Wallace Collection, London.

Velázquez, *Queen Isabel*. 1631–2.
Catalogue No. 53.
Reproduced by courtesy of the owner.

Before leaving for Italy, Velázquez had portrayed a misshapen Court fool, *Calabazas* (plate *107*), and throughout the succeeding years he made at least eight more individual portraits of such jesters, though only once — in the so-called *Meninas* — did he again represent one in the entourage of a royal person. As we shall see, any of those portraits of dwarfs or jesters, if compared with those of either the Prince or the King painted at the same or nearly the same time, reveal the sort of difference in the brushwork treatment which distinguishes the person of Baltasar Carlos from that of his dwarf in the portrait of 1631.

Equally meaningful is the contrast offered by two works executed by Velázquez at roughly the same time: the portrait of *Doña Antonia de Ipeñarrieta and her son*, of about 1631, in which the child's face, like the mother's, is finelly modelled in light and shade (plate *132*), and that of *Baltasar Carlos* painted in 1632 (plate *140*). In the latter, the three-year-old Prince is seen alone, resting his right hand on a baton and the left on the sword hilt, his face as luminous as in the portrait of 1631; it is a comely figure of a child, imbued though with a compelling sense of majesty.

Portraits of Queen Isabel

Sometime after March 1631, when Velázquez completed the portrait of Prince Baltasar Carlos with a dwarf, possibly in 1632, he painted out a likeness of Queen Isabel which he had executed years earlier, and substituted for it, on the same canvas, a new portrait of her. He did much the same as he had done, before leaving for Italy, with his earliest portrait of Philip IV. In the case of the Queen's portrait though the main changes did not concern the sitter's physical appearance but rather her costume (plate *130*). As it happened, these two reworked royal portraits were later paired at the Buen Retiro Palace.

The portrait of Queen Isabel, as it has come down to us, shows Velázquez' absolute mastery of light and texture, not only in the comely face, where the flesh and make-up hues vividly blend in a white-pink luminosity. He has, indeed, achieved a full range of luminous hues on the black silk of the sitter's costume; the luminosity of the blacks effortlessly matches the luminosity of the yellows used for the gold embroidery on the dress, and the highlights on the curtain's pinkish red.

A replica of the Queen's face appears in another portrait of her, now cut down to three-quarter length, painted by Velázquez and an assistant no later than September 1632 (plate *142*). Again when, in 1634 or 1635, Velázquez reworked extensively the equestrian portrait of Queen Isabel, executed by an unknown hand, he painted afresh the head and most of the dress, from the waist up, after his portrait of the Queen standing of 1631–2 (plate *130*). There has been speculation — so far inconclusive — concerning the fact that Queen Isabel sat so infrequently to Velázquez. Apparently she did so just twice, and for the same canvas — which leaves us with only one likeness of her in visible pigment painted from life by the Master's hand.

Light upon black

Velázquez had a keen eye for the nuances of light upon black, and so did Rembrandt and Frans Hals among his contemporaries, and Renoir among his admirers, each in his own way. Stevenson, one of Velázquez' most perceptive critics and among the first to comment on the matter, pointed out that it took Velázquez some time to really master the 'chromatic nuances' of light upon black.

Stevenson described the blacks in the portrait of the *Infante Don Carlos*, datable to 1628, as 'hard' and 'scarcely obedient to the light' (plate *101*).[89] The remark, though a trifle exaggerated, could as well apply to other works painted by Velázquez before 1631, in which he had not yet attained the wide range of black hues noticeable in the portrait of *Queen Isabel* (plate *130*), and in others which shall presently be discussed.

It seems that Velázquez achieved his absolute mastery in the depiction of light upon black after his return from Italy. It also seems that this cannot be explained as the result of any specific Italian influence since no particular painter or work could be mentioned as a likely source. Nor does any of the works which he painted in Italy disclose a penchant for luminous black hues. There can, however, be no doubt that Velázquez, while in Italy, reflected about the works of art which he saw and admired there, and probably too about those, including Titian's, El Greco's and Rubens', which he had seen and admired elsewhere. It is also likely that he reflected about the works which he had painted so far, and the challenges that he had encountered, and about what he ambitioned to achieve from then on. His mind's eye must certainly have been open and at work throughout the journey. We know that he studied Michelangelo, Raphael and Tintoretto, and that his admiration for Titian grew greater. However, he memorized nothing — that is, he did not 'borrow' anything from other artists' works. Yet, he sentiently gave new scope to his own work.

For one thing, his palette, notably his blacks, became more luminous, as can be seen in the portraits of royal persons which we have just discussed. The same is the case with the portraits of *Doña Antonia de Ipeñarrieta with one of her sons*, of 1631–2 (plate *132*), *Don Diego del Corral*, of the same date (plate *133*), and *Don Pedro de Barberana*, of 1631–3 (plate *137*).

The portrait of *Doña Antonia de Ipeñarrieta* has been somewhat marred by restoration, but still it shows stylistic similarities with the other two, notably in the quality of the black hues of the dress, the fluid contour line, rather luminous round the sitter's head, and the interplay of light and shade which models her face.

Don Diego del Corral and Don Pedro de Barberana did not resemble each other as individuals; however, their portraits, which make this fact evident, are rather akin qua paintings. The figures of both sitters stand with casual aplomb, while their faces are made unquiet by broad strokes, lights and shadows; though they are unlike each other, they are quite similar in the configuration of the forehead and temple, the bridge of the nose, and the eyesockets, all shaped by dint of light and shade. The purposeful play of light upon black brings forth vivacities of hue in both portraits, making the image of each sitter even more unquiet, again qua painting.

Velázquez, *Don Diego del Corral*. 1631–2.
Catalogue No. 55.
Reproduced by courtesy of the Prado Museum.

Velázquez, *Don Pedro de Barberana.* 1631–3.
Catalogue No. 57.
Reproduced by courtesy of the owner.

Velázquez' mastery of the nuances of light upon black is evident throughout his career. It is, indeed, a touchstone of his art, as shown by the portrait of *Philip IV*, of 1652–5, which, for all its simplicity, none of his pupils or assistants could convincingly imitate (plate *212*).

Portraits of the King

Beruete suggested that it 'is probable that on his arrival in Madrid, Velázquez hastened to paint the new portrait of the King, perhaps the one now in the National Gallery', at London.[90] It is, indeed, reasonable to assume that Velázquez, on learning that, during his absence, the sovereign had allowed no other painter to portray him, should have been eager to paint a new likeness of Philip. There is moreover no stylistic reason to suppose that the portrait of the King in brown and silver at the London National Gallery was painted significantly later than the one of Prince Baltasar Carlos with a dwarf; it is possible though that the King's portrait was executed over an extended period of time in 1631–2 (plate *127*).

Substantial *pentimenti*, now quite noticeable, indicate indeed that Velázquez was not quickly satisfied with this work. That he regarded it as of particular importance is attested by the fact that this is one of the two portraits of Philip IV that he is known to have signed with his title, 'painter to Your Majesty', appended to his name — the other being the lost equestrian portrait of 1625.[91]

In this portrait, as in earlier ones, the likeness of Philip, though keen and quick, does not depend on the depiction of the accidental. The same is the case with later portraits of the sovereign, such as those in hunting costume (plate *144*) or on horseback (plate *152*), of the mid-1630's, the one in field uniform painted in 1644 (plate *187*), or the bust from the years 1652–5, where, though Philip was then rather infirm, Velázquez certainly did not accent the flaws of age or any other temporal accident (plate *212*). This depiction of the august character of the person of the King was not grasped by Velázquez' assistants, followers and imitators; they, in fact, more often than not, emphasized the flaws of age and appearance in their copies or derivative portraits of Philip IV. It may even be that some thought that by doing so they were improving upon Velázquez' naturalism. There seems always to have been only a small number of those capable of fully apprehending the true import of contemporary creations, even when they advocate them. Followers, whose minds are generally more sweeping than sharp, are almost invariably to be counted among the point-missers — which, in a small way, is gratifying to the art-historian as it makes it somewhat easier to tell their works from those of the Master whom they followed.

Among Velázquez' pupils, assistants and followers, there were obviously some who assimilated one or more aspects of his art; yet it would seem that they were not really aware of the scope of his naturalism which imbued the depiction of the human figure

with conceptual traits; at least, they did not fully realize that the differences in his pictorial handling of figures were means necessary for the Master's manifold portrayal of human nature or temporality, to his depiction of man as stirred by appetite, or even as a simulacrum of lust whether of the flesh or of knowledge; or to achieve an image within the reach of the human mind of the spotless nature of the humanity of Jesus or of His Mother; or, again, to give shape to a likeness of the King refined out of the accidental, without symbols or allegories.

We have already compared in this light the portraits of Philip IV (plate *100*) and his brother, the Infante Don Carlos (plate *101*) both painted in 1626–28. Equally meaningful for the 1630's is a comparison of the portrait of the King in brown and silver (plate *127*) with either that of Don Diego del Corral y Arellano (plate *133*) whose face is made unquiet by broad strokes and vivid lights and shadows, or the one of the husky royal master of the hunt, Juan Mateos (plate *138*) whose character traits are accented by a nervous modelling in shadow — which the hands, sketched in with rough impasto, make the more emphatic. Likewise, if we look at the portraits of Philip IV (plate *144*), the Infante Don Fernando (plate *145*) and Prince Baltasar Carlos (plate *162*), painted between 1632 and 1636 for the royal lodge called Torre de la Parada, all clad in hunting dress, it becomes obvious that the King's face, as well as that of the heir to the throne, is more luminous and freer from shadows than that of the Infante. A consideration of Velázquez' three outstanding equestrian portraits will presently give further support to this view.

The Great Hall of the Buen Retiro

In 1630 the ground was broken for a new Royal Palace, the Buen Retiro, at Madrid. Hastily, and it would seem poorly, built, it was partially in use late in 1633; yet, it was not till April 1635 that the decoration of the ceremonial *salón* or Great Hall, which late in the century became known as *Salón de Reinos*, was completed.

The idea of building a new palace on the outskirts of Madrid where Philip and his Court could repair to an architectural setting brighter than the one provided by the old Alcázar had originated with Olivares.[92] It was then said, and has often been repeated since, that his purpose was to keep the King amused and forgetful of the affairs of State which the Count-Duke was handling with more confidence than success. Such design has never been unusual at the seat of power. Nor is there anything uncommon in the fact that the new palace was intended to convey the greatness of the established political régime — the absolute monarchy in this case.

This move of the Count-Duke in his gamble for more power, as well as the interests and sentiments on which he played — whether those of the weak-willed King, of eager entrepreneurs, or of thoughtful as well as frivolous courtiers — and the praise and taunting that the whole affair attracted, would be just one more historical anecdote of the kind were

it not for the fact that both Philip and Olivares valued Velázquez, who by then called himself 'painter to His Majesty and to the Count-Duke', as the artist that he was.[93]

The decoration of the new palace was a vast artistic project in which Velázquez, high in office and highly regarded at the Court, probably had an active part. Many works were brought from the Madrid Alcázar and other royal palaces in Spain, as well as from Portugal and Flanders, and they were still coming as late as 1639 when both the King and his painter were already busy with another project, the Torre de la Parada.[94]

The Great Hall is about all that remains of the Palace of the Buen Retiro, except for the so-called *Casón*, a building which has undergone too many changes, some recently. No longer a part of a vast architectural complex, and divested of the ceremonial function for which it was intended, it hardly suggests the idea of grandeur that it originally conveyed. Yet in 1635 when it was first on display, with its paintings and decoration, the *Salón*, as it was immediately called for short, was seen as the embodiment of majestic grandeur.

Nearly all the paintings that then decorated the Hall have found a permanent place at the Prado Museum. Unfortunately there is extant no graphic record of what must have been a magnificent decorative ensemble. However, the order in which the paintings were most likely arranged has at least been worked out by Tormo as convincingly as the references to them in a poem published in 1637 allow.[95] Curiously this poem, Manuel Gallegos' *Silva topográfica* mentions as *in situ* every one of the pictures known to have been painted for the *Salón*, except *The surrender of Breda*. It is, however, known that two years earlier this painting was there for Don Francesco de' Medici, Commendatore de Sorano, the Tuscan Ambassador, in his report on the completion of the Buen Retiro Palace dated 28 April 1635, listed it as one of the paintings which decorated the *Salón* (plate *154*).[96]

From at least August through December 1634, Velázquez was at work on paintings for the *Salón*, some of which he had not yet finished on 28 March of the following year, just one month before Sorano reported on the completion of the Palace. On 14 June 1635, he acknowledged a total payment of 2.500 ducats for unspecified works painted by himself or by other hands for the Buen Retiro, mainly for the *Salón*. Those by other painters, it was stated, had been delivered in 1634, and those by Velázquez in 1634 and 1635. Entirely by him are *The surrender of Breda* and the equestrian portraits of Philip IV and of Prince Baltasar Carlos (plates *152*, *153* and *154*); his hand is also recognizable in the equestrian portrait of Queen Isabel, and, to a lesser degree, in those of the King's parents, which were, however, mostly executed by other painters (plates *149*, *150* and *151*).

The surrender of Breda was one of twelve lengthwise, life-size battle scenes intended to perpetuate victories won by Philip IV's armies since the beginning of his reign in 1621, some as recently as 1633. Over these battle-scenes of recent times ran like a frieze ten paintings of the labours of Hercules.

The Hercules paintings, as well as two battle scenes — one of them now lost — were by Zurbarán, who was paid for all of them on 13 November 1634. Vincencio Carducho painted three battle pieces all bearing the date 1634. Eugenio Caxés, who had been

commissioned to paint two of the military subjects, secured before his death (on 15 December 1634) the help of Antonio Puga to complete them; Puga, though, fell seriously ill, and another painter, Luis Fernández, was commissioned to finish one of the pictures, for which he was paid on 14 April 1635.

Late in March 1635, Maino was still at work on the painting that he contributed, *The recapture of Bahía by Don Fadrique de Toledo*, a victory won by the Spaniards over the Dutch on 1 May 1625. Pereda and Jusepe Leonardo seem also to have delivered their works shortly before the opening of the Great Hall for, like Maino and Velázquez, they were not paid in full till mid-June.

There is no documentary evidence that any of the paintings which formed part of the decoration of the Great Hall was not *in situ* by the end of April 1635, when the Ambassador from Florence wrote his report. A collection of poems on the Buen Retiro Palace was published in 1635, at the time of the inauguration of the *Salón*; its references to paintings have till now been overlooked or dismissed as inconsequential, perhaps because, unlike Gallegos's, they are not of an enumerative or descriptive nature. Nearly all these poems were written by courtiers, and express views and sentiments which obviously were then readily acceptable. Two sonnets, one on the portrait of Philip IV and the other on that of Baltasar Carlos, could only refer to the paintings in which Velázquez represented the King and the Prince on horseback, for no other independent portrait of either hung in the *Salón*.

It would indeed have been unthinkable to open the ceremonial hall without the portraits of the King and the Prince *in situ*. For that hall was conceived as a display — or *amphiteatro* to use the word then appropriate — of the Spanish monarchy with the reigning sovereign and the heir to the throne at its most luminous centres. Such is the idea that runs throughout the mentioned collection of poems published for the occasion — considerably more than half of which, including the opening one, have the *Salón* for their specific subject.

The name of Velázquez is mentioned in none of the poems. The sonnet on the portrait of Baltasar Carlos designates its painter as a 'heroic man' whose style is 'never rude' — a play on words which enhances the true grandeur of his art. As for the sonnet on the portrait of Philip, the strand of imagery which runs through it makes us see the painter displaying his own majesty in the presence of that of the King.[97]

Actually there were two likenesses of Philip IV in the Hall: one was the equestrian portrait by Velázquez; the other, included in Maino's *The recapture of Bahía*, was an allegorical portrait of the King as young and victorious. As we shall see, Velázquez dispensed with allegories in his equestrian portrait of the King, which moreover is unrelated to any particular event. If the book of poems I have referred to is any indication, Maino's painting was praised above all others in the *Salón*.

In a manner not uncommon at the time, Maino intertwined the narrative of the event with allegorical images, thus enhancing the prodigious nature of the military victory. Set off against the rest of the composition by rocks, there is a large scene of a wounded man being tenderly cared for; the young matron sitting on the foreground, three children

grouped with her, appears as a live embodiment of the virtue of Charity — her intent pose enhanced by her elongated statuesque neck (plate **27**).

Though prominently set, this is just an episode in Maino's narrative and, in point of composition, rather a foil to the scene which fills the space at the right from the bottom up to the top. There Don Fadrique de Toledo, the victorious commander, displays a tapestry with the image of the King to the assembly of soldiers and civilians who pay their homage. The King, looking the youth he was when that military success was achieved, is not seen alone. Victory, helped by Olivares, is crowning him with a laurel wreath, and while the goddess offers the sovereign a palm, the chief minister holds in his left hand his own sword, crushing underfoot, as does the King, the bodies of Heresy, Envy and War (plate **17**).

Maino's composition must certainly have satisfied Olivares' need for self-assertion for it unmistakably depicted him as the maker of the King's military victories. That the point was not missed is attested by the book of poems on the Buen Retiro Palace referred to above. Maino, indeed, is the only artist mentioned by name in it, and his painting the only one whose war subject is identified, and repeatedly so.[98]

In the equestrian portrait of Philip painted for the *Salón* Velázquez achieved, as will presently be discussed, a telling image of the absolute monarch without relying on either allegorical figures or incidental narrative. Hence, whether by design or vital accident, there were in the new ceremonial hall two significantly different representations of Philip IV: in Velázquez', he appeared alone, dominating the expanse of the earth, as the quintessence of kingly power; in Maino's he was seen as the source of political and military power in the turmoil of a narrative and allegoric world where his right-hand servant, Olivares, makes him victorious. Any interpretation of that lost baroque ensemble ought to take into account the meaningful difference between these two images of the King.

Likewise, in discussing the paintings of the labours of Hercules, which ran like a frieze above the depiction of the victories won by Philip IV's armies, one should bear in mind that one emblematic significance of Hercules current at the time was that of the antiquity of the Spanish monarchy, and that Olivares was then regarded as the Hercules of Philip IV — himself seen as the Atlas of Castile.[99]

The word play, where one word or image is used as a prismatic whole from which bursts a plurality of significances, was a common and often effective device of the baroque writer. Painters, too, were intent on expressing at one time more than one meaning — which those truly creative did, not by just playing on the various emblematic significances of a given figure, but rather by fashioning on the canvas strands of imagery of their own. Other artists of the period appear to have done likewise, and it would seem that spectators and readers had their ears, eyes, and minds open to it.

This digression may be useful for an understanding of the overall decoration of the ceremonial hall, obviously planned to express a plurality of meanings with the antiquity, the present power and the bright hopes of the Spanish monarchy as live centres. There is no evidence that Velázquez was entrusted with the planning of that pictorial ensemble. But probably his advice was sought at one point or another during the planning and

execution of the project. As for the paintings which he painted for it, they stand unmistakably apart from those by other painters, showing that Velázquez gave new substance and shape to the world in which he, as well as his less creative contemporaries, had his roots.

The equestrian royal portraits

The equestrian portraits of Philip IV, his Queen, his parents — Philip III and Queen Margarita — and Prince Baltasar Carlos hung in the ceremonial hall of the Buen Retiro. Those of Philip IV and the Prince are entirely by Velázquez; he finished them by April 1635, when they were viewed as focal points in the display of the Spanish monarchy's splendor which the *Salón* was understood to be, as suggested in the book of poems then published (plates *152* and *153*). Perhaps Velázquez made studies for these two portraits though none has come down to us. The inventory drawn up at the time of his death included a *Prince Baltasar Carlos on horseback* sketched in colour, most likely by his hand,[100] as it probably was a *Philip IV on a chestnut horse*, roughly 0.835 m. in height, listed in the same inventory.

It is plain to the naked eye that the other three equestrian portraits were executed by a painter, so far unidentified, who was attentive to detail, and that they were later reworked by a swifter hand. This must have been done in 1634–5, when apparently nearly everything concerning the Buen Retiro was executed with dispatch.

The unidentified painter's laboured manner still prevails in the portraits of Philip III and his Queen (plates *149* and *150*). In the first, Velázquez and an assistant appear to have reworked the horse's head, chest, forelegs and tail, and to have done little else. Most of the repainting in the portrait of Queen Margarita is obviously the work of assistants. Velázquez probably only touched up the horse in some spots. As for the portrait of Queen Isabel, it is clear that he reworked it extensively, painting her head and bust after the likeness he had painted in 1631–2 — also over another portrait of her — and repainting entirely her white horse (plate *151*).

Horses were a familiar sight in the seventeenth century when nearly everybody, including Velázquez, was used to riding on horseback, a fact of which some critics and historians brought up in horseless cities appear to be not quite aware. Though Pacheco noted in some detail the proportions of the horse, he commented that it was so common an animal that it could almost always be imitated from nature.[101]

No doubt on undertaking those equestrian portraits, or, for that matter, any of his major works, Velázquez must have thought of such similar compositions by other masters as were alive in his mind. He was by then acquainted, or even familiar, with other artists' equestrian compositions, some of them outstanding. True, there is no indication that he had been in Padua, where he would have seen Donatello's *Gattamelata*. There is, however, reason to believe that, on his way from Venice to Rome, in 1629, he stopped at Florence,

where he could hardly have missed seeing the pedestalled *condottieri* by Uccello and Castagno at the Cathedral. Undoubtedly, as he walked about the streets of Venice, protected by the Spanish ambassador's men, he paused, forgetting for a while the unrest of the city, to look up at Verrochio's *Colleoni*; and doubtless later on, while at Rome, he did not ignore the famous *cavallo* of Marcus Aurelius.

Long before, even since his appointment to the Court, Velázquez had had at hand at the Royal Palace several equestrian compositions, including the one of *Charles V at the battle of Mühlberg* (Prado, No. 410 — plate **18**), in which Titian achieved a masterful likeness of the Caesar as warrior, with no depiction of battle or troops, or any allegorical figures. Four paintings of horses, probably unfinished works by Ribera and others, were also at the Palace. Velázquez himself, as early as 1625, had won acclaim with a portrait of Philip IV on horseback, now lost.

Three years later before leaving for Italy, he had seen Rubens, the old and famous master, painting the equestrian portraits of the reigning Philip IV and of the long-dead Philip II (Prado, No. 1686 — plate **19**), both of which were allegorical compositions. Most likely, while Velázquez was in Italy, an unidentified painter painted the equestrian portraits of Philip III, Queen Margarita and Queen Isabel that the Master and some assistants later reworked. At least the portrait of Philip III recalls Rubens' manner, notably in the design of the horse (plate *149*). Nothing in Velázquez' equestrian portraits of Philip IV and Prince Baltasar Carlos brings to mind Rubens' works (plates *152* and *153*).

The King and the Prince, equestrian

As Velázquez was setting up the canvases for the equestrian portraits of Philip and Baltasar Carlos, he may well have turned over in his mind memories of like compositions by other artists or by himself, more intent — one would assume — on excelling than on imitating them. However, he did not depend on any other work for the composition of either of these portraits.

The one of the Prince was to hang over either a window or a door, in the Hall of the Buen Retiro (plate *153*). As it has been pointed out, this explains the exaggerated curve of the pony's barrel. It should be added that Velázquez made use of that circumscribing condition for his own expressive ends, and thus achieved a monumental perspective setting for the equestrian figure of the young Prince — which one misses at the height at which the picture now hangs in the Prado Museum.

All writers on the subject have remarked on the delicacy with which the painter brushed in the likeness of the fair-haired, blue-eyed Prince, with no emphatic modelling of his features which appear the more airy as highlights accent the fluidity of the head's contour. It is, indeed, one of Velázquez' luminous 'distant blobs'. The sitter's rose-and-ivory-hued face — where even the shadow cast by the brim of the hat is diaphanous — is

fully illuminated, as are his green and gold dress, his pink flying scarf and his brown pony. Also thinly painted and brilliant, gossamer-like, is the sloping landscape; its green and blue hues deepen the space round and below the figure of the Prince, as his mount, in an arrested posture, paws the air above the brownish foreground thus heightening the monumentality of the composition.

As for the portrait of the King (plate *152*), Beruete perceptively noted that its execution is 'even freer' than that of the Prince, and that Philip IV is 'here represented in the fullness of absolute power and grandeur, in the brilliancy of such triumph as the most fortunate heroes of ancient or modern times have seldom known'. Since Beruete was censorious of Philip IV, he concluded that 'Velázquez in this picture, more than in any other, seems to have wished to redeem by idealization of the outward form the unworthiness and moral ruin of his model'.[102] The critic was certainly right in his views about Philip who, penitently, considered himself weak-willed and a sinner, hopelessly incapable of making himself worthy of his royal task.

There seems to have been a friendly closeness between Philip and Velázquez from early in their association. Pacheco tells us that the King kept a key to Velázquez' studio — which was at the Palace — and had a chair there where he sat almost daily watching the painter at work. It is permissible to assume that Velázquez would not have gone on painting uninterruptedly during the King's visit, and that conversation took place between the two men. It is even likely that Philip, who was given to speaking or writing about his weaknesses to those he trusted, had a confidant in his painter. Whatever their relations may have been, Velázquez, like any other observing person close to Philip, must have realized the shortcomings that led the King throughout his life to put up an ineffectual fight, made all the more agonizing by the sincerity of his religious sentiments, against both his sensuous proclivities and the enemies, heretics most of them, of his kingdoms. Yet, in his portraits of the sovereign, beginning with the bust-length of 1623 or 1624 (plate *89*), Velázquez never aimed at a characterization of Philip's natural bents. Nor did he ever represent the King, allegorically or otherwise, as a warrior in either action or victory.

In 1628–9 when, at the peak of his success, Rubens was in Madrid, he made several portraits of Philip IV.[103] One of them, now lost, was a religious allegorical composition, representing the King on horseback as victorious over his enemies. In those which are extant, the Flemish master gave his royal sitter an animated though stately appearance, with vivacities of light and shade modelling the lively face; it has been quite rightly said that Rubens 'painted the King as an elegant nobleman' (plate **20**).[104]

Velázquez, whose prestige was then rising at the Court, had to reckon with those portraits; he probably watched the famous master painting them, and certainly witnessed their success. Yet he never imparted any sensuous liveliness, Rubenslike or otherwise, to his portraits of the King. Neither did he ever emphasize the luxury of the King's costume or adornments, not even when he portrayed him in magnificent attire, as he did in 1631–2 and in 1644 (plates *127* and *187*). In this respect, a comparison of two portraits of Philip in black dress, one painted by Rubens in 1628–9 and the other by Velázquez in 1626–8, is

17. Maino, *The recapture of Bahia* (detail, see plate *27*), Madrid, Prado.

18. Titian, *Charles V at Mühlberg*, 1548 (3.32 × 2.79 m), Madrid, Prado. Courtesy of the Museum.

19. Rubens, *Philip II, equestrian*, 1628 (3.14 × 2.28 m), Madrid, Prado. Courtesy of the Museum.

20. Rubens, *Philip IV*, 1628–9 (77 × 64 cm), Zurich, Kunsthaus. Courtesy of the Museum.

enlightening, for it shows that, contrary to Rubens (plate **20**), Velázquez did not see the King as just one more nobleman (plate *100*). Indeed, however close to, or familiar with, the spectacle of Philip's melancholy or sensuous moods and frustrating ways Velázquez may have been, it was rather the august nature of the monarch that he put on canvas, leaving for others to record what was accidental in Philip's appearance, as well as the external attributes of his royal power.

Some time before 1638 Pacheco wrote — he must have had it from his son-in-law himself — that when, after his return from Italy, Velázquez made the equestrian portrait of Philip IV, obviously the one we are now discussing, he had the monarch 'seated for three hours at a time, all that élan and grandeur suspended'. The Spanish expression, '*suspendido tanto brio y tanta grandeza*', has a lilt which is somewhat startling in Pacheco's text and may well reflect Velázquez' own words.

It is plain that Velázquez did not depend for the composition of this portrait on any of the works familiar to him. Unlike Rubens he made no use of allegories; nor did he represent the King, as the Flemish master had done with Philip II, on a scale made colossal by the low horizon line and the diminutive figures that fill a battle-field in the middle distance (plate **19**). Monumental though it is, there is nothing colossal about Velázquez's composition, which in just this regard bears comparison with Titian's *Charles V at the battle of Mühlberg* (plate **18**).

Titian represented Charles V at Mühlberg as a warrior in full armour, setting out from the lee of a tree's shadow into the open; the forward motion is made vivid as the Emperor grasps the lance and the curvetting horse lowers its head and raises its forefeet off the ground. The live diagonal of the lance enhances this sense of motion and, at the same time, it sets off the erect trunk of the Emperor who, his character traits accented, masters with his bearing and mien the action into which he stirs his mount. So unerring a live personification of the idea of the Caesar is what makes this one of the greatest portraits of all time; in its own day it led Pietro Aretino to fancy that, rather than by Titian, it had been painted 'by the hand of that idea that Nature imitates in live and spiritual design' — a cogent expression of what the vying of art and nature was understood to mean in those years of the Renaissance.[105]

In Velázquez' *Philip IV* there is no accent on human character, action or time; the surface texture, fluidly brushed in, is luminous at every point — the King's half-armour and the pink and gold of his costume, the white and chesnut hues of the horse, and the greys, greens, and blues which extend to the background in the landscape. This portrait must have appealed to those who held that the King's duty, unlike a captain's, was not to fight but to rule, as Gracián put it in 1640.[106]

The equestrian group is in full profile but for Philip IV's head, which is slightly turned to the right, thus adding to the effortless pose with which he holds the baton in one hand and the bridle in the other, while the spirited horse rears back in mid-gallop, arresting his own movement and that of the King's scarf, into a monumental pose. Lit up from an invisible centre in front of him, the halcyon figure of Philip outshines the radiant

Velázquez, *Prince Baltasar Carlos, equestrian.* 1634–5.
Catalogue No. 72.
Reproduced by courtesy of the Prado Museum.

Velázquez, *Philip IV, equestrian.* 1634–5.
Catalogue No. 71.
Reproduced by courtesy of the Prado Museum.

expanse which spreads around and below into the horizon — a limpid image of the absolute monarch.

More often than not, Western painters have achieved verisimilitude in their portraits. Yet a portrait's truth to the sitter's physique — seldom verifiable for long or by many — has rarely been of lasting consequence. What has always mattered, at the time the portrait was painted and ever after, is the self-existing image into which the painter has fashioned his sitter. The painting, indeed, is the thing, even when minute likeness has been the painter's aim and achievement.

In *Philip IV, equestrian*, Velázquez achieved a painting of monumentality unadorned by either allegorical array or architectural pomp; in it, the person of the King is at one and the same time vividly seen on the earth and yet not of it. We know from seventeenth-century sources, other painters' portraits of Philip IV, including copies of this one, and even from the first likeness of him which Velázquez put on canvas in 1623 and painted out soon after (plate *99*), how divergent from all others, how compelling and inimitable was the image of the King achieved in the portraits by the Master's hand which have come down to us (plates *103, 127, 144, 187, 212*). Compelling, unique and vital that image remains, to the point, indeed, that what may have been closer likenesses of Philip appear today as of little more than anecdotal significance.

Olivares, equestrian

Most writers on Velázquez have observed that his portrait of Olivares on horseback (plate *147*) is as fluidly painted as those of Philip IV and Prince Baltasar Carlos, though it is less luminous than either of the others. The chief minister, wearing black half-armour inlaid with gold, gold-braided dark trunks, a purplish scarf and a grey hat with mauve plumes, is on a chestnut horse at the edge of a cliff against a cloudy sky made sombre by the blue-grey smoke which rises high from a burning town in the background. Both his commanding gesture — with the baton raised in his right hand — and his high-spirited mount are directed to the battle raging below in the middle distance; yet he faces towards the spectator.

Cruzada, and others after him, suggested that the battle depicted is the one fought in the autumn of 1638 at Fuenterrabía, where the French were defeated by the Spaniards.[107] Even though Olivares, never really an army man, had not moved from Madrid, the victory was credited to his strategy and leadership. As the King rewarded him with a great many honours, the Count-Duke seized the occasion to recover his prestige, which had been on the wane for some time. It would have been at that triumphal time, late in 1638 or shortly thereafter — it is suggested — that Velázquez painted his equestrian portrait.

Yet, as shown before, the role of Olivares as the maker of the monarchy's military victories was current at the Court by 1635, when it found pictorial expression in Maino's

painting for the Buen Retiro Palace. Since, in point of execution, the equestrian portrait of Olivares admittedly resembles those of the King and the Prince painted about that time, there is no reason to suggest that it was painted significantly later. As for the military action depicted, no specific one was probably intended; indeed, the battle scene would have been the more expressive of Olivares' power and success for not referring to a particular event.

The dynamic, bold rhythm of the composition is carried by live diagonals — the horse, the sword, the baton, the smoke, the cliff — which, as it happens, are keyed to Olivares' bearing. Slashing lights enliven the modelling of the horse, and the textures of the rider's costume and of the mount's trappings look rich and weighty as they sparkle with vivacities of touch. As in the equestrian portraits of Philip and his son, Olivares' head is painted vividly; it is, indeed, as Beruete noted, the highest light in the picture; yet the shadows on it are narrowed rather than thinned and the character traits are incisively rendered. It is in this cogent pictorial whole that the Count-Duke embodies in his gesture of command and of self-assertion both the turmoil of the bloody battle depicted below and the bustle and glow of victory — a lusty image of worldly success plainly different from Velázquez' portrayal of the King's absolute power and grandeur.

Any portrait, even if a masterpiece, lends itself to anecdotal interpretations and seems to ask for the iteration of commonplaces. Hence it is not surprising that flattery has been found more than once to be the key to the understanding of Velázquez' three equestrian portraits: flattery of the charming little heir to the throne, of the inept and profligate monarch, and of the ambitious chief minister. Very likely Velázquez' equestrian portraits, as well as others, gave rise in his day to some caustic remarks about the sitters not quite looking their parts. Yet it is unlikely that the portraits were held to be faulty on this score or suspected of flattery. That a majestic quality was observed in Velázquez' works is obvious in Gallegos's poem on the Buen Retiro Palace; as indicated before, this poem refers to or describes and praises a great many paintings, but the emphasis is on those by Velázquez, each one of which is given prominence at one time or another. Without entering into a full discussion of Gallegos's views, I may point out that time and again he bestows on Velázquez' art the attributes of the monarchy, even if using some shopworn words; thus, his brush is 'sovereign', or 'a sceptre' which attains a 'miraculous monarchy', a deathless world in which the artist depicts in a 'sovereign manner' all the affections of the soul, and even what is invisible; and this art-created world chooses Philip IV as monarch, thus offering him a 'more lasting empire'.

It might again be argued that Gallegos was just currying favour with both the King and his painter. Yet even those minded to regard Gallegos' poem as a piece of double-barrelled courting, must realize that some of Velázquez' contemporaries saw the world which he created and the one in which he lived as heightening one another and having the person of the King as their common centre — which the Master's portraits reveal by themselves.

Velázquez, *Count-Duke of Olivares, equestrian.* 1634.
Catalogue No. 66.
Reproduced by courtesy of the Prado Museum.

Velázquez' portrayal of military victory

The surrender of Breda (plate *154*) represents Ambrosio Spínola (1569–1630), one of the ablest generals in the service of the Spanish monarchy in the course of the Thirty Years' War, receiving from Justinus of Nassau the keys of the conquered city.[108] Since his youth Spínola, a Genoese descended from an old and wealthy family of merchants, had served in the armies of the Spanish King. He made a military reputation for himself in Flanders where, in 1604, he conquered Ostend, for which he was rewarded with the Golden Fleece. Later, in 1621, as he was besieging Jülich, Philip IV, who had just come to the throne, made him Marquis of los Balbases. In August 1624 he undertook to conquer Breda, the key fortress of Antwerp, which was defended by Justinus of Nassau (1559–1631).

The siege of Breda was a momentous test of power between the Netherlands and Spain, eagerly watched by the rest of Europe; it was also a decisive contest between two famous generals, both well versed in the arts of fortification, who had their renown at stake. A good many observers from various lands were attracted to the spot where Spínola, reputed to be the first engineer of his time, matched wits with Nassau, quickly counteracting time and again his ingenious schemes for breaking the siege. Finally, as the beleaguered city was entirely cut off from the outside, hunger forced Justinus to seek an honourable capitulation. Spínola, though the victory was already his, granted unusually generous terms.

The formal surrender took place on 5 June 1625. The citizens who so wished were allowed to leave the city with their possessions and the defeated army were granted the privilege of marching out carrying their arms and colours. Spínola sat on horseback outside the city attended by some of the noblemen in his army. He had forbidden his troops to jeer at, or otherwise abuse, the vanquished Dutch, and, according to a contemporary report, he himself saluted Justinus, who came forth first, followed by his wife riding in a carriage, and the leaders of his defeated army, and they returned his salute with 'composed countenances and voices, and with a modest enclining of the banners'.[109] Another account relates that the victorious general spoke words of encouragement and cheer to Justinus and his wife, and ordered some of his Spanish and Flemish officers to escort them.

Spínola's benignity was gratifying to the Spaniards, and even though some held that he had been overgenerous in granting the capitulation, its terms were ratified. Magnificence and magnanimity were then not only cognate words but kindred sentiments as well, and the Christian belief in the fleeting nature of human splendour and glory made them more so, even in the course of bitter religious wars.

None of the accounts of the surrender published before Velázquez depicted it on canvas says that Justinus delivered the keys of the city to Spínola nor that the victor embraced the defeated general. However, Spínola's success and unusual clemency obviously lent substance to the imagination of some such episode.

News of the surrender, brought by a special courier, reached the Spanish King at Madrid on 15 June.[110] Both Philip IV and Olivares rewarded the courier generously, and the victory was greeted with relief and cheer at the Court. Later, still in the mid-1620's, Calderón de la Barca wrote a play, *The siege of Breda*, which closes with the delivery of the keys by Justinus of Nassau, who in so doing sees Fortune turning even the most powerful monarchies into dust, while Spínola tries to raise him from the gloom of defeat with time-honoured words: 'the valour of the conquered makes the conqueror famous'. With these words, in which there is self-regard though not self-complacency, the conqueror's stature is enhanced by that of the conquered, while the banners of Spain are raised on the fortress and there is victorious music and shouting.[111]

The surrender of Breda differs essentially from the other extant pictures of military victories which hang at the Buen Retiro. Nearly all of them — the exception being Maino's *The recapture of Bahia* — resemble one another in their compositional pattern; whether their subject is a battle or an act of surrender, the victorious Spanish general is at one side on a rise above the area where a land or a sea battle is depicted on a markedly lesser scale, as if on a backdrop.

It is known that Velázquez made many drawings though only a few, including two for *The surrender of Breda*, are extant (plates *157* and *158*). It is likely, however, that he made more for so important a work, whose process of execution appears to have been rather complex, hardly distinguishable, in fact, from that of composition.

Radiographs made in 1960 revealed the overlapping of many changes hidden to the naked eye. For instance, Velázquez altered more than once the view of the horse on the foreground, and the stance of several figures, including Spínola's. As for the lances, which were to become a cardinal compositional element, they were not initially included in the composition (plate *155*).[112]

The overall composition appears to have been 'drawn in paint' on the canvas, to use an expression applied at the time of Velázquez' death to a painting left unfinished by him. As he then went on with his work, his mind's eye would time and again challenge the very shapes which he had brushed on the canvas and which he painted off, often with light strokes that now let them come through as live evidence of creation (plates *155* and *156*); he then brushed new shapes on the canvas, occasionally perhaps with the help of preparatory drawings or sketches.

Radiographs of this and other Velázquez paintings, as well as the *pentimenti* plainly visible in many of them, help us to understand the thrusts and counter-thrusts with which he shaped his works, responding to pictorial challenges of his own. Our major interest focuses, of course, on Velázquez' works as completed by his hand, which endowed them with an effortless appearance.[113]

In *The surrender of Breda*, an aerial perspective articulates the whole composition in depth and breadth, bringing together the essentials of the narrative: the trenches, water-works and blockhouses in the the background; the light-hued, pink, yellow or blue army dresses of the defeated men who march past with their arms and colours in the middle-

Velázquez, *The surrender of Breda*. 1634–5.
Catalogue No. 73.
Reproduced by courtesy of the Prado Museum.

distance; the scattering of Dutch soldiers who wearily cluster together, to the foreground, as a distant column of smoke rises higher than their pennons; and the unwearied Spanish officers who, bareheaded for the solemn occasion, are massed around their flag,[114] behind their leader, while their troops, whose lances bar the space above, look on from under their slouched hats.

In either cluster the gesture and bearing of the soldiers are keenly expressive of a variety of emotions, moods, or dispositions, which makes them truly human groups. There are faces which are sharply illuminated and modelled in the round; the features of others are distinctly shaped by graduated shadows; some, whether lit or shadowed, are what Quevedo called distant blobs. This imaginative handling of light and pigment endows both human groups, and for that matter the whole composition, with a sense of depth and airiness.

It is a full-toned picture, with a richness of yellow, ochre, blue, green, rose, and purple hues, fluidly brushed in. It portrays both the misery and the splendour of the scene of surrender as its brilliant tints sweep into a luminous whole the dust-hued colours sparingly used in the depiction of the field and the defeated.

The group of Dutch soldiers comes to the fore, where a few stand on a mound, fatigue showing in their faces and in the manner in which they hold their pennons; others are comely figures, like the blobs, one in shadow, the other in light, of the two young men seen in profile — who recall Apollo in *The forge of Vulcan* (plate *115*) — or the light-splashed youth, clad in white and blue, who quiets with a gesture of his right hand the fellow officer whispering at his ear.

The victorious and the defeated generals meet in a sort of clearing bounded by two slight elevations in the foreground, on one of which Spínola's horse stands restlessly while Dutch soldiers wearily group themselves on the other. Spínola stands on a patch of green circled by the barren ground which Nassau steps across. Live diagonals maintain whole and dynamic the overall composition, intercrossing, running parallel, or meeting in the far-off distance. The most obvious are the one marked by the Dutch soldier standing, back to the spectator, in the foreground and the Spaniard with the musket on his shoulder seen across him, which is intersepted by that established by the two horses; or the parallel ones underscored by the weapons on the shoulder of the Spanish and the Dutch musketeers; or those which, running along the front row of either group, funnel through into distance.

As Justinus of Nassau, with a slow and heavy tread, steps out from his soldiers to surrender the key of the city, Spínola's arm — its broad, liquid contour a transparent tissue over the bright hues of the defeated troops marching past — bridges the distance between the two, a courtly smile on his pale, intelligent face directed at the mortified hurt on Nassau's weather-beaten visage, where the eyes are heavy with fatigue. The figure of the conquered certainly is not just a foil to that of the victor in this composition where Velázquez has swept even dusty hues into luminosity. Rather, as Spínola puts his arm on Justinus's shoulder, the bearing of the one enhances his human likeness to the other, and the victor's gesture mortises in one image the Christian sentiment of charity, and hence of

humility, and the heroic sense of mercy, and hence of greatness — 'noblesse' might have been the word for it (colour plate facing page 76).

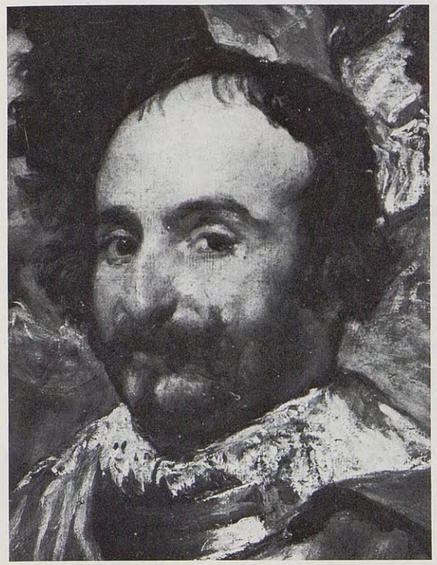
It is possible that, as has been suggested, Velázquez painted from life some of the officers who ten years before the painting was painted had participated in the actual event. Yet none of the Spaniards or Dutchmen in the composition has been convincingly identified, except, of course, for Justinus of Nassau and Ambrosio Spínola.

Some of the Spaniards indeed resemble one another as if they were variations of the same image. The same is the case with the two young Dutchmen seen in profile mentioned above. Similarities, which do not bear on matters of identity, are also noticeable between some of the figures in *The surrender of Breda* and those in other Velázquez' works.

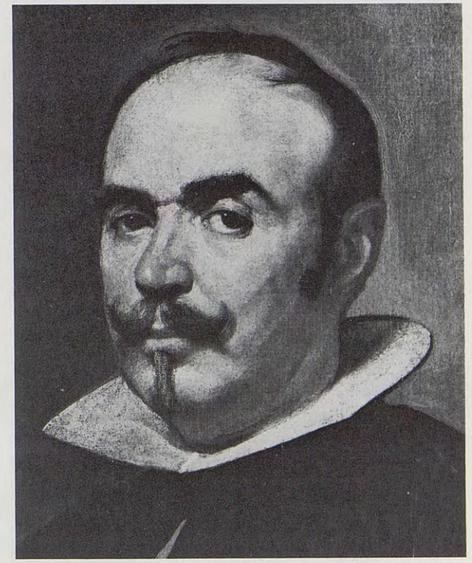
For instance, the head of the young man apparently holding the reins of Spínola's horse obviously originated from that of one of the Cyclops in *The forge of Vulcan*, painted by Velázquez in 1630 (plates **23** and **24**); both heads are indeed of much the same build, particularly in the shape of the forehead, the emphatic eyebrow, and the setting of the nose. Even though, contrary to the black-haired Cyclops, the blond young man does not have a moutache, their mouths appear rather similar. The young man's face has been executed in a more fluid manner. This fluid handling of pigment which enhances the imaginative handling of light in *The surrender of Breda* marks, of course, a turning point in Velázquez' art.

Another such instance ought to be noted. The head of the chestnut-haired Spanish officer immediately behind Spínola — built by contrasts of smooth and rough impasto and of dim and brilliant light — is clearly similar in proportion and configuration to that of *Don Pedro de Barberana* as portrayed by Velázquez in 1631–3 (plates **21** and **22**). This is most evident in the distinctive shape of the forehead and temple, even in the drooping left eyelid. It is plain though that it was not Velázquez' purpose to represent the same individual in both works for he gave a different shape to the Spanish officer's eyebrows and nose. In both figures a quick interplay of pigments' textures, rough or smooth, bright or opaque, build the planes of the nose and cheeks, the depth of the eyesockets and the roundness of the head in a like manner. As in the preceding case, there are some variations in point of execution: in the figure of the Spanish officer, the contrast between rough and smooth impasto is more vivid and the contour round the head is somewhat broader. Yet, the balance between the rough and the smooth and between lights and darks is comparable in both heads. It is as if Velázquez had used his likeness of Don Pedro de Barberana as a starting point for the representation of the Spanish officer in furtherance of his naturalist intent, without aiming at duplicating the likeness. Even if the image of the Spanish officer were meant to be a portrait, which is rather doubtfull, one would have to conclude that it evolved qua painting from that of Don Pedro de Barberana.

Coming now to the main figures in the composition, Spínola died in 1630 and consequently could not have sat for the painting. Yet, Velázquez had journeyed with him to Italy in 1629 — from Madrid to Genoa, if Pacheco's report is accurate — and this has led to the surmise that he may have sketched the likeness of the great general at that time.

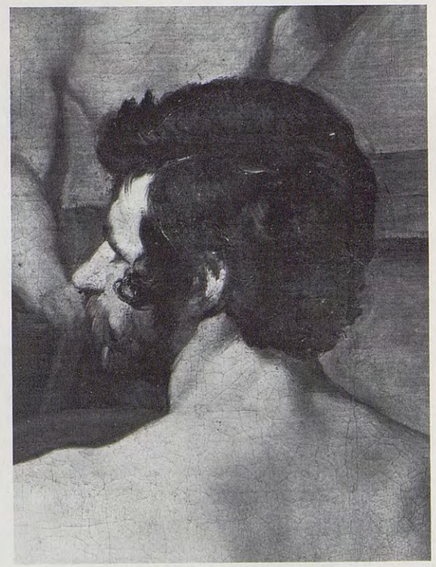


21. Velázquez, *The surrender of Breda*, detail. Courtesy of the Prado Museum.



22. Velázquez, *Don Pedro de Barberana*, detail. Courtesy of the owner.

23. Velázquez, *The surrender of Breda*, detail: Spanish soldier. Courtesy of the Prado Museum.



24. Velázquez, *The forge of Vulcan*, detail. Courtesy of the Prado Museum.

25. Velázquez, *The surrender of Breda*, detail: Justinus of Nassau. Courtesy of the Prado Museum.

26. Workshop of J.A. Ravesteyn, *Justinus of Nassau* (oil on wood panel, 0.30 × 0.25 m), Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. Courtesy of the Museum.

27. Maino, *The recapture of Bahia*, 1635 (3.09 × 3.81 m), Madrid, Prado. Courtesy of the Museum.

28. Zurbarán, *The surrender of Seville*, 1634 (1.60 × 2.08 m), Eccleston, Chester, The Grosvenor Estate.

29. Jusepe Leonardo, *The surrender of Jülich*, 1635 (3.07 × 3.81 m), Madrid, Prado. Courtesy of the Museum.

There is though no documentary reference to any portrait of Spínola drawn or painted from life by Velázquez at that or any other time, and it would have been unlike Pacheco, who made a point or recording his son-in-law's successes, not to mention that so famous a man had sat to Velázquez. In any case it is reasonable to assume that Spínola's traits, shape and mien were alive in Velázquez' mind when he undertook to paint *The surrender of Breda*.

As for Justinus of Nassau, Velázquez had never seen him in the flesh, nor is it likely that he had at hand a portrait of him. In fact, at the time of the surrender, Justinus was sixty-five years old, and Father Hugo then described him as 'venerable on account of his white hair.[115] In an undated portrait from the workshop of Jan Anthonisz van Ravesteyn (1570–1657), Justinus of Nassau appears white-haired though baldish (plate **26**). However, Velázquez represented Justinus as a man in the vigour of age, with slightly greying hair, certainly not older than Spínola, who was ten years his junior, and whom Velázquez represented with silvery grey hair (plate **25** and colour plate facing p. 76).

Consequently, the image of Nassau that Velázquez put on canvas must have been entirely imaginary or, less likely, based on an unknown portrait executed by another artist long before 1625, date of the surrender. And yet both Nassau and Spínola, whom Velázquez did not paint from life either, appear as vivid in gesture and expression as any portrait that Velázquez ever painted from life. As I suggested long ago, apparently with some measure of success, this fact should be taken into account by those who are minded to decide on the basis of the life-like quality of Velázquez' portraits or figure-compositions whether or not he painted them from life.

Nor was Velázquez ever in Breda; available to him, however, were maps, descriptions and engravings of the city, the battle-field and the surrender.[116] The background view of the painting reveals familiarity with, and freedom from, the details they provide (plate *154*). Vitally, the truth of *The surrender of Breda* is not truth to the physique of the various participants in the action, or to the location, circumstances or fripperies of the happening, but rather to the play of sentiments that the painter discerned in the event.

Velázquez painted in a live, naturalist manner what he had seen, or learned, or envisioned, whether a sitter or a popular, historical, mythological, or religious story; yet he painted it as it had worked itself through his mind. He was, indeed, creative. Certainly, he was steeped in a live pictorial tradition rooted in Spain and more deeply in Italy, and in a Catholic sense of life which was then particularly keen and forceful in Spain. Needless to say, such circumstances would not necessarily have turned him into the artist that he was. Still, his works bring them to mind. Nor should we assume that this is so because he worked to a fixed programme — which no true artist ever does. Yet the consistency of his *œuvre* vitally reveals a polarity of the religious and the worldly which was of his day, that is, baroque, but also his own, that is creative, and it is because of this that his work was then and has remained unique.

Velázquez, *The surrender of Breda* (detail). 1634–5.
Catalogue No. 73.
Reproduced by courtesy of the Prado Museum.

Other painters' portrayal of military victory

The sentiments that Velázquez embodied in *The surrender of Breda* are unlike those which other painters of his, or for that matter earlier or even later times, depicted in works of similar subjects. A case in point is *The surrender of Seville*, signed and dated by Zurbarán in 1634, when Velázquez was possibly painting or at least turning over in his mind the subject of Spínola's victory. Zurbarán's work, probably painted for the Shod Mercederian Convent in Seville (plate **28**),[117] represents Ferdinand III, the Saint, King of Castille and Leon, receiving the key to Seville from the Moors, against whom a decisive victory was won in 1248. This event remained charged with feeling throughout most of Philip IV's reign. As we know, an emotionally related event, the expulsion of the Moriscos, decreed by Philip III in 1609, was chosen as the subject for the competition in which Velázquez, Caxés, Carducho and Nardi took part in 1627 by royal command.

In Zurbarán's *The surrender of Seville*, the gesticulating and gaudily garbed Moors contrast in both colour and expression with the sedate figures of Ferdinand III and his religious and military cortege. The defeated Moors are, indeed, made to look laughable by the over-done expression of obeisance which pervades their faces and gestures — all of which is in keeping with the climate of sentiment which prevailed at the time and which pervaded some of Lope de Vega's plays, quite popular then.

For another contrast, we may look at Jusepe Leonardo's *The Surrender of Jülich*, the city during the siege of which Spínola received the title of Marqués de los Balbases and which he succeeded in conquering on 3 February 1622. Jusepe Leonardo was approximately of the same age as Velázquez, having been born at Calatayud, Aragon, in 1601; he studied with Pedro de las Cuevas at Madrid, where he then became a disciple of Eugenio Caxés, as his friend Jusepe Martínez wrote and as compositional elements in his works tend to confirm.[118] Yet, like other painters active in the Madrid of the 1630's, he tried without success to approximate Velázquez' manner and at least once lifted a figure from one of his works,[119] though he actually never cared for the famous Master's sense of composition or came close to his way of fashioning a form and its ambient air. He became insane in 1648 and died at Saragossa four or five years later.

Like *The surrender of Breda*, *The surrender of Jülich* was painted for the Buen Retiro and it too represents Spínola receiving the keys of a city from a vanquished Dutch general, while the defeated troops march past with their arms and colours in the distance (plate **29**). The surrender takes place on a rise above a view of the battle-field, and the city is depicted on a much smaller scale as if on a drop curtain, with no aerial blending of the two spaces. That was Leonardo's, and others', manner of emphasizing the main episode and detailing at the same time other incidents of the narrative. In the foreground scene, the Dutch general, fear showing on his face, kneels as a Spanish officer directs him to surrender the keys to Spínola who, sitting on a restless horse, bends slightly to receive them. The victorious general is the apex of a pyramid which has for sides the diagonal which leads to the kneeling Dutch general and the one leading to the Spanish officer

firmly planted on the left. The contrast between the victors and the conquered is heightened as the two Dutch soldiers by their general's horse recoil at the hurt and shame of the surrender. It is a narrative of victory, with emphasis on incidental fripperies, dramatized for the victor's sake; its composition, rather commonplace in the 1630's, conveys a crudity of feeling not unlike that which pervades many a still or motion picture which has recorded similar twentieth-century events.

The royal hunting lodge

Hardly had the Buen Retiro Palace been completed when Philip IV started another project which kept Velázquez busy for several years. In January 1636 the King decided to enlarge and make fully habitable a hunting lodge at El Pardo, near Madrid, known as the Torre de la Parada.[120] As part of the refurbishing programme, he ordered a large number of paintings from Rubens, who, given the urgent character of the commission, made over sixty colour sketches of subjects from antiquity, most of them taken from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, in less than one year and a half; however, few of the final works were by his hand, as he entrusted the execution of most of them to his assistants and other painters, Jordaens one of them. On 24 October 1636, in a petition to the King for payment of back salaries, Velázquez explained that the money would enable him to carry out the King's order to paint pictures for the Torre de la Parada.

The rebuilding of the Torre de la Parada was apparently completed by the end of March 1638. However, the paintings executed for it by Rubens or by other painters after his sketches did not arrive at Madrid till about two months later. Velázquez must have been occupied for a longer time with the decoration of the hunting lodge, not only selecting and hanging pictures by those and other painters, but also executing paintings for it.

Unfortunately there is no record of when, if ever, the decoration of the hunting lodge was regarded as finished in Philip IV's time. Nor is there any helpful contemporary description of it.[121] The earliest available record of the paintings which decorated the hunting lodge after its refurbishing by Philip IV is the inventory compiled on 7 April 1701 after the death of his successor, Charles II. It included 173 paintings. This number might have been larger or smaller than the original for thirty-five years had elapsed since the death of Philip IV, and most of the royal residences had undergone changes, some due to mismanagement, during that time.

Together with the mythological and other subjects from antiquity painted by Rubens or executed by others after his colour sketches, there were many pictures of animals and hunting scenes by other Flemish masters, notably Paul de Vos. Velázquez' works included the portraits of Philip IV, Prince Baltasar Carlos, and the Cardinal Infante Don Fernando, all three clad for the chase; the pictures of *Mars*, *Aesop* and *Menippus*, the portrait of

the dwarf Francisco Lezcano, and that of *A dwarf holding a tome on his lap* (plates *144*, *145*, *162*, *178*, *179*, *181*, *186* and *191*).

The three hunting portraits may have been taken to the Torre de la Parada in 1638 after the reconstruction was finished. The other five paintings, however, were not painted by Velázquez till later, most probably between the late 1630's and mid-1640's.

The decoration of the Torre de la Parada doubtless added to Velázquez' work and chores, but it also increased his stature at the Court. In fact, on 28 July 1636, an astute observer of life at the Court reported that the King had just appointed Velázquez 'Gentleman of the Wardrobe, without duties', and commented that the painter's ambition went higher; that he, indeed, aimed at becoming 'gentleman of the Bedchamber' — as he, in fact, did seven years later — and at wearing the robe of a military order like Titian — which Velázquez also achieved late in life. As Ortega y Gasset noted, these predictions reveal not only the sagacity of he who made them, but also that neither did Velázquez pursue his ambitions for advancement at the Court, nor did the King grant them, in a haphazard manner, since, to both, royal preferment did mark a *cursus honorum*.[122]

The royal hunting portraits

The three hunting portraits painted by Velázquez are life-size; their heights vary from 1.89 to 1.91 m., but their widths differ markedly, the King's being the widest, 1.25 m., and the Prince's the narrowest, 1.03 m. The latter, however, has been cut down on the right by at least ten or fifteen centimetres, and even more if the original composition included three dogs as three extant workshop replicas do. There is no indication that the portrait of Don Fernando was originally wider than its present 1.09 m. The original sizes of the canvases and the changes they have undergone might eventually prove useful for ascertaining the place given to them when they were first hung in the Torre de la Parada.

The portrait of Baltasar Carlos bears the inscription *Anno aetatis suae VI* (plate *162*). Since he was born on 17 October 1629, the portrait must have been painted either late in 1635 or in the following year; the latter seems the more likely since it is documented that Velázquez was at work on paintings for the Torre de la Parada in 1636.

The dating of the portraits of Philip and his brother is a somewhat harder problem. The head of the King — who was originally bareheaded — is quite close to that in the portrait that Velázquez painted soon after his return from Italy, that is, in 1631 or 1632 (plates *127* and *144*); it looks, indeed, like a replica with no significant variations in point of execution. *Pentimenti* and major corrections are noticeable to the naked eye in the painting. Something of their sequence can be gathered from the early workshop copy in the Castres Museum (plate *143*). Velázquez, after sketching the figure on the canvas, altered its stance considerably, as revealed by the substantial *pentimenti* running from the waist to the feet. At

that point in the process of composition, the King was represented holding the cap in his left hand, as he appears in the copy in the Museum of Castres. At a later moment Velázquez painted out the cap — whose shape is now seen overlaying the earlier *pentimento* about the waist — and depicted the King wearing it. Laboratory tests might give an indication of the length of the interval between those two major changes. Yet the execution of the painting suggests a date rather close to the London portrait of Philip in brown and silver and that of Baltasar Carlos with a dwarf, and consequently it could not have been painted much later than 1632 or 1633. As for the copy at the Museum of Castres, it must have been executed by an assistant before Velázquez had entirely finished the original, surely before he altered the composition by representing the King with the cap on rather than bareheaded.

The portrait of Don Fernando is executed in very much the same manner as that of his brother except for the pictorial handling of the face which, as is always the case with Velázquez, is smoother in the King's (plate *145*). Don Fernando was not quite twenty-three years old when he left Madrid on 12 April 1632 with the King and his other brother, Don Carlos, on a journey to various Spanish cities, including Barcelona, where Philip left him as Governor; two years later he was sent from there to Flanders, also as Governor; he died in Brussels in 1641 without ever having returned to Madrid.

It is quite likely, though by no means certain, that Velázquez, in his capacity as Usher of the Chamber, accompanied the King on that journey, in the course of which he could have portrayed Don Fernando in Valencia, Barcelona, or any other city where the royal party stopped. That Philip, even before his decision to refurbish the Torre de la Parada, would have liked to have a portrait of his brother Fernando clad for the chase, would seem natural since hunting was the favourite sport of both and they had shared many hours indulging in it.

We learn from Pacheco that it was in the entourage of the Cardinal Infante, the then fourteen-year-old Don Fernando, that Fonseca first succeeded in creating an atmosphere favourable to Velázquez at the Court in 1623. Indeed, the young painter's initial success came when he was commanded to paint the portrait of the Cardinal Infante, though, to his greater advantage, it was then thought more advisable that he should first portray the King. It is in consequence likely that Velázquez made a portrait of Don Fernando before the one in hunting costume — which, as the broad brushwork indicates, and the sitter's appearance confirms, must have been painted, not necessarily from life, in 1632 or 1633. As it happens, this is the only likeness of Don Fernando unquestionably by Velázquez which has come down to us.

In this portrait, Don Fernando hardly looks older than his twenty-three years in 1632. Therefore, if the Master painted it later, he must have worked from memory or from a sketch made at about that time. As with the portrait of Philip, there is, however, no stylistic reason to suggest a date later than 1632 or 1633. If we compare the landscape in either picture with that in the portrait of Baltasar Carlos as a hunter, painted late in 1635 or in 1636 (plate *162*), we realize that the depth of the latter sets it apart from the others, and links it

rather with those in the equestrian portraits painted by Velazquez for the Buen Retiro no later than 1635 (plates *152* and *153*). The conclusion suggests itself that the hunting portraits of Philip and his brother were executed about 1632 or shortly after, and that some four years later, when Philip thought of refurbishing the hunting lodge, he decided to take them there and to add the portrait of his six-year-old son who had already taken up hunting.[123]

In the portrait of Don Fernando, the prevailing tints are grey and ochre, which contrast with some light-green strokes and with the vivid, almost saturated, blue of the mountain in the background. In that of Philip, ochres, used in a wide range of hues, dominate over the greys and greens, filling the whole composition with an amber warmth which enhances the luminous face of the King. The portrait of Baltasar Carlos, now extensively restored, is lighter in hue and evenly luminous, the greys and greens of the landscape being keyed to the blues of the sky.

As in other sets of royal portraits, Velázquez has rendered in a different pictorial manner the face of the King. Only the subtlest of shadings have been used in the modelling of Philip's face, which is lit up by a light coming from a source other than the one which falls on the dog by his side and finer than that on the landscape. Shadows, however, are used to accent the features of Don Fernando in much the same manner as in the portrait of the Infante Don Carlos painted by Velázquez much earlier, in 1628 (plate *101*); moreover, the lights on his face have the same source as those which fall on the dog beside him, and show the same vivacity of touch as those which light up the landscape.

The portrayal of antiquity

It seems rather likely that Velázquez' life-size pictures of *Mars*, *Aesop* and *Menippus* were painted for the Torre de la Parada (plates *178*, *179* and *181*). They were included in the first inventory of this royal residence compiled after Velázquez' and Philip IV's days, in 1701 (see catalogue Nos. 92–4). This is, of course, too late a date to be regarded as evidence of the paintings' original destination, but, as indicated above, there is no earlier available record concerning the decoration of the royal hunting lodge. Nor is there any indication that any of the mentioned Velázquez' paintings had been elsewhere before 1701.

The three paintings are tall and narrow and rather close in size: *Mars* is 1.82 m. in height and 0.97 m. in width, and both *Aesop* and *Menippus* are just a bit smaller, 1.79 × 0.94 m. Their height, though not their width, coincides either exactly or within one or two centimeters with a dozen or so of the paintings executed by Rubens and other Flemish painters for the Torre de la Parada — which lends additional support to the surmise that they too had been painted to hang on the walls of the hunting lodge.

The place assigned to them within the residence is another matter, and so is the role they may have been intended to play within a conceptual decorative programme if such programme did exist. It seems rather evident that *Aesop* and *Menippus* were companion pieces. Beyond that there is little that we know or can reasonably guess since it is likely that paintings were moved about during the roughly a quarter of a century that Philip IV used the hunting lodge and during the thirty-five years which elapsed between his death, in 1665, and that of Charles II in 1700.

The inventory of 1701 groups together *Mars, Aesop* and *Menippus* in a single entry; the other paintings in the same room were a much larger composition by Jordaens, *The wedding of Peleus and Thetis* (1.81 × 2.88 m., Prado, No. 1634), plus two over-door and two over-window smaller paintings representing animal subjects, possibly all of them by Paul de Vos (1596–1678).[124]

Aesop and *Menippus* have been variously dated from 1628, that is, before the Master's first Italian journey, to 1660, the year he died. The range of disagreement is narrower for *Mars*, for which the earliest date suggested is 1640–42, and the latest 1653–58. Aureliano de Beruete placed the three works in the painter's last years. The current catalogue of the Prado Museum suggests 1639–40 for *Menippus* and *Aesop*, and some time between 1640 and 1642 for *Mars* — which is plausible, though it would be more accurate, if less specific, to suggest that the three were painted roughly about the same years, with 1639 as the pivotal date.

In pictorial treatment, and inherent meaning, *Aesop, Menippus* and *Mars* show an analogy with the second portrait of the jester *Calabazas*, which there is no reason to suppose was painted after 1639 when he died, and with that of the dwarf *Francisco Lezcano*, of the early 1640's, which was at the Torre de la Parada (plates *169* and *186*).

It has been repeatedly suggested that *Mars* shows a resemblance to an antique statue in Villa Ludovisi, Rome, as well as to Michelangelo's *Lorenzo de' Medici* in San Lorenzo, Florence, which Velázquez may have seen in 1629. It is, indeed, conceivable that ideas of one or the other sculpture, or both of them, came to his mind when he was at work on the painting. Be this as it may, Velázquez' composition, in which an unheroic god of war sits on a couch propping himself with his staff, is essentially different from either sculpture (plate *181*).

Velázquez' *Mars* is a huge gawky figure, whose flabby torso, framed by broad shoulders and brawny arms and legs, sinks in a shade as his uncouth, dull and quite human features, touched up by light on the chin and nosetip, shadow forth under a glittering helmet. The god's slack pose is emphasized by the luminous rim of the tilted steel-blue helmet and the diagonal of the glistening Moorish shield which tops a heap of pieces of armour in the foreground.

The glittering armour and the rich textures of the blue loin-cloth and red mantle which falls in folds to the floor underscore the weariness of the figure. The highest light in the composition is the god's left hand, rather indolently supporting his head, while the other, hidden under the mantle, props his shape against the staff. It is a masterful scaling

down of a god to a human shape — and a worthless one at that — achieved by a pictorial play on his very attributes, without detracting from the plastic integrity of the nude.[125] Indeed, Mars is made into a zany of mythological belief by just the touches of light which, hitting on his hand, chin and tip of the nose, underline his bushy moustache and stolid features.

Scholars and other writers on the subject have seldom failed to emphasize the rascally traits of *Mars* and the beggarly appearance of *Aesop* and *Menippus*, the underlying idea, or even conclusion, being that Velázquez' zest for realism carried him away from his subject to be true to the knave or the wretch posing for it. Lately, however, Gerstenberg has convincingly shown that Aesop's lacklustre eyes, flattened nose, broad mouth, and thin underlip correspond rather closely with an engraving illustrating Giovanni Battista Porta's physiognomical comparison of man's traits with the ox's, and that the objects depicted by Velázquez at the feet of the Greek fabler — a two-handled bucket with a piece of leather across its edge, to his right, and a hide set up to dry on the other side — are implements and materials of the tanner; they refer to Aesop's fable in which the rich neighbour begins by finding the stink coming from the tannery unbearable till he finally becomes inured to it — the moral being the need to reach equanimity by mastering discomfort (plate *178*). Likewise, the books and scroll lying on the ground at Menippus' feet in the companion picture point to his contempt for conventional knowledge and vested interests, and the water jug on a piece of board supported by two stones stands for his cynical philosophy of freedom from human wants (plate *179*).[126]

Consequently there can be no doubt that Velázquez kept to his intended subject in each picture. But, of course, the subject of a painting is not the same as its significance, which is embodied in the shapes brushed by the painter on the canvas.

In the late 1620's, Velázquez had painted a picture of the laughing *Democritus* (plate *108*). This traditional subject, together with that of the weeping Heraclitus, had found room in Marino's *Galeria*.[127] Rubens painted both subjects for the Torre de la Parada.[128] Other painters had earlier represented men of antiquity as guiding thinkers. Ribera was doing so about the time that Velázquez was in Naples in 1630. Rembrandt — to cite the one seventeenth-century painter equal to Velázquez in the effortless use of pigment for sheer expressiveness — was still to paint some such pictures, including the one in which he fashioned the classical bust of Homer into a three-quarter-lenghth likeness of the blind poet, whose figure, monumental and richly hued, is pervaded by the rhythm he is beating out with his hands (Mauritshuis, No. 584).[129]

Velázquez' *Aesop* wears unconcernedly a tattered brown robe, while *Menippus*, his legs also in brown rags, is snugly wrapped in a cloak, grey and tattered like his hat. Each of them stands against a neutral background, shadows narrowing the space marked by the floor-line. Everything is subdued and fluidly painted but the wasted faces and gnarled hands, which are accented beyond the descriptive by vivid textures of rough impasto. Each is centred in the midst of the unemphatic symbols of his way of thought, intently looking outside, his bovine or sharp eyes and his ruminating or knowing expression

stressing the carnality of his features and, with it, the purely human nature of his knowledge (plates *178* and *179*).

Seen within the Master's *oeuvre*, his pictures of *Mars*, *Aesop* and *Menippus* rank with his portraits of Court fools and jesters, in all of which the sitter's coarse carnality is vividly accented. Within a broader context, that of Velázquez' Spain, *Aesop* and *Menippus* appear as pictorial counterfigures to the *picaro*, the literary type who lives by his wits and sinks beyond salvation in his purely human and as such forever faultfinding knowledge, as age and accidents misshape him into a wretch. As for *Mars*, it has been pointed out more than once that it was not unusual in Velázquez' day to regard mythology as a merry farce.[130] Nor was this derisive attitude peculiar to Spain. Catholic writers in other countries, such as Marino, freely indulged in it on occasion.[131]

Hence Velázquez' depiction of mythological or classical subjects — well based as it was on humanistic knowledge — corresponded to a climate of sentiment which in his day led to seeing the world of antiquity as one of purely human nature and thought. Yet, there is no caricatural distortion in his pictures of subjects from antiquity, which are, on the contrary, endowed with the pulse of life. For instance, the caricatural traits, sharply defined in the engraving illustrating Porta's comparison of man's traits with the ox's, are composed into a live human presence in Velázquez's painting of *Aesop*.

Certainly Velázquez' humanistic knowledge is woven into his compositions, but it ought not to be identified as their theme. What he appears always to be intent on is the life he is in — whose splendour, drollery, coarseness, delicacy, misery, truth and deceit are heightened, but not distorted, by his mind, at ease within the range, embracing both the divine and the human, of his religious belief. Hence his vivid portrayal of the ephemeral human shape and mien — which explains the lasting appeal of his naturalism.

Sheer depiction of human nature and quirks

As shall presently be seen, available documentary evidence supported by stylistic considerations, leads to the conclusion that five of the six extant portraits of identified Court fools, dwarfs and other jesters by Velázquez were painted before his second Italian journey,[132] and there is no reason to suppose that any of the other Velázquez' extant portraits of like subjects was painted later.

The sitters for four of them, *Calabazas*, Pablo de Valladolid and Francisco Lezcano, died before Velázquez' departure from Madrid in November 1648 or within the next eleven months, long before his return, and neither stylistic nor documentary evidence suggests that any of the four portraits was painted posthumously (plates *107*, *167*, *169* and *186*). As for the portrait of *Don Juan de Austria*, there is documentary indication that it was painted in 1632 or soon afterwards, as the composition and execution of the painting suggest (plate *146*).

Dwarfs and jesters had for long been a feature of European courts and aristocratic mansions, where occasionally their quirks or quips broke, sometimes with a hearty laugh, the routine of fashion and etiquette. Their portraits often decorated the palaces of their masters.[133]

Velázquez' earliest portrait of any such court retainer is one of the buffoon *Calabazas* holding in one hand a small bust portrait of a woman, and in the other a pinwheel. This children's toy, known in Spanish by a large variety of names, such as *rehilandera*, *rehilete*, *reguilete* or *molinillo de papel*, had long been regarded as an attribute of Folly. As has been pointed out, a woodcut illustration to *Pazzia* in Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*, published at Padua in 1630, represents a man riding a cane with a children's pinwheel in his hand.[134] For a broader understanding of the subject, I should add that Mateo Alemán in his picaresque novel, *Guzmán de Alfarache*, a seventeenth-century bestseller, first published at Madrid in 1599 and soon translated into every major European language, had personified idle dreaming in the figure of a boy riding a cane and carrying a pinwheel in his hand.[135]

The nervous, somewhat tight modelling of *Calabaza's* face, highlighted on the nose and mouth, particularly at the corners of the lips, recalls the figure of Bacchus in the large composition of 1628–9 (plates *107* and *109*), which leads to the belief that this portrait must also have been painted before Velázquez set out on his Italian journey in 1629.

As in the face of Bacchus, the smallness of Calabazas's eyes, vacuously looking somewhere outside the composition, is underscored by the light that broadens the sockets; the squint is accented by a highlight, pictorially balanced by another on the teeth. The distortion of the jester's features is also rendered by the shadows that harden the left side of the face and by the lights that dislocate, as it were, the mouth to the same side. His empty smile quickens our eye to the contrast between his smallish head and torso and his gangling limbs completed with big hands and feet. As he stands, his figure is made unquiet not so much by his gesture as by the interplaying diagonals of the toy pinwheel, the folding stool, and the shadows on the floor. There are, however, no caricatural traits. Indeed, the likeness of the misshapen buffoon has the fullness of an individual presence.

Next in point of time are the portraits of the buffoons *Don Juan de Austria* and *Pablo de Valladolid*, both of about the same size, larger than the earlier *Calabazas*. The dating of *Don Juan de Austria* in 1632 or soon afterwards is suggested by a clothier's bill submitted to the King's accounting office that year; it lists several pieces of different fabrics to be made into a costume complete with cape and cap for this jester, whose services at the Court from 1624 till 1654 were only occasional. The materials listed coincide, almost to the last detail, as to stuff, colour and quantity, with the velvet and silk attire, in black and rose which he wears in Velázquez' portrait (plate *146*). Court jesters used to mime famous personages, and sometimes they had costumes especially made for such impersonations.

The name Don Juan de Austria, probably given to this jester by Philip III or some other royal person, was that of the hero of the naval battle of Lepanto (1571), Charles V's son, memories of whom were very much alive at the time of Philip IV, when the buffoon may habe been encouraged or commanded to impersonate his illustrious namesake.

Velázquez has represented him in a martial pose, one hand on the sword and the other on a baton. The Master was doubtless aware that there was then at the Royal Palace a life-size portrait of Philip III by Pedro Antonio Vidal in which the late monarch was represented holding the baton in his right hand and resting the left on the sword, while he stood between a terrestrial globe and his helmet and gauntlets neatly arranged on a black pillow on the floor (plate **30**).[136] The comparison invited by Velázquez' *Don Juan de Austria* made plainer and more laughable the ridiculous appearance of the dressed-up jester. Though, as we have just seen, Velázquez' portrait illustrates a practice and a sentiment of the time, its full significance lies well beyond that.

The composition recalls the two large pictures painted by the Master at Rome in 1630. As in *Joseph's bloody coat* (plate *113*), the lines of the tiled floor emphasize the perspective that leads towards an open wall in the background — a device found only in these two paintings in the whole of Velázquez' *œuvre*. In point of modelling, on the other hand, the face of Don Juan de Austria recalls that of Vulcan in the six-figure composition painted by Velázquez in 1630, too (plate *117*); another analogy between this mythological picture and the portrait of the jester is the markedly diagonal arrangement of the objects on the floor intended to further the sense of spatial depth in each work.

Velázquez turned *Don Juan de Austria*, as he would later do with *Mars* (plate *181*), into a military simpleton, whose spiritless mien is emphasized by the contrasting splendour of his attire and the mock naval battle seen in the background, just as the shape of his weary figure is stirred by the interplay of the diagonals indicated by the baton in his hand and the armour and weapons at his feet.

No such distinct interplay of diagonals occurs in the portrait of *Pablo de Valladolid*, of the mid-1630's (plate *167*). In this work, the jester's declamatory gesture and stance enliven the empty space, as his well-rounded figure merges into ambient air, and his countenance is made both piteous and comical, and as such quite human, by vivacities of touch which highlight the tip of the nose, the slack mouth and the eyes, smallish and quiet in their large sockets. Velázquez brushed in black upon grey a full and yet substanceless shape of a man, standing in a space void of everything else, depicted just by dint of hue and shade, without even a floorline.[137]

These three portraits of buffoons offer, as a group, a view of the consistency and flow of Velázquez' art with his first Italian journey as a turning point. The nervous, somewhat tight brushwork of *Calabazas* gives way to the rather sketchy strokes of *Don Juan de Austria*. In these two works, however, there is an architectural depiction of space, more fluidly achieved in *Don Juan de Austria*, which is totally expunged in *Pablo de Valladolid*, a seemingly effortless masterpiece which was to remain unequalled even within the Master's *œuvre* — a painting, incidentally, that in later centuries won him such creative students as Goya and Manet.

It was probably in a like vein that Velázquez conceived the portrait of *Don Cristobal de Castañeda y Pernia* (plate *170*). This jester is known to have been at the Court from 1633 till 1649; his claims to military ability had earned him the nickname of 'Barbarroja', made

Velázquez, *The buffoon Don Juan de Austria.* 1632–3.
Catalogue No. 65.
Reproduced by courtesy of the Prado Museum.

30. Vidal, *Philip III*, 1617?, (2 × 1.35 m), Madrid, Prado. Courtesy of the Museum.

famous in the preceding century by an Algerian pirate; he was also much celebrated for his clownish performances as a bull-fighter, and seems to have been regarded as first among the jesters.

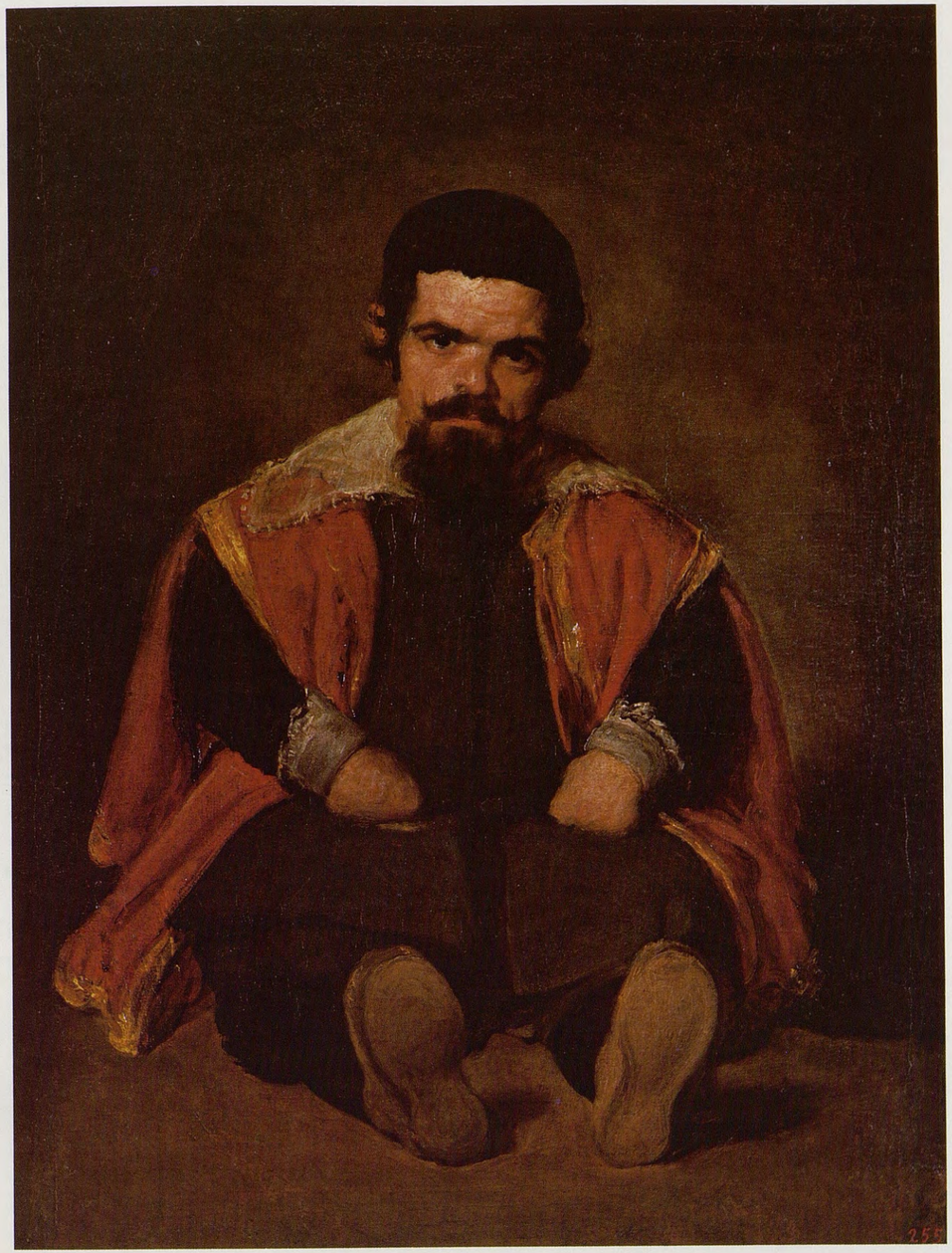
The portrait, most likely begun in the late 1630's, was left unfinished by Velázquez and has remained so, though another painter worked on it, mainly on the grey mantle draped on the sitter's shoulder. The Master's brushwork is unmistakable in the painting of the head and hands as well as in the live outline of the whole figure. Barbarroja is clad in a red Turkish costume of sorts, which includes a head-piece not unlike a fool's cap. His energetic gesture is one with his fiery expression, the latter being stressed by a bristling moustache that, like those of *Vulcan* (plate *117*), *Mars* (plate *181*), and *Don Juan de Austria* (plate *146*), gives a farcical touch to his countenance without distorting it into a caricature. The jester's pose of defiance is pictorially accented in a spirit akin to that of comedy by his hold on the empty sheath, even stronger than the one he has on the bare sword. Unfinished as the portrait is, it reveals Velázquez' mastery in quickening a sitter's likeness into a human shape of passions or appetites, made the more piquant by a trace of chaff.

Not long before Calabazas's death, which occurred in October 1639, Velázquez portrayed him again (plate *169*). This time the buffoon was represented sitting on a low bench, flanked by two gourds, each of a different variety, a visual pun upon his name and mindlessness since *calabazas* is Spanish for both simpleton and gourds. The sketchy delineation of space is very similar to that in the portraits of *Barbarroja* and *A dwarf sitting on the floor* (plates *170* and *191*); the high floor-line underscores the dwarfish torso of the jester, whose gangling limbs and flowing green robes are piled in a heap that comes to the foreground; his head is a shadowy blob roughened out by thick lights and circled around by the striking brilliancy of a white lacy collar; the smallish eyes are sunk in the sockets, made broad by dense shadows and deep by a thick light which extends from across the nose to the cheekbones skirting the lower side.

Velázquez could not have portrayed *Francisco Lezcano* from life later than 1645, for the sitter, also known as the *Boy of Vallecas*, was absent from the Court from then till 1648, and died the following year while the painter was in Italy. Nor could a much earlier date be suggested for it on stylistic grounds, 1643–5 being indeed a reasonable one (plate *186*).

This is one of the portraits of clownish dwarfs by Velázquez which were at the Torre de la Parada, where it was described as a buffoon playing with a deck of cards. The moronic dwarf, clad in green, is in fact picking at the edges of the playing cards that he idly holds in his hands. He sits clumsily against an overhanging cliff which lets in a mountainous view; this setting lends a sort of monumentality to his oafish figure, while the relatively enormous hat fills most of the foreground and cuts him down to true size — the conflicting appearances coalescing in an image of human shapelessness and spiritlessness beyond the merely descriptive.

A dwarf holding a tome on his lap was also at the Torre de la Parada; it was inventoried there for the first time, together with the portrait of *Francisco Lezcano*, in 1701. Neither this, nor any later royal inventory which included it, mentioned the name of the sitter, who was



Velázquez, *A dwarf sitting on the floor*. Mid–1640's.
Catalogue No. 103.
Reproduced by courtesy of the Prado Museum.

described as just a buffoon, sometimes said to be 'clad in black' and holding a book or to be dissembled 'as a philosopher, studying'. It was only in 1872 that the portrait was said to be the one of Don Diego de Acedo, nicknamed *El Primo*, known to have been painted by Velázquez at Fraga in June 1644, a date perfectly consistent with the composition and execution of the painting — which has greatly contributed to the general acceptance of the identification of the sitter as Don Diego de Acedo (plate *191*).

As I fully discuss in the corresponding catalogue entry (*No. 103*), this identification, which I had previously accepted, cannot be regarded as conclusive in the light of available evidence. Yet, whoever the sitter may have been, it is safe to assume on stylistic grounds that the portrait was painted in the mid-1640's, if not precisely in June 1644.

The well attired dwarf is depicted holding a folio on his lap and surrounded by other large volumes, perhaps a reference to his bookish disposition. These tomes emphasise the sitter's dwarfish shape, which is at the same time given a sort of dubious monumentality as his heavy shoulders and big head, underlined by the slant of the stiff collar, stand out under the weighty shape of a rakish hat against a mountainous backdrop. Needless to say, there is nothing casual about this composition. Indeed, as radiographs show, Velázquez had initially depicted the sitter bareheaded and wearing a falling collar; the substantial changes that he made concerning both the hat and the collar helped to achieve the scaling up and down of the dwarfish figure, and to make it into a compelling pictorial reality (plates *190* and *191*).This scaling up and down of the figure of the oafish sitter allies this portrait with that of *Francisco Lezcano* (plate *186*).

A like interplay of the monumental and the oafish is noticeable in the portrait of *A dwarf sitting on the floor*, of which we know the original and a replica, also by Velázquez, possibly with some workshop assistance(plates *193* and *194*).The original has been substantially cut down, particularly on the right; it comes from the Madrid Royal Alcázar. The replica, *A dwarf sitting on the floor by a pitcher*, shows the sitter off centre, as was Velázquez' wont; in the 17th century it was in the Marquis of Carpio collection.[138]

The inventory entries concerning the replica in the Carpio collection identified the sitter as *El Primo*, that is, Don Diego de Acedo. A portrait of *El Primo* and another of the dwarf *Sebastián de Morra*, both by Velázquez, had been inventoried at the Madrid Alcázar from 1666 till 1700; only one of them was included, without the sitter's name, in the list of paintings rescued from the fire that in 1734 gutted the Alcázar. Hence, the only documentary indication which we have about the sitter's identity is provided by the inventory entries referring to the Carpio replica.

Velázquez represented the bearded dwarf in a green dress and gold-braided red overgarment, sitting on the floor; his petulant temper is rendered by the play of thick light upon shadow, which adds to the distortion and carnality of his features, and by his droll pose; his foreshortened legs, with the upturned soles of the shoes on his little feet, and the low floorline make his torso look large, and the symmetric pull of his shortish arms give to his chest the appearance of a monumental bust, which conflicts with the diminutive and richly braided overgarment which hangs from his shoulders hardly touching the floor

where he sits (plate *193*). In the replica the space is wider, and probably it was somewhat deeper; it seems, indeed, that there was in the background, to the sitter's left, a sort of window opening — which the original composition might also have included (plate *194*).

As in his pictures of pagan gods or men of antiquity, Velázquez used foreshortening, highlights, and impasto to stress the carnality of features and earthliness of bearing of dwarfs and jesters, as well as their comical or stupid traits and gestures, and the disfigurement, and accompanying individualization, brought about by passions, appetites, idiocy, and age, singly or together.

Velázquez' portraits of dwarfs and jesters, unlike Callot's works of analogous subjects, show no elaboration of caricatural traits or pervasive rhythm of farce. His mind's eye was not focused on the mode of life and feeling that made those court retainers fashionable. There is, in fact, neither irony nor melancholy in his likenesses of men whose role was to act out their feelings and proclivities, even their infirmities, for the King's and the courtiers' pleasure. He used light, shade and the pigment's texture to make them into enduring, individual images of cloddish men. Velázquez' approach to the clowning of dwarfs and jesters resulted indeed in a sheer — or stoic — depiction of human nature and quirks.

The artist as a maker

In 1635 Pietro Tacca was commissioned to make a monumental equestrian portrait of Philip IV. Since he was to execute it in Italy, he needed a likeness of the King to work from. The sculptor Juan Martínez Montañés, then sixty-seven years old, was called from Seville to Madrid to make a model of the head of Philip; he sculptured it from life in clay some time between June 1635 and January 1636, which was the length of his stay at the Court. His work was found sufficiently impressive for one of the leading Court poets, Don Gabriel de Bocángel, to write a sonnet on it, which was included in a book of poems published in 1637. In the baroque manner current then, the sonnet played upon the human, that is perishable, connotation of clay to exalt the lasting life and shape achieved by the sculptor in the portrait of the King.[139]

Velázquez portrayed Martínez Montañés at work on that very portrait (plate *159*). The sculptor, clad in black, is gazing into the distance, obviously at his royal sitter, holding the modelling tool pointed at the likeness roughed in clay that he supports from the back. The sculptor's head and hands are interrelated in a rhythm of readiness. Montañés's luminous head is modelled with a rich impasto which yet is brushed to a soft tissue in the cheeks and sockets, from whose fluid shadows the eyes, thinly painted, gaze out. This artistic ambivalence mortises in one shape the lusty head and the serene countenance of the sculptor at work. Likewise Montañés' right hand, posed over the clay, is fully modelled, the sensitiveness of the fingers being heightened by the vivacities of a

pigment subtly worked from a rich impasto to just a film. As for the large-sized likeness of Philip, his main traits are sketched in directly on the grey priming of the canvas, and the sculptor's hand which props the shape of clay is just roughened out with a few strokes of heavy impasto.

These facts have led to suggestions that the picture is unfinished or that Velázquez completed it many years after Montañés' stay at Madrid, which, it is argued, would explain why he did not paint in more detail the sculptured head of the King, since, with the passing of the years he would not have remembered it.[140] Like surmises have been made about other works, particularly portraits, by Velázquez; with a few exceptions, they have been based on assumptions as to how Velázquez might, or ought to, have painted rather than on a realization of how he did paint.

Velázquez portrayed Martínez Montañés at work in an arrested and intent attitude, similar to the one in which he would portray himself at the easel some twenty years later in the so-called *Las Meninas* (plate *220*). The painter's self-portrait in the latter work has been interpreted as an embodiment of the mannerists' views on the imitation of nature by art, in the light of the distinction between *disegno interno* and *disegno esterno* formulated in *Cinquecento* treatises.[141] Yet, art-treatises, as I have indicated above, can throw as much, but no more, light on a painter's work as a book of rhetoric can on a literary creation — that is, rather little. They can, of course, inform us of the critical views, practical rules, or artistic aims current at the time, in narrow or wide circles to which the artist in question may have been exposed; and it may be of interest to ascertain just how far the artist conformed, or departed from, such views, rules and aims. Learning, whether theoretical or practical, plays a role, which is perhaps impossible to isolate, in the complex of an artist's creation. But it would, indeed, be a substanceless or misunderstood work whose full significance would just fit a point made in an art-treatise.

There is a meaningful analogy between Velázquez' early *St. John writing the Apocalypse* and the *Martínez Montañés at work* of his mature years: each is represented at a moment of inner concentration on what he is shaping, whether in words or clay, his toiling hand in readiness for the sentient stroke. There is a difference too: the evangelist looks past the depiction of the vision that he is intent on describing towards an indeterminable point outside the picture, while the sculptor looks out of the picture to a determinable though invisible point, his royal sitter. The ineffable nature of the evangelist's experience is rendered by the mumbling of his lips and the far-off look in his eyes (plate *70*). The piercing look in the sculptor's eyes, however, suggests the presence of the invisible sitter as real and near.

Montañés' left hand is sketchy, though in a different manner from the head of clay that it cushions; roughened out with heavy impasto, also used for the wrist cuff, it contrasts with the filmy lights and broad strokes which sketch the likeness of the King. Thus an ambivalent, but by no means confused, image is created as the shape roughened out by the sculptor is made into a painter's sketch; the monumental head of the King, moreover, blends with the background, letting the three-quarter figure of the sculptor

dominate the composition — which might not have been the case if Philip's features had been rendered in a more elaborate manner on so large a scale.

Had Velázquez left this work unfinished, it would be necessary to conclude that he chose to do so at a point when he had strikingly expressed on the canvas the act of artistic creation. It appears, indeed, that Velázquez did not limit himself to superimposing, as it were, his own sketch of the likeness of the King on the representation of the head sculptured by Montañés. Actually he fashioned the portrait of the latter into a vivid image of the artist as a maker whose hand bends materials — whether clay or pigments — to his expressive purpose, heightening rather than disguising their earthly textures, thus accenting the superiority of the image achieved over the natural appearance that it portrays.

The needlewoman, datable between the mid-1630's and the early 1640's is a fine example of what a plainly unfinished portrait by Velázquez looks like. The head, well modelled in light and shade, is the only finished part, as was noted at the time of the painter's death, and as any viewer will quickly realize; the arms and hands, sketched in, have their rhythm masterfully indicated, though they fall short of the full modelling of the face, which results in a sort of distortion of space and of the limbs, particularly the left forearm. This painting, in its unfinished state, reveals Velázquez' felicity of apprehension of human gesture and the way he went about building a shape within a broadly brushed contour, plainly noticeable in the left hand and shoulders, blending the figure with its ambient air, as seen in the head, whose contour has been thinned into an airy fluid of light and shade (plate *166*).

The person of the King — and the redundancy of allegory

In January 1643 Philip IV removed the Count-Duke of Olivares from the office of chief minister and banished him from the Court. It was a decision that the Queen and the camarilla around her had been urging on him for a long time. Philip, in what proved to be one of his passing moods of self-assertion, announced that he would now take the affairs of state in his own hands. Yet, within a few days the new chief minister, Don Luís de Haro, Marquis of Carpio — a nephew and political rival of Olivares — was running the government pretty much in his own way. The Count-Duke, who had at first been allowed to retire to his estate at Loeches, near Madrid, was sent into confinement at Toro, far away from the Court. He died there, a bitter man, two years later.

A couple of weeks before the downfall of Olivares, Velázquez had received the royal appointment of Gentleman of the Bedchamber, without duties but with the corresponding perquisites. Less than five months after the new chief minister came into power, the painter was made Assistant Superintendent of Works, to be in charge of such projects as the King might designate — which meant the refurbishing of the old Alcázar made necessary by the transfer of many of the Court functions to the new Buen Retiro Palace.

Apparently Velázquez never took part in the politics of the Court and always remained close to the King. Given Philip's character, it seems likely that he would have occasionally talked about political events to the man who had been at his side longer than any other. But Velázquez — whose exalted view of the person of the King is unmistakable in his painting — never became embroiled in the strife of the camarillas.

The Marquis of Carpio remained in power till his death, which occurred in 1661, one year later than Velázquez'. During his régime, the painter went on accumulating royal appointments, honours and privileges. The son of the chief minister, the Marquis of Eliche, collected a large number of paintings, including ten which were inventoried at one time or another as by Velázquez, though not all of them were entirely by his hand. Some might have come from Olivares' collection, but others were unquestionably painted after the Count-Duke's banishment.

During the twenty-odd years that Olivares was in power, many noblemen had avoided the Court; after his downfall they came back and grouped themselves round the King, desirous of having his authority reasserted. A military opportunity came their way when Philip decided to join his troops engaged in the rescue of the city of Lérida from the French occupation forces. In the spring of 1644, the King, accompanied by a large retinue which included Velázquez, set out on a slow-moving journey to the distant battlefield. When he joined his troops he was wearing an army dress, as he also was when he formally entered Lérida after the French had been chased from the city. The fact that Philip IV had appeared in military dress before his troops was underscored in contemporary accounts of the campaign for then, as now, it was thought that a monarch could encourage, and even reward, his soldiers just by making an appearance before them. Thanks to the interest that the matter then aroused, we have quite precise descriptions of two of the uniforms worn by the King during that campaign — in one of which Velázquez portrayed him early in June.[142]

It was during a halt at the city of Fraga that Philip decided to have his portrait painted. In the last days of May and the early ones of June, an easel was made for Velázquez, the house where he was staying was repaired, and a new window was opened up so that he could 'work and paint'. At the same time the room, or rather alcove, described as just the 'mantel of a chimney', where the King was to sit for the portrait, was reconditioned: it is not quite clear that the alcove was left without flooring, but it is known that a load of reeds was brought to cover the floor each day — three in all — that Philip sat for the portrait, obviously to keep his feet warm.

The documents referred to reveal a procedure which probably was usual for Velázquez as a portrait painter: to work from the model first, and then to finish the portrait in his workshop without the sitter. At least that was the way he went about in the only other instance for which we have a reliable account — from an eye-witness in this case. Jusepe Martínez, indeed, tells how Velázquez during one of his stays in Saragossa — that is, in 1642, 1644, 1645, or 1646 — made the portrait of a young lady, now lost or unidentified. He painted just the head from life, and then, 'in order not to tire' her, he brought the

canvas to Màrtínez's house where he finished the rest of the figure. In this particular instance, the sitter was disappointed, so much indeed that she refused to accept the portrait, mainly on the ground that Velázquez had not depicted the collar of very fine point lace from Flanders that she had worn at the sittings.[143]

As for the portrait for which Philip sat in that shored-up alcove illuminated from three windows, and which Velázquez completed in his makeshift workshop at Fraga, the royal sitter, truly pleased with it, sent it to the Queen at Madrid. Velázquez had represented him wearing the red and silver field dress, rather than the red and gold one which, according to the accounts of the time, he sometimes donned during that campaign.

The portrait shows Philip holding the baton in his right, and a black hat with red feathers in his left hand, his fair-hued face and red and silver costume set off by the umbery background. Gliding touches build the King's features in aerial luminosity, without wrinkles or weighty shadows, and fashion at one time the figure and its ambient air (plate *187*).

The portrait of the sovereign painted at Fraga when he was leading his armies against the French might readily have suggested an allegorical composition to Velázquez if he had been allegory-minded. He obviously was not. There is indeed no extant portrait of Philip IV with allegorical figures by Velázquez' hand. Nor is there documentary evidence that he ever painted any such portrait. It is true that when, in 1627, he did a large canvas with the portrait of the previous monarch, *Philip III and the expulsion of the 'Moriscos' decreed by him*, he represented Spain as a matron in Roman armour carrying in her right hand a shield and arrows, and in her left, some ears of grain. That picture, now lost, was, however, painted in competition with three other court painters at Philip IV's command, and it is more than likely that the allegorical figure of Spain was specifically included in the subject that the four participants in the competition were required to put on canvas.

As for portraits of Philip IV, Velázquez must have been generally given a free hand. Those which have come down to us show that he consistently made vivid the presence of the King by substituting an effortless gesture of innate power for what evidently was to him the redundancy of allegory. He did so even in the equestrian portrait painted for the Buen Retiro, that *amphiteatro* of the Spanish monarchy, in whose overall decoration, as well as in the painting praised above all others — Maino's (plate **27**) — allegory was prominent.

Allegories were, of course, quite in vogue in literature and other arts, and allegorical portraits of Philip IV were painted in Velázquez' time. In fact, the likeness of Philip IV which he painted at Fraga was soon worked into an allegorical composition.

Velázquez' portrait of Philip IV in army dress was greatly admired at Madrid. The Catalans who resided there obtained permission to display it during their celebration of the recapture of Lérida at the church of Saint Martin, and many people came to see it. Within a few days, copies were being made of it, perhaps including the one now at Dulwich College.

As often happens in the case of unsurmountable national crisis, many of the noblemen who had returned to the Court after the King's banishment of Olivares harboured a

Velázquez, *Lady with a fan*. Mid–1630's.
Catalogue No. 79.
Reproduced by courtesy of The Wallace Collection.

wishful notion to bring back the glorious days of the past. Some such sentiment must have sparkled the desire of the new chief minister's son, the Marquis of Eliche, to have a portrait of Philip IV which would spell out in an allegorical manner the glory and power of the Spanish monarchy now that the King had victoriously led his armies against the French. Such portrait was indeed commissioned in the form of a copy after Rubens' allegorical portrait of Philip IV (now lost), painted a score of years earlier and then still at the Madrid Royal Palace. The commission apparently went to Velázquez, who, as the 1651 inventory of the Eliche collection indicates, let one of his assistants copy Rubens composition, limiting himself to painting the head of the King which, except that it has the hat on, is a close replica of that in the Fraga portrait (plates *188* and *189*).[144]

It is documented that Velázquez also painted a portrait of the dwarf Don Diego de Acedo at Fraga in June 1644; he probably worked on it at much the same time as on the portrait of the King. Acedo's portrait, however, was finished within the month of June, as a case was then built to ship it to Madrid, while the one of Philip IV may not have been completed till July, when the necessary case was made to send it to the Queen.[145]

As shown above, contrary to earlier belief, there is no firm evidence to decide which of the extant Velázquez' portraits of dwarfs datable to the mid-1640's does represent Don Diego de Acedo, *El Primo*. One of them has been satisfactorily identified as Francisco Lezcano, who incidentally was also in the retinue which Philip IV took with him for his military journey to Catalonia. Even if this identification were challenged, the obviously mentally feeble sitter could not be Don Diego de Acedo, who performed some administrative functions at the Court, such as courier and assistant in the secretarial office where documents were stamped with the facsimile signature of the King.

This leaves us with *A dwarf holding a book on his lap* and *A dwarf sitting on the floor*, which, owing to its replica, has some claim to be identified with the portrait of El Primo.

If we look at these portraits of the mid-1640's, we realize that in all of them Velázquez made use of rich impasto to model the dwarfs' faces, where thick light runs into shadow without dissolving it, accenting the peculiarities and carnality of the sitter's features. Every one of these portraits of dwarfs reveals in its execution a plain, and meaningful, contrast with the Fraga portrait of Philip IV, where Velázquez built with gliding touches the King's features in aerial luminosity, without wrinkles or weighty shadows (plate *187*).

Reality of painting

As indicated before, many of the extant portraits by Velázquez have often been described as unfinished. Underlying such view, and frequently mentioned to support it, are one or more of the following facts: an unevenness of texture resulting from the use of both fluid and rough brushstrokes, as in *A knight of Santiago*, of the late 1640's (plate *201*);

the sketchy painting of the sitter's hands found in *A young lady*, of the mid-1630's (plate *165*), in *Juan Mateos*, of about 1632 (plate *138*), and in *A young man*, of 1630–1 (plate *125*); or the seemingly chance strokes left by Velázquez in the background of some portraits as if he had wiped his brush on the canvas — an example of which is the *Bearded man*, close to 1640, where the flowing contour line adds to the unfinished aspect (plate *177*). Such 'chance' strokes, which the painter could have easily erased or painted off, had he regarded them as a flaw, are also noticeable in works which can hardly be considered as unfinished, including *Don Pedro de Barberana*, of 1631–3, and *Juan de Pareja*, of 1649–50 (plates *137* and *204*).

There are, however, pictures such as *The needlewoman*, *Don Cristobal de Castañeda* and *A lass*, on which Velázquez obviously stopped working before completing what he had intended to paint (plates *166*, *170* and *202*). There is in these paintings, even in the portrait of *Castañeda* which another painter tried to finish, a lack of the pervading ambient air which Velázquez achieved in his finished works.

A lass is a telling illustration of Velázquez' way — sharply criticized in his day — of brushing a figure on canvas from life, working out the composition as he went on painting (plate *202*). This work brings to mind Carducho's waspish rebuke adressed to 'some' painters who, dispensing with preparatory drawings or sketches, would just use a piece of chalk to block out on the canvas 'what they want to do, and go on painting it all at once, without erasing anything, painting or rather simply copying from life, and they may even perhaps completely finish half a figure without having determined how the other half should be'.[146]

It seems likely that *A lass* was cut down on the right after Velázquez' time for the purpose of 'centring' the figure, as has been done with many of Velázquez' one-figure compositions. The girl's head appears nearly completed, in Velázquez' terms, down to her shoulders, including the kerchief. Strokes of white paint, unevenly thick and with a faintly pinkish tint, which highlight the face from the forehead to the chin, are distinctly unblended with the layers of skin colour. This, as well as the lass' chestnut hair, swiftly brushed in, brings this work close in point of both execution and completion, to paintings by Velázquez from various periods, notably though not exclusively, *A dwarf holding a tome on his lap* (plate *191*), *Menippus* (plate *179*), *Pablo de Valladolid* (plate *167*), and *Juan de Pareja* (plate *204*). The girl's body though is merely blocked out with broad black strokes on a dark greenish-brown ground, the left arm and what is visible from the waist down scarcely indicated. It is an unfinished and yet compelling painting, as telling as any work in progress can be.

Studies are, of course, a somewhat different matter since, however sketchy they may be, they are not likely to be impaired or made more challenging by want of further work. There are instances, though, in which it is difficult to decide whether a painting ought to be regarded as unfinished or just as a study. Such is the case with Velázquez' short bust of *A girl* (plate *184*). The sitter's head is well modelled in light and shade, while the neckline and sleeves of the grey-green dress are summarily indicated with bold strokes of brown;

Velázquez, *A lass.* Mid–1640's–1650.
Catalogue No. 111.
Reproduced by courtesy of the owner.

yet, the light that pervades the figure and permeates the background, painted in a grey-green hue darker than the dress, effects the kind of pictorial whole that studies often are.

Ultimately, the decision as to when a painting, whether sketchily or elaborately painted, is finished lies with the painter himself. Yet, works of art, whether finished or unfinished, are self-existent, and often only their very cast reveals whether they are completed. In any case, if outside terms of reference are to be looked for, they ought to be found within the artist's own *œuvre*.

Sketchy passages appear often in portraits by Velázquez which seem quite finished otherwise, so often indeed that perhaps one should pause before deciding that the Master did not regard those portraits as completed. Their comparatively large number would be of significance for the understanding of Velázquez' art, even if we were to conclude that he often simply put aside his portraits just as he was about to give them the final touches, leaving for instance, no more than one hand to be finished or a few chance strokes to be painted off. The sketchy passages noticeable in such portraits are, moreover, noticeable also in some of his religious, mythological or historical compositions which have always been regarded as finished since his day. Hence it would seem that he used at times, even often, sketchy passages as one more expressive means.

Velázquez' sketchy passages are not distinctive of any particular period of his art, for he used them now and then throughout most of his life, presumably whenever the reality of the sitter, or whatever subject he was depicting, quickened him to do so; presumably, too, at the urge of the artistic reality that was taking shape on the canvas as his work went on.

Even if we assumed that it was a matter of chance, it would be significant that the portrait of Martínez Montañés at work is the painting which shows the widest range from the 'rough' to the 'finished' within the Master's *œuvre* (plate *159*). Plainly Velázquez has brought into it the theme, as distinguished from the subject, of the artist's mastery of his medium for his expressive ends. He has not only portrayed Martínez Montañés in the process of shaping the King's likeness out of clay, but he has also achieved a live image of the very act of artistic creation, making vivid both the sculptor's and the painter's mastery of their media.

Baroque artists were intent on accenting the texture of their material — whether pigment, clay, marble or bronze — while making it bend docilely to their expressive ends. This — which is quite evident in Bernini, the sculptor and architect — enhanced the superiority of the work of art over both the stuff it was made of and the natural appearances it might portray; it often resulted in a brilliant display of resourcefulness, sometimes bordering on virtuosity, noticeable in so many works of that time. In a broader sense, such brilliant resourcefulness appears akin to that exhibited by creative writers of the period in their use of neologisms, conceits, puns and other word play, by which they underscored the very structure of words while building unique images with them.

Velázquez' sketchy passages in works which appear finished otherwise — whether a shadowy or light-permeated blob, a roughened-out hand, a flowing contour, an uneven-

ness between liquid paint and heavy impasto, or some strokes which smear the background without any representational function — have in common that they make us aware of both the painter's medium and the way he goes about putting his images on canvas. This is as true in *The surrender of Breda* (plate *154*) as in *Philip IV in army dress* (plate *187*), *Lady with a fan* (plate *164*), *The Coronation of the Virgin* (plate *195*), or *Mars* (plate *181*), to add only a few masterpieces to those mentioned before.

In 1865 Manet wrote from Madrid that Velázquez was *le peintre des peintres*[147] — a view that was shared by nearly all the Impressionists. These painters emphasized, of course, the texture of their pigments, nearly always light-hued, by the simultaneous use of liquid paint and heavy impasto, the counterpoint of the 'finished' and the 'roughened-out' within the same painting, even within the same shape, and not infrequently by leaving areas of the canvas entirely untouched. Their world, in which the mind and the senses sharpened each other, was of course, alien to Velázquez' — firm in the clear-cut polarity of the earthly and the divine. Indeed, quite contrary to that of the Impressionists, Velázquez' world was one in which the mind perceived and depicted the sensorial as dense. Yet the Impressionists could, and did, enjoy and admire Velázquez' art without oversimplifying or otherwise distorting its pictorial integrity.

As often happens with felicitous utterances, Manet's pithy remark soon became a catchword, thus losing its original meaning. Painters and scholars of a naturalistic or positivistic bent adopted it. To them, however, the art of Velázquez showed contraditions; to straighten such contradictions out, they devised a line of progressive development which has ever since been zig-zagging back and forth, often groundlessly and at times even running counter to available evidence, including that provided by the paintings themselves. Curiously, the efforts made to establish a line of progressive development in Velázquez' *œuvre* has resulted in considering the majority of his paintings as either having been retouched by himself endlessly throughout the years or as never having been finished.

There can be no question that Velázquez, like any other painter, left unfinished a number of works, some of which were so listed in the inventory of his possessions drawn up after his death. It is also known that he had a penchant for retouching his own works, which often show *pentimenti*, but there is no clear indication that such changes were not generally made in what he regarded as the course of execution — which very likely was a long one, given the overlapping of royal commissions for paintings, his other duties at the Court, and what seems to have been his own sense of leisure. It is well documented that he made a good many sketches, nearly all of which are lost. Sketches, of course, are self-existent too, and they do not necessarily depend for understanding on the work to which they ultimately led and whose process of composition they help to grasp. Unlike paintings on which the painter stopped working before fully putting on canvas what he intended to brush in, nothing is missing in a sketch.

The problem now at hand, however, is that of works in which Velázquez mortised sketchy passages or nonrepresentational strokes in a pictorial whole such as *Martínez Montañés at work* (plate *159*), *A young lady* (plate *165*), *Don Pedro de Barberana* (plate *137*),

Velázquez, *The Coronation of the Virgin*. Mid–1640's.
Catalogue No. 105.
Reproduced by courtesy of the Prado Museum.

A knight of Santiago (plate *201*) or *Juan Mateos* (plate *138*), to cite only outstanding portraits of the 1630's and 40's. If we compare any of these portraits with *The needlewoman* (plate *166*), *A lass* (plate *202*), or, for that matter, with *Don Cristobal de Castañeda* (plate *170*) — we can see the difference between a painting on which the Master stopped working, whatever the reason, before achieving a pictorial whole, and those pictorial integers embodying sketchy passages for expressive purposes, be it to accent a trait of the sitter, to reveal the painter's mastery of his medium, or to underscore the superiority of the painted image over the natural appearance that it portrays, or to do all three things at one time.

The diaphanous world of Christianity

It was probably in the mid- or late 1630's that Velázquez painted *St. Anthony Abbot and St. Paul the Hermit* for the Hermitage of St. Paul in the grounds of the Buen Retiro, where this and other newly built hermitages, monumental statues, fountains, grottoes, ponds, gardens and groves offered a variety of pleasant views. Very likely some of the landscapes with religious subjects painted by Claude Lorrain for Philip IV in those years, and inventoried at the Buen Retiro Palace in 1701, were also originally intended for the new hermitages.[148]

Velázquez' *St. Anthony Abbot and St. Paul the Hermit* is the only extant large composition with small figures unquestionably by him it is also one of his few compositions for which there is extant a colour sketch (plates *171* and *172*). The two saints are dynamically grouped at the centre, in the foreground, against an angular crag surrounded by the diaphanous view of a green valley and distant bluish mountains.

Attempts have been made at tracing this composition to various sources: the fresco of the same subject by Pinturicchio and his followers, at the Vatican; two Dürer's woodcuts — one of the same saints and the other of St. Joachim and the angel — for the main scene, and Patinir's *St. Jerome* (Prado, No. 1614) for the landscape. It has also been indicated that the background mountains are not unlike those of the Guadarrama near Madrid.[149]

Doubtless Velázquez knew most, probably even every one, of the works just mentioned; likewise he must have been familiar with the distant shape and hues of the Guadarrama mountains which then, as today, were visible from the Madrid Royal Palace. The Master, consequently, might have had in mind any of those works of art or nature. Yet the only similarities with them shown by his work are those to be expected, and hence of little consequence, because of either the iconography of the subject or the natural forms depicted.

Velázquez included in his composition several episodes of the visit of Abbot Anthony to the first hermit. He did so in an imaginative manner, making the narrative proceed unobtrusively from the background along the live lines of perspective depth which span the landscape. Thus, the various scenes are articulated in a vivid rather than enumerative

depiction. In the far distance, Anthony is seen asking the centaur the way to Paul's cave; closer to his destination he meets the horned and goat-footed monster; then the action turns to the right where the holy man knocks at the door of the cave built in the crag; this scene is a sort of backdrop for the main one: the two saints, one making a gesture of prayer and the other one of wonder, are dynamically grouped together as the black raven, a small loaf of bread in its beak, flies down to them. To the left, in a barren area off the foreground, the concluding scene, second in point of scale, takes place: two lions dig the grave for St. Paul as St. Anthony prays over his body (plate *171*).

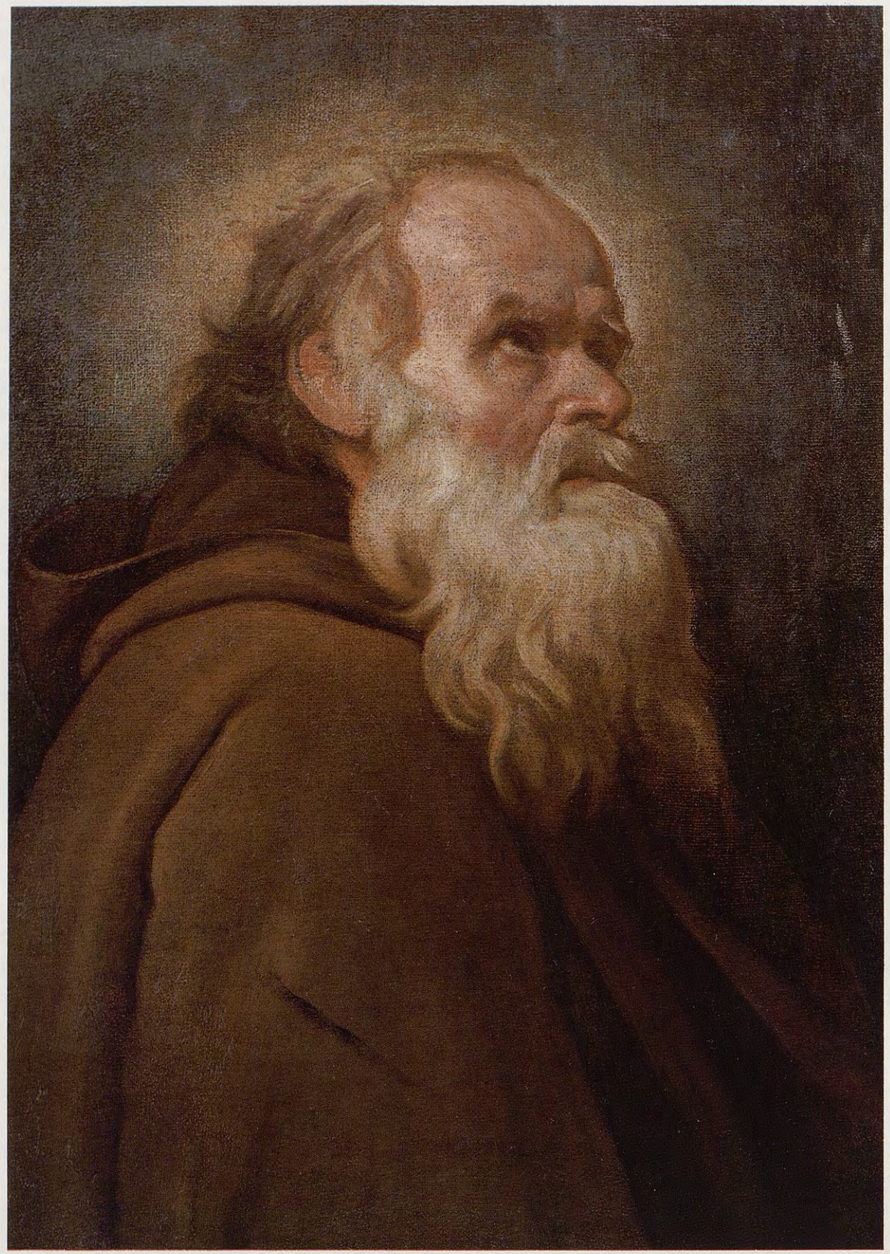
Everything is thinly painted, with impasto used only for highlights, particularly on the luminous faces and limbs of the saints. A silvery light permeates the whole composition, bringing out the richly hued greens and blues of the landscape. The depiction of the hardships of the Thebaid, called for in the Golden Legend's narrative, is embodied in the rugged crag on top of which rises a palm, the tree on whose fruit St. Paul lived for about twenty years, and in the barren ground where the lions dig the grave for him. Surely the surrounding verdurous landscape is not a departure from the narrative. Rather, it heightens the seclusion of the hermit from the luxuriant expanses of the earth — where temptation lurks; it also provides a vast and luminous setting for the miraculous event: the heaven-sent loaf of bread. Both significances are supported and impelled by the diaphanous colouring and the upward rhythm of the composition, stressed by the ivy-covered birch tree which rises from the thicket in the foreground, past the forbidding crag, up to the sky.

The Coronation of the Virgin, of about 1644, is a lucid pictorial expression of the immaculate nature of the Mother of Jesus, on which the belief in her coronation was postulated (plate *195*). The Father and the Son, both clad in purplish tunics and red mantles, hold a crown of roses and green leaves over the Virgin, whose white kerchief leaves her chestnut hair uncovered, and whose blue mantle contrasts with her red gown. It is a masterful opposition of luminous reds and blues, made somewhat fiery by the juxtaposition of purple — in the tunics of the Father and the Son.

The Virgin lightly holds a hand to her chaste breast bathed in light, like her head. A highlight across her luminous face and along her hairline enhances the unblemished symmetry of her features and blends with the most brilliant ray in the rayed-glory of the Holy Ghost above. Her lids lowered, she looks down with an expression of modesty which, compositionally, accents the sense of distance from the earth as angels lift her to the Heavens.

The face of the Son is partly modelled by lucent shadows, similar to those that express His humanity and humility in the earlier *Supper at Emmaus* (plate *111*). As for the Father, the most liquid and dynamic of shadows contribute to the flame-like effulgence into which His face is built, and which is broadened by the radiant strokes across the folds of the blue mantle on his shoulders. As the Father and the Son hold the crown of roses over the ascending Virgin, her well-rounded head becomes the centre of the composition, and her shadowless unblemished features externalize her immaculate nature.

Velázquez, *St. Anthony Abbot*. Mid– or late 1630's.
Catalogue No. 86.
Reproduced by courtesy of the owner.



Velázquez, *St. Anthony Abbot and St. Paul the hermit.* Mid– or late 1630's.
Catalogue No. 85.
Reproduced by courtesy of the Prado Museum.

The luxuriant world of the fable

Beruete pointed out stylistic analogies among *The Coronation of the Virgin, The fable of Arachne* and *Venus at her mirror* (plates *195*, *196* and *198*), which he concluded had been painted by Velázquez 'towards the end of his career' in the late 1650's.[150] This conclusion, accepted by most scholars at least for *The fable of Arachne* and *Venus at her mirror*, has been disproved by the discovery that the latter was inventoried in a Madrid private collection on 1 June 1651, when Velázquez had not yet returned from his second Italian journey. Some writers, clinging to a residuum of the disproved conclusion, have suggested that Velázquez may have painted *Venus at her mirror* in the course of his second Italian journey and dispatched it to Madrid, where it was inventoried before his return. It would be surprising if Palomino, who was remarkably well informed about the paintings executed by the Master during that journey, should have failed to mention so important a composition. In the present state of our knowledge, it rather appears that both *Venus at her mirror* and *The fable of Arachne* belong in a group, which also includes *The Coronation of the Virgin* (plate *195*), and *Arachne* (plate *199*), all datable to the mid- or late 1640's, before November 1648, when Velázquez set out from Madrid for Italy.

The Coronation of the Virgin and *Venus at her mirror* resemble each other in a 'certain preponderance of purple tones', as Beruete saw it.[151] In the mythological composition, Velázquez has harmonized red and blue, the curtain and Cupid's sash, by means of lavender-pink hues, the ribbon looped over the mirror frame.

Till not long ago, *Venus at her mirror*, though damaged by old rips, rubbing, spotty repaints and, in 1914, by a suffragette's knife, could be recognized at once as a masterpiece (plate *196*). One could readily grasp the masterful contrasts of smooth and rough impasto, essential to Velázquez' intent. One could also discern what was incidental to his way of painting, the *pentimenti*, tentative shapes that he quickly painted over and which, with time, became noticeable to the naked eye, without, however, marring his achievement.

The painting was drastically cleaned and implausibly restored in 1965. As a result, it now appears messily sketched in some areas and overworked in others.[152]

As Velázquez painted it, the flowing shape of Venus, her back turned to the viewer, weighed down a leaden grey drapery with only some bluish reflections;[153] her face was softly reflected in the black-framed mirror held by Cupid, and the blue of his sash, the red of the curtain and the lavender ribbons on the mirror frame acted as foils to her pale flesh tones. Velázquez centred the composition about the mirror, which, tilted away from the face of Venus, underscored the curtained space of the bed. Nothing like this space, exuberant with vivacities of textures and hues, could be found in any other painting of the same subject. As I pointed out long ago, only in epithalamia of the time, such as Marino's, could one find a Venus-like image immersed in so sensuous an atmosphere.[154]

The reflection of the face of the chestnut-haired goddess in the tilted mirror corresponded quite closely with that of the Virgin in *The Coronation* (plates *195* and *196*); even now, both have the same oval shape and their features are identical point by point. The

head of the Virgin, however, is spotlessly luminous and her tresses accent the impeccable balance of her features. Rather differently, Venus's face was, and to a considerable extent still remains, adumbrated in shadow, which, together with the irregular frame provided by the untidy hair, alters the harmony of its oval shape and the symmetry of its features. Obviously, Velázquez worked in both cases, and, for that matter, in *The fable of Arachne* and *Arachne* (plates *198* and *199*), from the same model, the same sketch, or just the same idea of a beautiful young woman. Yet, he put on canvas two different images, one of divine and the other of earthly beauty.

Velázquez' naturalism

In discussing *The fable of Arachne*, commonly known as *The spinners*, one must begin by saying that its original composition was substantially enlarged by a hand other than Velázquez after his death. It must also be said that the painting, which had for long been frayed and cracked, has lately been allowed to deteriorate to an appalling condition. Indeed, during the last two decades the pigment has been let to flake off in several spots, and its hues have undergone foul changes nearly everywhere (plates *197* and *198*).[155]

The painting, regarded for a long time as just a genre composition, is, as Angulo convincingly inferred and Caturla subsequently documented, Velázquez' rendition of *The fable of Arachne*.[156] It has also been documented, somewhat unnecessarily, that Velázquez was acquainted with the literary source of the subject: at the time of his death, his library included two copies of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* — one in Italian, the other in Spanish — where the contest between Pallas and Arachne is related.

The first known mention of Velázquez's *The fable of Arachne* is of 1664, four years after his death. It was then in the collection of Don Pedro de Arce in Madrid, and Pedro de Villafranca, a painter and engraver familiar with Velázquez's paintings, described it as *The fable of Arachne* by Velázquez and appraised it at five hundred ducats, considerably higher than any other painting in the collection, which included the names of other outstanding Spanish and Italian masters; the metrical equivalent of the painting's recorded size was approximately 1.67 in height and 'more than' 2.50 in width. The next mention of the painting occurs in the 1772 inventory of the Madrid Royal Palace, where its true subject was not recognized; it was, in fact, described as just a tapestry workshop. As for its size, it had already been enlarged to approximately the present one — 2.20 × 2.90 m — by the additions of strips at the top, bottom and both sides, which is still plainly visible to the naked eye.

As explained before, most scholars have convincingly held that *The fable of Arachne* and *Venus at her mirror* are executed in a closely connected manner and that, consequently, both must come from the same period — which, in the present state of our knowledge means before the end of 1648, when Velázquez set out for Italy.[157]

Velázquez, *Venus at her mirror*. 1644–8.
Catalogue No. 106.
Reproduced by courtesy of The National Gallery, London.

Coming now to the subject, as told in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Arachne, a low-born weaver, had achieved so great a reputation that Lydian women came from distant parts to admire her work. She became so proud of her success that she boasted of having a skill superior to that of Pallas Athena, the goddess of the arts and crafts. On hearing of this, Pallas came, disguised as an old woman, to admonish her not to defy the gods. Arachne, however, repeated her daring words, whereupon Pallas discarded her disguise, showing herself in armour and helmet, and took up the challenge. A contest was arranged and Pallas wove a set of six tapestries depicting the fate of mortals who had dared the power of the gods. Arachne chose as subjects six stories of mortals who had allured and subjected the gods, beginning with Europa and the Bull. Pallas won, and punished Arachne by transforming her into a spider.

So much for Ovid's narrative. As for Velázquez' work, ignoring the extraneous additions, it depicts the richly hued interior of a tapestry workshop, where sunlight, coming from somewhere above as the cast shadows suggest, plays upon everything — the weavers, their tools, and the skeins, balls and tufts of wool scattered here and there; in the background, there is an alcove, dazzlingly lit-up also from above.[158] To the right of the workshop, a girl in a white blouse and greenish-blue skirt is winding yarn as another young woman brings a basket to her side. To the left, a weaver in a white kerchief and brown costume works at a spinning wheel; though she is bundled up like an old woman, the youthfulness of her figure is revealed by the shapely leg. Obviously she is Pallas, engaged in her contest with Arachne, the girl in the white blouse.

Set slightly back from the two rivals, there is a woman carding tufts of wool that she picks up from the floor; her figure, a deep-shadowed blob of white, brown and red, underlines the luminosity of the alcove behind, two steps above the workshop. Another moment of the contest is depicted in the lit-up space of this alcove, whose rear wall is covered with a tapestry of *The rape of Europa*. Three ladies clad in seventeenth-century costumes — one in rose, another in blue, and the third in yellow — stand there. The one in rose looks into the workshop, while the others look at Pallas, in armour and helmet, and Arachne, who wears a red sash over her dress — white blouse and olive green skirt — which, classical-looking though it is, recalls the one she is seen wearing in the workshop.

A diagonal shaft of light fuses the space of the alcove with the composition woven into the tapestry hanging on the rear wall: Titian's *The rape of Europa*.[159] To Velázquez, Titian was the greatest of the Italian painters. The Venetian master's *The rape of Europa*, now at the Gardner Museum, Boston, was at the Madrid Royal Palace in Velázquez' day (plate **34**). Rubens copied it there in 1628–9 (Prado, No. 1693), as other painters had done before or were to do later. Mazo, Velázquez' son-in-law, was one of them. Velázquez must certainly have expected so well-known a composition to be readily identified by his contemporaries when he included it in *The fable of Arachne*.

In spite of the painting's present condition, it is possible to realize that light was the dominant element in the composition of this masterpiece, where not even shadows bear darkness. Perceptive critics have spoken of it as Velázquez' 'chief essay in the rendering of

light',[160] and noted that the 'shadowed left half acts as a foil' to the 'lively right half which contains the heroic figure of the spinning girl.[161] Indeed, as Beruete saw it, *The fable of Arachne* is 'the most brightly coloured, and the most animated of all the works of Velázquez'.[162]

The rediscovery of the subject of this Velázquez work has led to various iconographical interpretations.[163] It seems clear that the girl winding the skein is Arachne, depicted also in the background scene, and that Pallas is represented twice too, disguised as an old woman in the workshop and wearing helmet and armour in the alcove. As for the three ladies in seventeenth-century dresses, it has been suggested that they stand for the Lydian admirers of Arachne. Another interpretation, based on sixteenth-century allegories of Pallas as the goddess of the Arts, holds that the lady in yellow to the left, near what it is said to be a viola da gamba, personifies Music, while Arachne herself stands for Painting, and the other two ladies for Architecture and Sculpture. The viola da gamba has also been understood to symbolize Music as the antidote to the spider's poison, or Harmony, the latter interpretation being based on Ripa's *Iconologia* — which was also in Velázquez' library.

It is not possible, at least in the present state of our knowledge, to conclude whether the three ladies in the alcove stand for the Lydian women or, together with Arachne, for the four Arts; nor is it feasible to determine whether the viola da gamba, if it really is a viola da gamba, is meant as a symbol of Music, the attribute of Harmony or the antidote of the spider's poison. It is evident, though, that Arachne is the dominant figure in both the foreground and the background scenes, and that her two representations are integrated into a rhythm of light. The two scenes, dramatically linked by the gesture of the lady looking into the workshop, are, moreover, mortised by live diagonals and contrasts of shadow and light and of tints.

The interpretation of the background scene as Pallas Athena surrounded by the personifications of the four Fine Arts has led to considering the contrast between the workshop, where there is an interplay of light and shade, and the more luminous alcove as a pictorial paraphrase of the mannerist belief, expressed in sixteenth-century treatises, on the superiority of the Fine Arts over craftsmanship. Charles de Tolnay argued that the painting contains 'in a nutshell' the art theory that Velázquez did not put in writing, and that the myth of Arachne was 'so to speak, inserted *a posteriori* into the fundamental theme' of the composition.[164]

Were we to search for clues to the meaning of Velázquez' painting in his library, our choice of possible interpretations might be considerably broadened, even more so if we made the assumption that his mind docilely adhered to whatever he read. It is, for instance, possible that the Spanish translation of the *Metamorphoses* that he owned was Sánchez de Viana's, regarded as authoritative at the time. In the commentaries with which Viana accompanied his translation, it was explained that the fable of Arachne signified the bitterness which fills an artist when he sees his work unjustly criticized.[165] Pérez de Moya, in his *Filosofia secreta*, of which Velázquez had a copy in his library,

Velázquez, *The fable of Arachne* (as the original composition would approximately look without the additions made by a later hand). 1644–8.
Catalogue No. 107.
Reproduced by courtesy of the Prado Museum.

interpreted the fable of Arachne in a like manner.[166] It is within the realm of conjecture that Velázquez, who might have read Viana's text even if he did not own the book and who certainly was acquainted with Pérez de Moya's, had had some disappointing experience which reminded him of their interpretation of the Ovid passage, and that this played some part in his choice of subject for a work which, from all we know, was not painted for the King. Even if it turned out that so flimsy an hypothesis corresponded to fact, the interpretation of the painting would have to be based on the composition itself.

Some of the pictorial facts in *The fable of Arachne* have been a puzzle to scholars. Are the figures of Pallas and Arachne in the alcove woven into the background tapestry or standing before it? The answer has been provided by the observation that Arachne casts a shadow, however slight, on the floor, and that consequently neither her figure nor that of Pallas can be regarded as woven into the tapestry. Even so, as indicated above, Velázquez does not make very explicit the spatial relations among the tapestry, the figures of Pallas and Arachne, and those of the three ladies.[167] Indeed, the shaft of light that comes in obliquely from the left blends the space of the alcove with that of the tapestry and sweeps the view of the floor out of perspective certainty. The contrast of this light-hued scene with the richly-hued play of light and shade in the workshop must have been even more vivid in Velázquez' original composition, before it was altered by another hand intent on making the rendition of space more plausible in architectural terms — which resulted in the trivial addition of the cross vault and the *oculus*.

Tolnay rightly pointed out that Velázquez did not share the 'conceptions of the Italian masters' for whom mythology was 'a transcendent and heroic world' since for him it was rather 'immanent in everyday reality', and in fact, he did away with 'the limits between reality and myth'.[168] Certainly it was Velázquez' wont to do away with iconographical trivia.

There are in *The fable of Arachne*, as in many Velázquez' compositions, several layers of significance. The depiction of the contest between Pallas and Arachne, with the goddess still in disguise is certainly a departure from Ovid's text. The ordinary woman into whom Pallas has dissembled herself, and the three workshop helpers have their character traits accented, and their figures modelled in shadows. Not so Arachne, whose face is not visible and whose torso is lit up from somewhere at the left; her opulent figure breaks free from the shadows of the workshop, luminously out-balancing that of Pallas and falling within the rhythm of light marked by the shaft that hits the jambs of the alcove.

Contrasts of light and shadow and hue also heighten the foreground scene, where the goddess and the daring weaver are seen plying the wool with deft fingers. Indeed, the shadowed figure of Pallas, set off by the radiance of the whirring spinning wheel, is in turn a foil to the light-bathed figure of Arachne.

Velázquez, well read as he was in Ovid and his commentators, gave a new turn to the fable of Arachne. In neither of the scenes which he depicted did he represent her punishment as other painters and engravers had done in works with most of which he must have been acquainted. Rather he depicted in the background scene the challenging

weaver facing Pallas with her, and Titian's work, the demonstrative gesture of her right hand opposed to the threatening one of the goddess. He made the sky of Titian's composition considerably higher, freed the cupids of their bows and arrows, and stressed by strokes of light and shadow the course of their flight which appears to pass over the figure of Arachne. Light blends the space of the tapestry, readily identifiable as a work of art, with that of the alcove, fancied as a reality, while the rich hues depicting the shadows of the workshop frame the whole background scene as a painting within the painting, and the foreground figure of the dishevelled Arachne starts distinctly from the shadows. Velázquez thus created a work which exalts the flow and might of naturalism, Arachne's, Titian's, and his own.

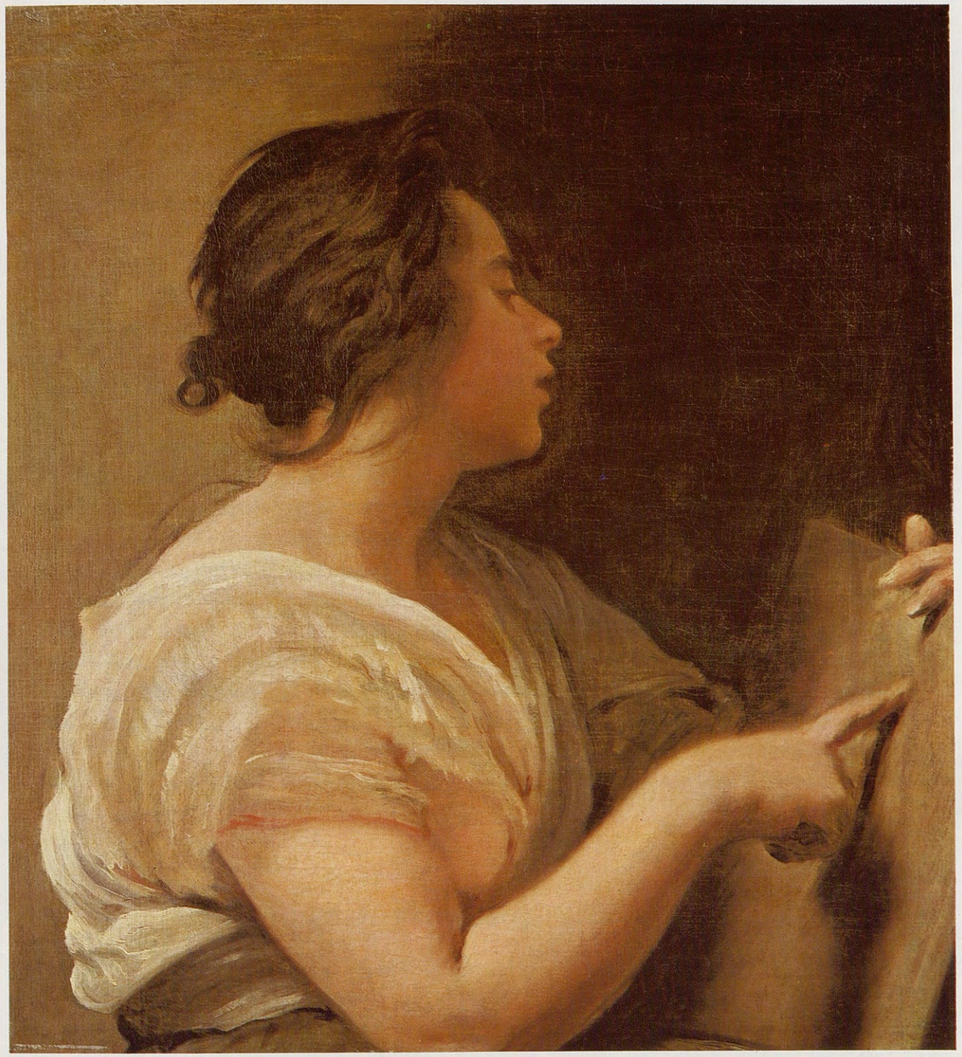
Velázquez and iconographical dicta

As we know, Velázquez was conversant with other artists' works of mythological subjects, with Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and with Ripa's *Iconologia*, but he did not feel bound by either traditional imagery or iconographical dicta whether his subject was mythological or religious. His mind's eye brought the mythical characters within the compas of human nature, endowing them with the sentience of life and dispensing with iconographical attributes — which makes it somewhat difficult to ascertain conclusively the determining subject of some of his paintings.

Such is the case with the half-length figure of a girl handling what looks like a canvas on which she projects large shadows (plate *199*). Mayer, who was the first to point out that this work and *The fable of Arachne* are 'closely connected in style', remarked that 'one of the models' for the latter 'seems to have been used' in the half-length composition 'for another version of the "Sibyl" motive'.[169]

The sylistic analogy is in fact evident in the lusty interplay of light and shadow which pervades the two works — so different in scope — and which heightens the depth and dynamism of either composition. It is evident too in the execution of the figure, or rather the bust, of Arachne winding yarn, quite similar to that of the girl's half-length figure. Both women incidentally are black-haired, wear a white blouse and have a somewhat dishevelled appearance. Their shapes are built by dint of rough and smooth strokes, which sharply contrast under a vivid light — centred on the girl's right shoulder and on Arachne's left. Nor is the light unvaried; richly hued shadows abate it here and there, or even cut it off.[170]

The iconographical significance of the half-length figure is rather elusive. One of the difficulties is that Velázquez, purposefully it would seem, did not make clear what is that she is handling. It rather looks like a canvas which gives under her finger; however, the roundish appearance of its right border would suggest that it is not nailed on a stretcher,



Velázquez, *Arachne*. 1644–8.
Catalogue No. 108.

and that it may perhaps be a piece of fabric on an embroidery frame. The canvas and the dishevelled black hair are, according to Ripa, among the attributes of Painting, but the girl in this picture lacks any other such attribute, notably the brush.

In earlier works, Velázquez depicted St. John the Evangelist and the sculptor Martínez Montañés holding the instruments of their craft — pen or modelling tool —, and later he portrayed himself at work holding the brush (plates *70*, *159* and *222*). Naturally though these three works do not set a course from which Velázquez could not have deviated.

The shadows on the canvas, or whatever it may be, held by the girl bring to mind the ancient legend, often mentioned during the Renaissance and much alive in the seventeenth century, according to which the art of Painting began with the tracing of a shadow on a lit-up surface. The girl's forefinger and the shadows which she projects on the blank surface might, indeed, allude to this legend. If so the allusion is far less literal than Murillo's rendition of *The origin of Painting*, the so-called *Picture of the shadows (Cuadro de las sombras)*, executed about 1660.[171]

As some scholars have convincingly held, Arachne stood for Painting in Velázquez' mythological composition, where she is seen working with her bare hands in the foreground.[172] The resemblance between this figure of Arachne at work and the half-length figure of a girl holding a painter's canvas or a piece of fabric suggests that Velázquez had in mind the image of one while he was painting the other (plates *198* and *199*).

Velázquez represented the girl, set off centre, looking toward the canvas, or whatever it may be, on which she presses or lets run her forefinger, which projects a large shadow as does the left side of her body. The shadows contrast with the light on the same surface, which is further enlivened by contrasts of texture and hue. This vivid surface is indeed an essential part of the composition. Whether meant as a painter's canvas or as a piece of weaver's material, it would fit, in Velázquez' terms, the image of Arachne — possibly once more as Painting, possibly too embodying an allusion to the ancient legend of its origin.

Two measures of Velázquez' stature at the Court

By the end of 1646, one and a half years after Velázquez had portrayed Philip IV in army dress at Fraga, Queen Isabel, who had persuaded the King to lead his armies, was dead and so was the heir to the throne, Baltasar Carlos, in whom many had put their hopes for the Spanish monarchy. Philip's sister, the Infanta María, wife of the Emperor Ferdinand III, had also died in the spring of 1646 at Linz. Velázquez' portraits of all three, as well as of Philip's younger brothers, Fernando and Carlos, both also dead, were in the royal collection.

For some time, Velázquez appears to have painted little for the King. Indeed, from the mid-1640's till 1648, he had time on his hands for executing a number of paintings,

including such large compositions as *The fable of Arachne* and *Venus at her mirror*, for private individuals (plates *196* and *198*).

Though Philip, after his dismissal of Olivares as chief minister, went on dispensing honours and preferments to Velázquez, the painter encountered for some time ill-will on the part of the bureau from which his salary and fees for paintings were to be drawn. In earlier years he had also had to petition time and again, negotiate, and finally compromise, to arrive at a settlement of back salaries and fees due to him. As contemporary documents show, tardiness in paying the royal servants was then more of a custom than an irregularity.

This time, however, the situation was somewhat different. Even former officials who drew pensions, as well as the recipients of 'alms' — a form of regular royal assistance — were being paid, while Velázquez was advised to wait till money would be available. He felt discriminated against, and said so in the petition which, on 17 May 1647, he addressed to the King, and which led to a clear-cut decision in his favour.

At the time that he wrote that petition his position at the Court had been considerably strengthened. Early in the year, he had been appointed supervisor and accountant for the building of the Octagonal Room in the Alcázar. By taking this important responsibility away from the Superintendent, Don Bartolomé de Legasca, and entrusting it to Velázquez, who was the Assistant Superintendent, the King enhanced the latter's prestige in the royal bureaux, where, as in like precincts then and now, red tape was the only measure of man, any man. Obviously the new chief minister, the Marquis of Carpio, influenced the form — preferments and favourable decisions on litigious matters — which the King's regard for the Master took. Velázquez' prestige must have also been helped by the admiration that the Marquis of Eliche, the son of the chief minister, showed for his art. Indeed, by 1651, Eliche's remarkable collection included four Velázquez paintings, *Venus at her mirror* one of them.

Soon after overcoming the hostility of the bureaucrats, Velázquez found an opportunity to suggest that the King should again send him to Italy. As told by Jusepe Martínez, a friend of the Master, the sovereign, by whose command the Madrid Royal Palace was being refurbished, asked Velázquez to look for painters from among whom the best should be chosen to paint pictures for a new royal gallery. Velázquez answered that Philip should not be satisfied to have paintings which were within the reach of everyone, and requested leave to go to Venice and Rome where he would secure for the King the best available works by Titian, Paolo Veronese, Bassano, Raphael, and others like them, as well as antique statues, or moulds of them to be cast in Spain, which would be needed to decorate the rooms on the ground floor.[173] Philip agreed, and in November 1648 the administrative machinery was set in motion for Velázquez' second Italian journey; on the 22nd a dispatch was sent to the Spanish Ambassador in Venice instructing him to assist the Court painter in the task of finding suitable paintings for the King.

Changes were then being anticipated at the Court. The marriage of Philip, then forty-three, to his thirteen-year-old niece Mariana of Austria, who a few years earlier had

been destined to marry the now dead Baltasar Carlos, had been decided on, and the Duke of Nájera was about to leave, at the head of other royal envoys, for Trent where they were to meet the King's bride and escort her to Spain. Philip granted two thousand ducats to Velázquez for his travelling expenses, and ordered that he should journey with the Duke and his suite to Italy, and be given the carriage to which he was entitled by reason of his office, as well as 'a mule to carry several paintings'. It is not known what these paintings were, by whom, or for whom intended. It is doubtful, but not wholly improbable, that they were to be presented to the future Queen, since Velázquez, though travelling with Nájera, was not part of his suite, nor did he go to Trent.

Not long before leaving for Italy, probably sometime in 1648, Velázquez painted the earliest extant portrait of the Infanta María Teresa, then about ten years old (plate *200*). The thought occurs that this portrait might have been intended to acquaint the future Queen with the likeness of Philip's only surviving child.

Even if that was not the case, it is more than probable that word of Velázquez' fame reached Mariana before she set foot on Spanish soil. On 21 December 1647, shortly after her betrothal to Philip IV, a masked ball was held at the Royal Palace in Madrid to celebrate her thirteenth birthday. According to a rhymed account of this fête written by the courtier Gabriel de Bocángel, the nine-year-old Infanta María Teresa opened the dance at the head of seventeen ladies and *meninas* or maids of honour; then the ladies and *meninas*, singly, in pairs or in quadrilles, performed other dances before the King, the grandees and the Court dignitaries.

Since Bocángel's poem, published in 1648, was dedicated to Mariana, one may confidently assume that a copy of it was sent to her at Vienna. The name of Velázquez shines in one of the stanzas, where two ladies are depicted as so beautiful, graceful and statuesque that they appear to be 'now miracles by Velázquez, then reliefs by Phidias':

Milagros ya de Velázquez,
Y ya relieves de Fidias.[174]

On 15 November 1649, when Mariana made her official entry in Madrid, she passed on her route from the Buen Retiro Palace to the Alcázar the church of San Salvador, whose facade was decorated with the likenesses of members of the House of Austria, embroidered after Velázquez' portraits, which 'attracted much attention'.[175] Some time later, most likely early in 1650, the new Queen sat to Mazo for a portrait. It was doubtless explained to her that the great Velázquez, whose masterpieces, including several portraits of Philip IV, decorated the royal chambers, was in Italy.

Italy again: the Master's success

Going now back to Velázquez' departure for Italy, some members of the royal mission with whom he was to make the journey started from Madrid on 16 November 1648; the Duke of Nájera left two days later, but still a week before the King's command ordering Velázquez to accompany him. Velázquez may, nevertheless, have left with either group, for in those days of absolute monarchy, when bureaucracy became full-blown, it was as usual for a royal command to formalize what was already under way as to order what would never, or only partly, be complied with. It may also be that Velázquez set out from Madrid for Málaga, his port of embarkation, by himself taking with him Juan de Pareja, his assistant, who was to be his travelling companion.

The Duke arrived at Málaga on 7 December. It still took six weeks — then not too long a wait — to make ready the ships, load the cargo, and gather together all who were to sail with the assembled fleet. On 21 January 1649 they set sail and, after a good many stops at ports along the Spanish coast, on 11 March they reached Genoa, where Velázquez parted company with the Duke and started on his way to Venice.

He arrived on 21 April, as the Spanish Ambassador, the Marquis de la Fuente, hastened to report, explaining that the painter was staying at his house, seeing as many paintings as he reasonably could. According to Palomino, Velázquez bought at that time Veronese's *Venus and Adonis* and several works by Tintoretto, including a group of scenes from the Old Testament which formed the decoration of a ceiling, and a sketch for *The Paradise*, all of them now at the Prado Museum (Nos. 386, 388, 389, 393–6, 398, and 492).[176] However, it appears that it was rather in 1651, when he was back in Venice, that Velázquez acquired '*el model del Tentoreto*' for *The Paradise*, as Mario Boschini recalled in a poem published in 1660.[177]

Velázquez' stay at Venice in 1649 was very likely short, for three days after his arrival the Spanish Ambassador described him as wishing to set out for Modena where, he had been advised, he could find 'something very much to his purpose'. The reference probably was to Corregio's *Night*, then in the collection of the Duke of Modena, which he was set on buying for Philip IV.

It was another work by Correggio, however, that induced him to go first to Parma where, Palomino states, he went to see a cupola fresco decoration by that artist — very likely the *Assumption of the Virgin* in the Cathedral rather than the not so widely known *Christ in Glory* in the Church of San Giovanni Evangelista, though whichever it was that made him take to the road, once he was there he must have seen both.

Then, provided with letters of introduction from the Spanish Ambassador at Venice, he arrived in Modena. The Duke, Francesco d'Este, had been in Madrid in the autumm of 1638, and while there he sat for Velázquez who undertook to paint his portrait, on which he was still at work in March 1639, according to a dispatch from Count Fulvio Testi, the Duke's Minister in Madrid. This dispatch contains what was probably the current estimate of Velázquez as a painter: like other 'famous men', he hardly ever got

around to finishing a work, and never told the truth as to when that would be; he was also expensive, but, as a portrait painter, he was not inferior to any of the most renowned among either the 'ancients or the moderns'. Velázquez' procrastinating habit was well known by then. Indeed, on 26 May 1639 the Cardinal Infante Don Fernando referred rather leniently to his dilatory ways in a letter to Philip IV written at Brussels, and a few months later, in November, Sir Arthur Hopton, the British Ambassador in Madrid, wrote about his 'laziness'.[178]

It is not known whether the portrait of Francesco d'Este to which Count Fulvio Testi referred was ever finished. Obviously, it must have been, or been intended to be, larger than the bust portrait now at the Modena Gallery, in which the Duke is seen wearing the Golden Fleece, awarded to him by Philip IV in October 1638. Indeed, this portrait looks like a fragment of a larger composition, though it has been suggested that it may be a study from life (plate *175*).

The Duke had another Velázquez work, a miniature, now lost. Soon after his visit to the Spanish Court, Philip IV had sent him a jewel in the shape of an imperial eagle, on the reverse of which there was 'a little portrait of the King done by Velázquez, and so like and so beautiful that it is an astonishing thing' — to let Count Fulvio Testi speak again.

Velázquez left Modena for Bologna and, after a probable stop at Florence, arrived at Rome by the end of May 1649; there he stayed for a short while before proceeding to Naples. He carried a letter from the King for the Spanish Viceroy there, the Count of Oñate, instructing him to give the artist eight thousand *reales* — the balance, roughly one-third, of the two thousand ducats granted to him for travelling expenses.

The precise date of Velázquez' arrival in Naples is unknown, and so is that of his departure. He seems to have been busy, as he later was in Rome, commissioning moulds from antique sculptures to be sent to Madrid, where they were to be cast in plaster or bronze. Some of the latter were used for the decoration of the Octagonal Room at the Royal Palace, the refurbishing of which had, as we know, been entrusted to Velázquez.

Back in Rome by 10 July, he went on selecting antique sculptures, shipped some of the moulds to Spain, and commissioned Giuliano Fanelli and Alessandro Algardi to do the casting of others. Contrary to what Palomino wrote he was not in Rome as Ambassador Extraordinary to the Pope, for no mention of such a mission was made by any of the witnesses who, six or seven years later, endeavoured to recall every honour bestowed on him or high position in which he had served in order to facilitate his admittance into the Order of Santiago. Indeed, Cardinal Alonso de la Cueva (1572?–1655), an old diplomatic hand, whose work at the Sacred College left him time to help the Spanish Ambassador to the Pope, was convinced that Velázquez had no legitimate business in Rome. In letters to his brother, the Marquis of Bedmar, the old Spanish Cardinal, who had held important appointments under both Philip III and Philip IV, referred to the Master as 'a certain Velázquez, Usher of the King's Chamber', who claimed to have been commissioned by the King to look for works of art in Italy, and whose activities were nothing but a 'swindle', a sour remark that reveals some sort of resentment against the Master.[179]

Much as it may have displeased Cardinal de la Cueva, deference was shown to Velázquez at the Papal Court, where Prince Ludovisi, and Cardinals Pamphili and Francesco Barberini[180] as well as others, honoured him with their courtesies. Pietro da Cortona was one of the artists whom he visited. Philip IV wanted him to come to Spain to undertake some fresco decorations, and there is documentary evidence that at one time, early in 1650, the monarch understood that Cortona would be sailing with Velázquez on the latter's return to Spain — which, as it turned out, was not the case. Palomino also mentioned Bernini, Poussin and Mattia Preti, among the artists that the Spanish Master had contact with in Rome. He must also have come to know Salvatore Rosa, if the discussion between the two reported by Boschini, to which I shall presently refer, reflects an actual trashing out of their divergent views on painting.

There are points concerning Velázquez' travels in Italy on which Palomino is not reliable. It has, for instance, been shown that when he enumerated the works of art that Velázquez wanted to see in Bologna, he just followed Vincencio Carducho's description, which was already outdated in 1633 when it was published. This accounts for such errors as the anomaly of depicting Velázquez as desirous of seeing the statue of Julius II which had gone into the making of a cannon in 1511.[181] It is plain that, in this case, Palomino was filling in his narrative with stock stories, as he now and then does throughout his book when describing cities or, to cite another instance, when praising the true-to-life likeness of a good portrait, which is almost invariably said to have been mistaken for the person of the sitter in flesh and blood. Yet Palomino's account of the works that Velázquez painted in Rome has a ring of authenticity, and many of its essential points have been substantiated by documentary evidence. He himself acknowledged that he had had at hand 'some notes on Velázquez' life' gathered by the Master's pupil, Juan de Alfaro.

Alfaro was born in 1643 at Cordoba, where he was apprenticed for a very short time, seemingly a matter of days, to Antonio del Castillo, and then sent by his parents to Madrid, where he entered Velázquez' workshop. After attaining a measure of distinction, he returned to his native city when he was not yet twenty.[182] He must have been at least ten years old when he was apprenticed to Castillo, and consequently he could not have entered Velázquez' workshop before 1653. The information that he gathered about the Master, and which he later passed on to Palomino (1655–1726), is particularly detailed when it comes to works, portraits all of them, executed during the journey from which Velázquez had returned in 1651. In fact, Palomino gives the names of most of the sitters.

Of the portraits thus identified, Alfaro, as well as Palomino, could have seen only the replica of that of Innocent X which Velázquez brought with him to Spain. The rest remained in Italy, and there is no indication that any of them, not even the one of Pareja, was ever taken to Spain.

Palomino's statement that Velázquez painted all those portraits 'with long-handled brushes, and in Titian's vigorous manner' sounds like an echo of workshop talk that Alfaro had likely heard from Pareja, if not from Velázquez himself; it has indeed the ring of a

Velázquez, *Juan de Pareja* (detail, before the 1971 cleaning). 1650.
Catalogue No. 112.

Velázquez, *Juan de Pareja*. 1650.
Catalogue No. 112.

painter's emphatic account of a feat in which craftmanship and artistic achievement elucidate each other.

In Palomino's statement, Titian is made the touchstone for Velázquez' art. According to Martínez, Titian's was the first name on Velázquez's lips when he suggested to the King that he be sent to Italy to buy paintings. Neither Martínez nor Palomino was, of course, quoting Velázquez *verbatim*. Yet, since Martínez and Alfaro — Palomino's acknowledged source — were enthusiasts of Velázquez and had been close to him, their admiration for the Venetian master would have been at least coloured by that expressed by Velázquez himself — who, in *The fable of Arachne*, had, in a sense, made of Titian the very embodiment of Painting.

Certainly, during his stay at Rome — from early in July 1649 till the end of November of the following year, at the most — he gave the full measure of his art, painting many portraits, particularly that of his Holiness Innocent X. Other members of the Pope's household, from his domineering sister-in-law, Olimpia Maldachini, to his barber (plate *205*), also sat for him, as well as a woman painter by the name of Flaminia Triunfi, of whom the only thing known today is that the Spanish Master put her likeness on canvas. Neither this portrait nor that of Olimpia Maldachini has come down to us.

It is not known through whom it was arranged that the Pontiff should sit to Velázquez. For the painter of Philip IV, it must have been a challenge to portray Innocent X who, in appearance, was rather unsightly and, in taste, truly discerning, as shown by his patronage of Bernini. It is, however, known that, when it was decided that he should portray the Pontiff, Velázquez, who had been for some time out of practice, felt the need to prepare himself by painting 'a head from life', and asked his assistant to sit for it (plate *204*).

Andrie Smidt, a Flemish painter then in Rome, who went to live in Madrid after Velázquez's death, recalled that the portrait of Pareja was exhibited at the Pantheon on St. Joseph's day, 19 March 1650, where it was unreservedly admired by all painters, whatever their nationality; he also thought that it was on account of this that Velázquez was made '*Académico romano*' in that year.[183] Actually, Velázquez' admission into the Academy of St. Luke was recorded in January 1650, and he was admitted into the 'Congregazione dei Virtuosi al Pantheon', a religious brotherhood of painters, just a few weeks later, on 13 February. For all we know, the portrait of Pareja may have been painted at any time between early July 1649, when Velázquez returned to Rome, and 19 March the following year, when it was exhibited by the 'Virtuosi al Pantheon' on the day of their patron saint. Consequently, it may well have determined the admission of Velázquez to either, or both, associations of painters before it was publicly shown.

As for the portrait of the Pope, it made an even greater impact on the Roman painters of those and later days. Many copies, some with variations, most of only the bust, were made after it. Pietro Martire Neri (1591–1661), who apparently was then in Velázquez' circle at Rome, copied it at least twice (plate **38**); he also executed a portrait of *Cristoforo*

Segni, major-domo to the Pope, presumably after a sketch by the Master that has not been preserved (plate **39**).

Velázquez himself must have been pleased with his portrait of the Pope for he took a copy to Spain with him (plate *207*). His Holiness expressed his pleasure by sending him as a present a gold medal with his own portrait in middle relief. These two facts, reported by Palomino, have been corroborated by the inventory of the Master's possessions drawn up at the time of his death; listed there were 'a portrait of the Pope Innocent X', and not one, but two gold medals with the likeness of that Pontiff — one with a Roman obelisk, which must have been Bernini's at Piazza Navona, and the other with a cross and two angles on the reverse. Moreover, Innocent X encouraged Velázquez' desire to be admitted into one of the three Spanish military orders.

While he was painting portrait after portrait, and doubtless enjoying it, for he was free not to undertake them, Philip IV was putting pressure on him to return to the Court. The King urged his Ambassador in Rome to make sure that Velázquez proceeded expeditiously with the task of acquiring works of art, warning against the painter's dilatory disposition, which might lead him to stay in Rome longer than necessary; he should be back in Madrid no later than May or early in June, wrote the sovereign on 17 February 1650. To secure this, Philip instructed the Count of Oñate, his Viceroy in Naples, to provide Velázquez with the money necessary for his passage. Velázquez was at Naples sometime in February 1650, but by 8 March he had left for Rome, where he again busied himself with the acquisition of moulds from antique sculptures for Philip IV.[184]

There was a new change in his plans for, according to a royal communication to the Count of Oñate, dated at Madrid of 25 June 1650,[185] he had had his own way and was going to Venice again. Once more the Count was asked to urge Velázquez to return to Madrid as soon as possible.

On 12 December 1650, Velázquez was in Modena, apparently to keep the promise he had made to Francesco d'Este to visit him again. As it happened, the Duke was absent and his secretary, Gemignano Poggi, a timorous character, created a seriocomic situation: much as he wanted to oblige the renowned visitor, he was reluctant to let him into the ducal gallery for fear that he might carry off some of the paintings. So, he lodged him in the Commenda, and took him on a tour of the nearby Palazzo Sassuolo, decorated with frescoes which could not easily be removed. While looking at those frescoes, Velázquez mentioned to Poggi that Agostino Mitelli and Michele Colonna, two of the artists who had worked on them, were to sail with him from Genoa within a few days. For his part, Philip IV in a letter to his ambassador in Rome, the Duke of Infantado, dated on 2 January 1651, wrote that he hoped to have Velázquez back in Madrid very soon.[186] It was not till about half a year later that Velázquez did return to Madrid.

Boschini, in the poem already mentioned, provides the only information we have concerning Velázquez' whereabouts from mid-December 1650, when he was at Modena, till he sailed from Genoa to Barcelona, where he landed the following June. According to Boschini, Velázquez was in Venice in 1651, probably shortly after his stay at Modena, and

was acclaimed as the painter of the portrait of *Innocent X*, painted in Rome 'with the true Venetian stroke', a replica of which, presumably the one that later he took to Madrid, was shown and admired at Venice. During the time that he spent there looking for old masters' works for his King, Velázquez was full of praise for the great Venetian painters, Titian and Tintoretto above all. To him, the latter's *Paradise* at the Sala del Gran Consiglio was in itself enough to make a painter immortal.

Paintings by old masters were hard to find, and Velázquez 'only bought five': two by Titian, another two by Veronese, and the 'model' for Tintoretto's *Paradise*. Then he returned to Rome to take care of matters pertaining also to the service of the King. As Boschini has it, it was there, after his return from Venice, that Velázquez, in answer to a challenging question from Salvatore Rosa, said, with a ceremonious bow, that, to tell the truth freely and candidly, Raphael did not please him at all, and that when it came to good and beautiful painting, Venice was first and Titian her standard bearer — or, as Boschini put it in his rhymed account of Velázquez' reply:

...Rafael (a dirue el vero;
Piasendome esser libero, e sinciero)
Stago per dir, che nol me piase niente.
.....
.....
A Venetia se troua el bon, e'l belo:
Mi dago el primo liogo a quel penelo:
Tician xè quel, che porta la bandiera.

On his way back to Spain, Velázquez stayed at Genoa for some days before sailing for Barcelona, where he arrived in June 1651.[187] He hastened to Madrid bringing with him 'many paintings by the best masters', as well as the portrait of *Innocent X* with which Philip IV was particularly pleased, as Giulio Rospigliosi, the Nuncio at Madrid, reported on 8 July. He also brought with him the hope of being made a knight of one of the military orders, an ambition that the Nuncio, on the Pontiff's instructions, undertook to support at the Spanish Court.

The Roman portraits

According to Palomino, Velázquez, while at Rome, was quite busy selecting and commissioning moulds and casts from antique sculptures and acquiring original pieces for Philip IV; 'without neglecting' this business, however, he completed ten portraits and left several others just sketched in 'though not lacking in likeness to their sitters'. Palomino, whose detailed account includes the names of the sitters for each of the ten completed portraits, does not mention paintings of any other subject painted by Velázquez during his second Italian journey, at Rome or elsewhere.

Velázquez could not have spent more than seventeen or eighteen months at Rome during the various times that he was there from May 1649 till the spring of 1651. Ten portraits finished, even if most of them were probably half-length, and several others sketched in, even if little more than the sitter's head had been roughed out in each of them, in eighteen months or less, at times when he was busy with other pressing matters, is no small accomplishment for a painter reputed to have had slow working habits. The thought occurs, indeed that perhaps the Master allowed his reputation for slowness to grow in order to protect himself from unwelcome commissions.

Of the completed portraits, five, and a replica of one of them, *Innocent X*, are extant. The only exact date we have bearing on any of them is that of 19 March 1650, when the portrait of Pareja was exhibited at the Pantheon. Since the Master portrayed his assistant as an 'exercise' — to use Palomino's word — to prepare himself for the portrait of the Pope, it is safe to assume that Pareja's portrait was the first he painted. As indicated above, it could have been executed any time between July 1649 and the date just mentioned.

Velázquez placed Pareja off centre, turned three-quarters to the right, his head, raised and boldly highlighted, set off by the whiteness of the broad — and broadly painted — scalloped collar (plate *204*).[188] The copperish flesh tones of the face are framed by bushy black hair, beard and moustache, and accented by the reddish stroke which models the lobe of the ear. The vivid head stands out against a harmony of greys, permeated in the right-hand background, as well as in the sitter's doublet, sleeves, shoulder belt and cape, by a subtle greenish tinge. The dark shoulder belt runs across the chest in a rhythm opposite to that of the lifted, black-haired head, heightening the roundness of the figure and the live quiet of the composition, as does the hand which holds the folds of the cape hanging from his left shoulder.

Sketchy strokes around the figure carry the fluidity of the contour deep into space. Hence — as, for instance, in *Philip IV in army dress* (plate *187*) — atmospheric space and the nature of its rendition are simultaneously enhanced as Pareja's copperish flesh tones and the blackness of his hair stands out against a grey background whose lighter area is made somewhat warmer by a slight greenish tinge.

His hand thus practised, Velázquez undertook the portrait of *Innocent X* (plate *206*). He achieved an astounding masterpiece; he, indeed, brushed on the canvas both a striking human likeness and an absolute harmony of reds, yellows and whites. *Innocent X*, wearing a white alb and red biretta and mozzetta, broadly highlighted into scarlet, sits in an armchair which the yellow of its golden galloons and finials sets off from the red that curtains the whole background. His robust carriage is accented by the searching look in his blue-grey eyes and the bold highlights on the purplish face. There is a most tenuous shade of green in the varying greys of his hair, moustache and beard, as well as in the yellow of the armchair's galloon to his left. The collar, painted in a slightly greyish white with the edges and wrinkles highlighted in sheer white, lets through a pale glow from the red underneath, while bluish-grey tints enliven the white of the alb and of the paper in the Pope's hand.

Velázquez, *Innocent X*. 1650.
Catalogue No. 114.

The hands are modelled with yellowish lights and purplish touches — the latter being somewhat more vivid in the right hand, where the stone in the pastoral ring gives off a blackish gleam.

The sense of depth is mainly achieved by a variety of red hues which flow into each other: the lit-up folds of the red backdrop; the red chair; the deeper red of the shadow of the Pope's head on the back of the chair; the flashing scarlet stroke in the red mozzetta that outlines the sitter's right shoulder. The outlines are quite fluid everywhere, and the pigments are laid on thinly, particularly in the face, but for the heavy impasto used to brush in the highlights.

Though the sitter's features have been made vivid, his ugliness has not been stressed. It is, indeed, a marvellous likeness in reds, yellows and whites, in which papal splendour appears, as it were, knit into Innocent X's character traits and vigorous carriage. Certainly, Velázquez embodied in it the sense of earthly power, as he had done in his portraits of Olivares and as he never did when portraying the person of his King.

For subtlety in the depiction of human clay, the portrait supposed to be of *Monsignore Michelangelo*, barber to the Pope, is one of Velázquez' outstanding works (plate *205*). As in the portrait of Pareja, the background is grey with a greenish tinge. The head, like the background, is thinly painted, with impasto used for the highlights on the face, the black hair and the edges of the transparent white collar on the black costume. The outlines are broad, and that of the right shoulder is made the more fluid by a stroke of white which, vivid and thick about the neck, thins to a tenuous glimmer as it slopes down. Strong highlights on the forehead, nose, upper lip and neck accent the glints and flecks of impasto which give vivacity to his features. It is not surprising that, before the identification of the rascally-looking sitter was suggested, he was assumed to be a buffoon, even though he is not clowning, or dwarfish, or otherwise misshapen. Indeed, whatever the nature and ways of the barber to the Pope may have been, Velázquez achieved in this portrait, presumed to be of him, the very image of the earthly — and he did so by just the use of paint and brush.

Camillo Astalli was created a Cardinal on 19 September 1650. Consequently, Velázquez must have portrayed him wearing the red mozzetta and biretta either within the next ten or twelve weeks, before the painter started on his way to Modena, or in the early part of 1651, when he returned from Venice to Rome.

Velázquez' portrait of *Cardinal Astalli* is thinly painted but for the impasto that highlights the sitter's roseate flesh tints, which harmonize with the light red of the mozzetta and the biretta smartly worn at an angle (plate *209*). Broad strokes around the top and right side of the biretta and along the sitter's left shoulder are obviously *pentimenti* since they are brushed over the original outline, which has remained visible through the brushwork of the grey background; they, as well as the quick strokes of the white collar which let through the red of the mozzetta, contribute to the rendition of atmospheric depth and to the accentuation of the pictorial reality of the portrait — which, in execution, is much the same as the other portraits painted by Velázquez in Rome.

The highlights on Astalli's rosy face and black hair bring animation to his features. Yet somewhat differently from the portrait of *Monsignore Michelangelo*, a light, which leaves the side of the face and the underchin in shadow, smooths the flecks of pigment used for the flesh tones into as even a surface as that of the creaseless mozzetta. Long before the sitter was properly identified, Beruete spoke of him as having a 'good carriage and a touch of levity'.[189] What we know today of Cardinal Astalli would tend to substantiate that view — which is to the credit of both the painter and the critic.

The other portrait painted by Velázquez at Rome which has come down to us, that of *Monsignor Camillo Massimi*, is badly in need of careful cleaning (plate *208*). Though Velázquez' hand can be recognized in the quality of the brushwork in spite of the dirt which covers the painting, no meaningful description of its original colour scheme — apparently keyed to a harmony of blue hues — can be attempted.

We are acquainted through written sources with the character of Innocent X, know something about Cardinal Astalli's, hardly anything about either Pareja's or Monsignor Massimi, and nothing about the so-called barber to the Pope. Yet, neither our understanding nor our enjoyment of any of these portraits hinges on any knowledge we may have, or lack, about its sitter. The character traits of each of them are expressive in themselves. Whether identifiable or not, their likenesses have been made vivid in the world of Velázquez' naturalism.

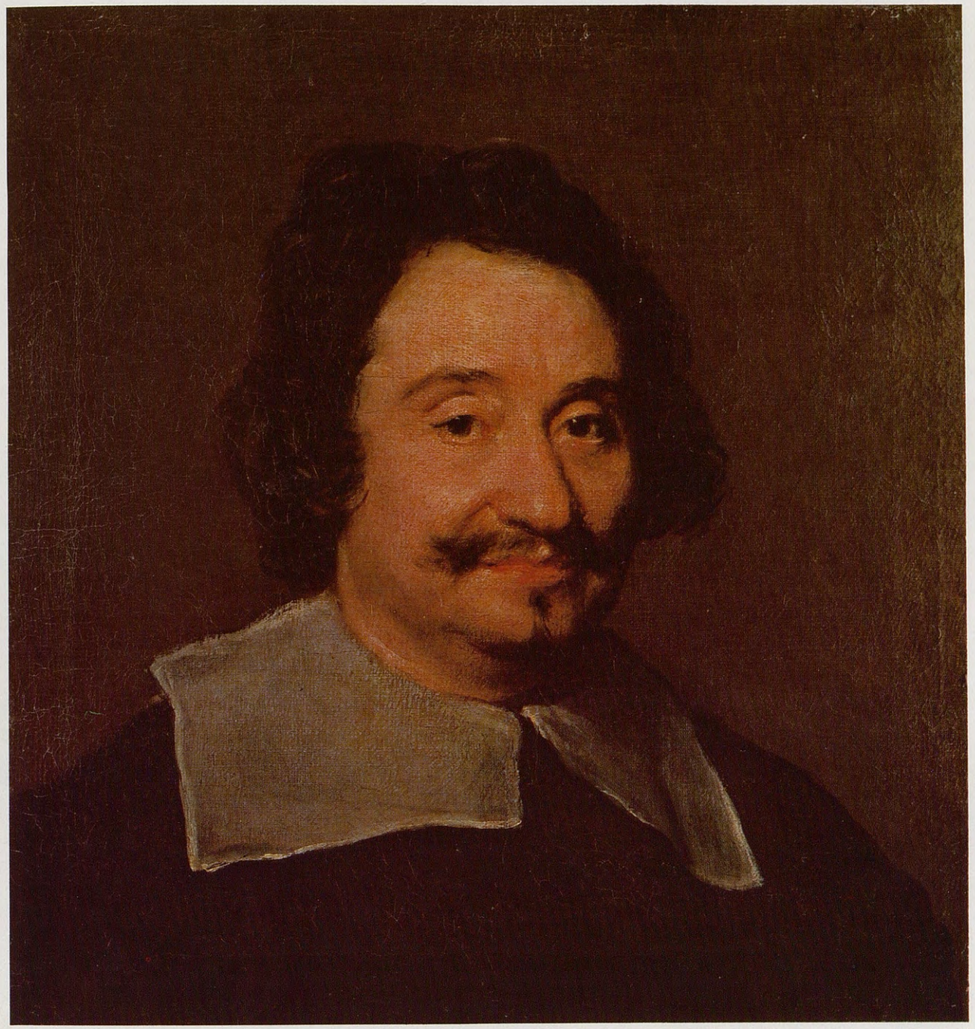
The return to the Court: Chamberlain and painter

Philip's probable wish to have a portrait of his new Queen, Mariana, by Velázquez, plus the need he felt to refurbish the old Alcázar, may have been responsible for his urging the quick return of the Master to the Court. Yet Velázquez managed to delay for a full year, and it was probably not till some time after his arrival in Madrid in June 1651 that he could portray the Queen, who was then about to give birth to her first child.

The royal baby, the Infanta Margarita, was born on 12 July, and Mariana was ill for several months afterwards. Velázquez consequently could hardly have portrayed her before 1652. From then on, he and his assistants painted a large number of portraits of the Queen, the marriageable Infanta María Teresa, and the little Infanta Margarita — quite a few of which, as well as others of the King, were sent to foreign Courts.

Velázquez was all the busier after being granted the office of Chamberlain of the Royal Palace. There had been six applicants upon whose qualifications a six-member board passed. Though none of the board members recommended Velázquez in the first place, it was he whom Philip appointed to the coveted position on 16 February 1652.

He was sworn in three weeks later on 8 March. His new office brought him a handsome salary and the right to a large apartment in the Treasure House, which was connected by a passageway with the Royal Palace where he had had his workshop for years. As to his new duties, they included looking after the decoration and furnishings of the royal



Velázquez, *So-called Barber to the Pope*. 1650.
Catalogue No. 113.
Reproduced by courtesy of the owner.

residences, which had to be readied in succession as the Court moved from Madrid to Aranjuez, and then to the Escorial, and from there to the Pardo, and back to Madrid, throughout the year, as well as making arrangements for the King and his suite whenever he journeyed. All this entailed, of course, frequent and extended absences from Madrid. He had likewise to supervise the arrangements and decoration required for state affairs or for some less solemn festivities. However, he had assistants who took care of the routine chores, leaving him time free to paint.

For a long time he was busy with the refurbishing of several chambers in the Madrid Royal Palace, for which he had acquired in Italy moulds from antique sculptures, on whose casting he had also to keep an eye. He painted, moreover, four large mythological compositions for one of the new chambers, the Hall of Mirrors. It was a time when, though the Spanish monarchy and treasury were steadily sinking, a tasteful effort was being made to give new splendour to the forlorn Court, where the new young Queen made it possible to hope again for a male heir to the throne, and the marriageable age of the young Infanta allowed thought of some venturous alliance.

In neither of the two palace interiors which he painted in those years (plates *220* and *230*), did Velázquez depict the kind of splendid décor which, as Chamberlain of the Palace, he was bringing to the royal chambers. Indeed, both interiors are rather plain and shadowy but for the luminous area where the royal sitter stands. Well read and skilled in architecture though he was, Velázquez never depended on architectural motifs for grandeur of pictorial composition. Nor did he ever emphasize wall décor or other room ornaments in his portraits. The only work which might be regarded as something of an exception in this regard is the portrait of the Infanta Margarita painted in 1659 (plate *229*). In this painting — which cannot really be considered an 'interior' since there is no depiction of architectural space strictly speaking — there is, in the background, a huge clock on the face of which one could originally see, according to an eighteenth-century account, the chariot of the Sun circling round the numerals of the hours.

Even in earlier years, however, Velázquez' assistants had occasionally let ornament play an important compositional function and brought a depiction of architectural décor into royal portraits entrusted to them at the workshop. Such, for instance, is the case with the portraits of Philip IV, Prince Baltasar Carlos, or Queen Isabel, executed at various dates from the 1630's on (plate **50**). A sharper departure from the Master's sense of composition is to be found in Mazo's portrait of *Queen Mariana*, painted in 1666, long after Velázquez' death (plate **31**). Not much later, in the late 1660's and again in the early 1670's, Carreño de Miranda would portray Queen Mariana, as well as Charles II — her and Philip IV's sickly son and last monarch of his dynasty — in that famous Hall of Mirrors, in works where the vivid depiction of the ornaments and mirror reflections are one with the portrayal of the sitter's majesty (Prado, Nos. 642 and 644, and Staatliche Museen, Berlin, No. 407). By comparison with Velázquez, Carreño appears to have shifted the emphasis from the person of the King to the grandeur of his surroundings — which was current in the European painting of the seventeenth century (plate **32**).

31. Mazo, *Queen Mariana*, 1666 (1.97 × 1.46 m), London, National Gallery. Courtesy of the National Gallery.

32. Carreño, *Charles II in the Hall of Mirrors*, 1673 (2.05 × 1.41 m), East Berlin, Staatliche Museen. Courtesy of the Museum.

33. Pareja, *Vocation of St. Mathew*, (2.25 × 3.25 m) 1661 Madrid, Prado. Courtesy of the Museum.

The old Royal Palace, or Alcázar, at Madrid, was gutted by fire in the following century, and over five hundred paintings, including quite a few by Velázquez, were lost with it. Only one of the four he had painted for the Hall of Mirrors was saved. Luckily, however, most of his royal portraits of the 1650's, including his most extraordinary work, *Velázquez and the royal family*, could be rescued or were safe elsewhere.

Velázquez' workshop

So little is known of the make-up of Velázquez' workshop either at Seville or at Madrid that one must presume that the names of most of his pupils and assistants are buried in the dust of archives, perhaps not undeservedly. As for those names which have come down to us, except for a few, there is little of substance to add to them.

It is recorded that in 1620 Velázquez signed up Diego de Melgar, then thirteen or fourteen years old, as an apprentice for a period of six years. The Master left Seville for Madrid three years later, and there is no indication as to whether or not he took Melgar with him.

No old copy of any of the religious paintings executed by Velázquez in Seville is extant or has ever been mentioned.

There are, however, enough copies or replicas of his *bodegones* to conclude that he had followers or imitators, some of whom may have been his pupils, perhaps even before he left Seville for Madrid, where his Sevillian *bodegones* were admired and imitated. Yet, in their extant copies or replicas of his early works one misses the fluid handling of light, shade and hue by which Velázquez achieved his rendition of both texture and aerial space. Instead, one finds a sharp contrast of light and shade which is more Caravaggesque than Velázquez-like, that is, more in keeping with the 'modernism' which Velázquez had left behind even as a young man, but which remained ingrained in other painters of his day, including some of his followers (plate *57*). Occurrences of this sort are not unusual at times which may be described as plateaus of modernism.

Diego de Melgar and the nameless followers of young Velázquez naturally awake our curiosity. As for their works, the task of trying to individualize them would require the discovery of new data in order to arrive at conclusive results, which would most likely be of slight historical relevance and remain peripheral to the study of Velázquez' art.

Soon after his appointment as painter to the King, the Master was given the use of a workshop in one of the buildings within the compound of the Royal Palace, as well as an apartment in one of the houses that the King owned in the city.[190] As we shall see, later he was allowed to use as a workshop some rooms of the apartment that Prince Baltasar Carlos had occupied in the Royal Palace till his death in 1646. As for his residence, he moved it to the rooms which in 1655 the King assigned to him in the *Casa del Tesoro*, another building within the royal compound.

34. Titian, *The rape of Europa* (1.78 × 2.05 m). 1560-62. Boston, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum. Courtesy of the Museum.

35. Francisco de Burgos Mantilla, *Still-life* (0.285 × 0.584 m). 1631. New Haven. Museum of Yale University.

Most of the Master's pupils at Madrid were of gentle birth, like Don Diego de Lucena, who probably entered the workshop in the mid-1620's, for he died in middle age in the 1650's; he was admired for his portraits, none of which is known today. Francisco de Burgos Mantilla, born about 1609, was nine years old when he moved from his native Burgos to Madrid, where he was a pupil first of Pedro de las Cuevas (d. 1644), and then of Velázquez; he was active and successful in Madrid as a portrait painter in 1648, according to Lázaro Díaz del Valle, to whom we also owe the information that he endeavoured to imitate Velázquez' manner in his works.[191] The only extant work by his hand is a still-life, signed and dated in 1631, in which blackish and grey hues prevail over a variety of ochres (plate **35**).[192]

Don Nicolás de Villacis (1616–94) studied with Velázquez in the years 1632–6; he then went to Italy, and returned to his native Murcia in 1650. A few extant works have been attributed to him, though actually we know little, if anything, about his style.

Francisco de Palacios, who reportedly died at the age of thirty-six in 1676, was among the Velázquez' pupils who distinguished themselves mainly as portrait painters. If the dates we have concerning him are right, he could not have been a pupil of Velázquez before 1651, when the Master returned from Italy. Nor could he be the Francisco Palacios who in 1648 signed two still-lifes, a type of composition that, incidentally, Velázquez is not known to have painted at any time (Vienna, Harrach Museum).

Most of the information that we have about Lucena, Villacis and Palacios was gathered by Antonio Palomino, a painter and writer on art who, as we know, had been closely associated with Juan de Alfaro, another pupil of Velázquez.[193] According to Palomino, Alfaro was allowed, because of his status as Velázquez's pupil, to make copies of great masters' works, such as Titian's and Rubens's, at the Royal Palace. He excelled particularly in copying Van Dyck, whose manner soon had a greater impact than Velázquez' on his works. Alfaro, however, remained an enthusiastic admirer of Velázquez, at whose death, in 1660, he composed, with the help of his brother, Dr. Enrique Vaca de Alfaro, a Latin epitaph which Palomino printed in his life of Velázquez.

Juan de Pareja was Velázquez' assistant but not his pupil in any meaningful sense of the word.[194] He was born, apparently of Moorish descent, about 1610 at Seville, where, as he stated in 1630, he was a professional painter, even though he was then planning to go to Madrid for four months of further study with his brother, Jusepe, also a painter. There is no indication of when he became assistant to Velázquez, whom he accompanied in that capacity on his Italian journey of 1648–51. His extant dated works, none of which shows true affinity to Velázquez' style, were executed between 1658 and 1669, the year before his death. Awkwardly composed and somewhat rudimentary in execution, they reveal no more than a competent knowledge of the painter's craft (plate **33**). Probably, Velázquez entrusted him mainly with menial tasks, such as grinding and mixing pigments, preparing varnishes, fixing canvases on stretchers and priming them.

Velázquez' workshop, where Philip IV often came to watch him painting, or perhaps just for a chat, was by no means a professional painters' precinct. Great and lesser writers

who praised his art, such as Quevedo, Gracián, García de Salcedo Coronel, Gabriel de Bocángel, Manuel de Gallegos, Saavedra Fajardo, and Manuel de Faria y Sousa, most of whom were also courtiers, are likely to have been there at one time or another. There must also have been among the occasional or frequent visitors at least a sprinkling of courtiers who, in the fashion of the time — not too different from our own in this respect — amused themselves by practicing the art of painting. Two such individuals were the Count of Siruela, a renowned diplomat who died in 1651, and Don Tomás de Aguiar, a gentleman who by 1657 had achieved some reputation for the portraits that he painted from life.[195] The head portraits of both, Aguiar and Siruela, presumably by Velázquez, were in his workshop when he died; they are at present lost or unidentified.

One of Velázquez' duties was to make sure that his assistants or other painters, such as Mazo, kept up with the demand for replicas or copies of his portraits of members of the royal family, or for that matter of the Count-Duke of Olivares, whose painter he also was. Copies of other portraits were commissioned by the sitters, their families or institutions with which they were associated — which explains, for instance, the sizeable number of copies that we have of the portrait of *Cardinal Borja*, the original of which has not been convincingly identified.[196] The copyists, of course, were not necessarily Velázquez' assistants or protegees, not even in the case of royal portraits, which were much in demand, particularly those of the King.

In the bust-length replica of his *Innocent X*, Velázquez painted little more than the sitter's head: the rest is plainly by another hand (plate *207*). Assistants sometimes completed a portrait began by the Master. An instance of this is the three-quarter length of *Queen Isabel*, sent to Vienna in 1632, in which the head is by Velázquez, while the lesser work of assistants is noticeable nearly everywhere else in the painting (plate *142*). Likewise, in the portrait of *Prince Baltasar Carlos*, of about 1639, now also at the Vienna Museum, only the head appears to be by the Master's hand, though he may have sketched the whole composition (plate *176*).

Some assistants were obviously given a free hand to devise new compositions, which, mediocrity being what it has always been, was readily achieved by borrowing compositional elements from other works by the Master. For example, the full-length of *Queen Isabel* sent to England late in 1639 reproduces the head of the portrait sent to Vienna in 1632, mentioned in the preceding paragraph, and includes particulars, such as the barking dog and the somewhat disarranged rug, taken from *Joseph's bloody coat*, from where also seem to derive the device of the background open-view (plate **50**).[197]

The coin of imitation

When Velázquez was a young man, his imitators were mainly attracted by his *bodegones*; from the mid-1620's on, particularly after his return from Italy in 1631, his impact on other painters of the time, including some of his seniors, was chiefly noticeable in portrait-painting.

Except for *Bacchus*, *Democritus* and *Supper at Emaus*, all painted by Velázquez at Madrid before his departure for Italy in 1629, and *Christ on the Cross* which he most likely painted about 1632, after his return to Spain, none of his religious, mythological or historical compositions appears to have been copied in his time. At least, no copy is extant that may be regarded as of the period, and none has ever been recorded as executed by any of his contemporaries, not even by those of his pupils or followers, such as Alfaro or Mazo, whose practice it was to copy paintings by other masters in the royal collections.

However, Velázquez' *The forge of Vulcan* had an impact on Carducho, who sometimes introduced a leaven of atmospheric naturalism in his linearly built compositions. He was particularly successful in doing so in *Saint Bruno declining the archbishop's mitre offered by Pope Urban II*, dated 1632 (plate **40**). In this painting, one of Carducho's best, a suffusing light creates a sort of atmospheric environment for the secondary figures at the left and for the archbishop's vestments placed at the centre, while the main figures are distinctly set against the background. The male profile to the left, modelled in light and shade, certainly recalls, that of Apollo in *The forge of Vulcan*, which had been in Madrid since 1631 (plate *115*).[198]

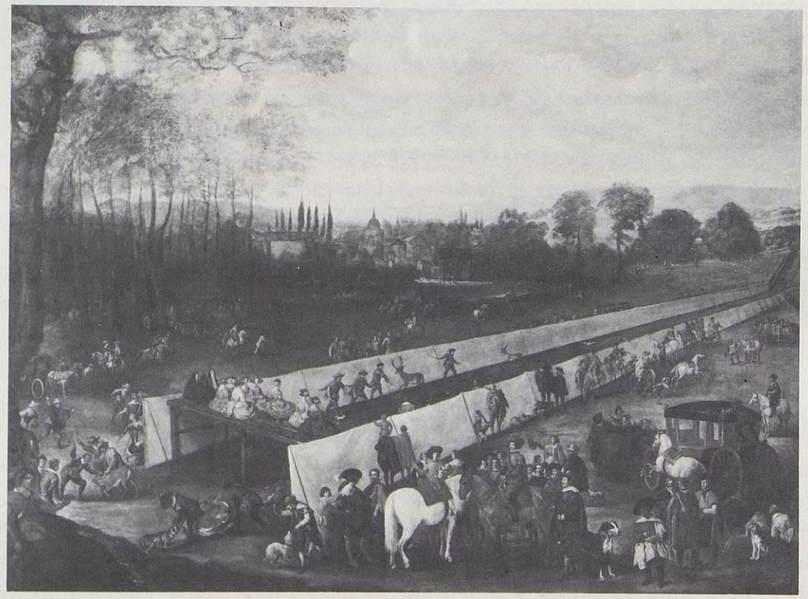
Velázquez made a good many drawings from Michelangelo's and Raphael's frescoes at the Vatican in 1629–30. Yet, no deep or lasting impact of either Raphael's or Michelangelo's art is discernible in his works. As we know from his words and works, Titian was the painter whom he admired above all others; however, this admiration did not lead to imitation. There is, indeed, no evidence that Velázquez ever copied any of the Venetian master's works, except for *The rape of Europa*, then at the Royal Palace in Madrid, which he sketched with purposeful changes, though meaning it to be readily recognized as Titian's composition, in *The fable of Arachne*, datable to 1644–8 (plates **34** and *198*).

Perhaps Velázquez had come to realize during his first Italian journey that, contrary to Pacheco's views, copying was not really a way to commune with another artist's work, much less to arrive at a personal creation, and in consequence he discouraged others from copying his works except, of course, for his royal portraits, copies of which with or without variations were made in his workshop. It might also be that from the 1630's on Velázquez' large compositions appeared to other painters too overpowering to be imitated.

There is a painting by Velázquez, a life-size *White horse*, which some of his followers appropriated in their works as if it had discovered, or abrogated, for them the live reality that it portrayed (plate *148*). It is probably one of the three paintings of riderless horses, each of a different colour — the other two being grey or chestnut — which were in Velázquez's workshop at his death. The painting has suffered from cleaning and restoration, but the design that masterfully builds the shape of the horse into space remains alive.

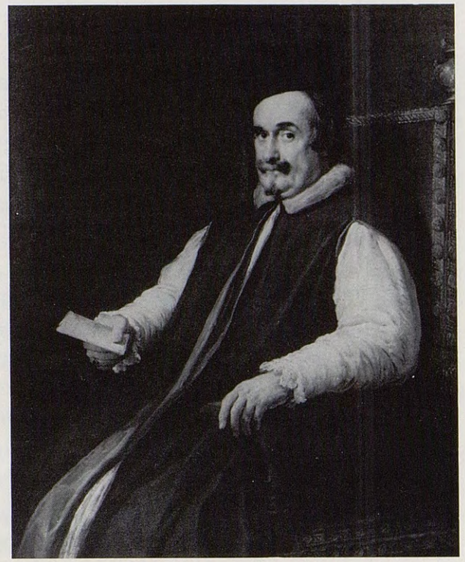
One unspirited copy of this *White horse* is known today (Madrid, private collection). It is likely that others were made in the Master's time and afterwards. At least, it is recorded that, as late as 1760, a promising young painter — who, as it happened, did not fulfil his promise — won a reward from the Spanish Royal Academy of Fine Arts for having copied 'the horse of Velázquez' and other paintings which were then at the recently founded Academy.[199]

36. Jusepe Leonardo, *The taking of Brisach*, 1635 (3.04 × 1.87 m), Madrid, Prado.



37. Mazo, *The stag hunt at Aranjuez*, 1630's (2.49 × 1.87 m), Madrid, Prado. Courtesy of the Museum.

38. Neri, *Innocent X with a prelate*, 1650-55 (2.13 × 1.67), El Escorial, Monastery.



39. Neri, *Cristoforo Segni*, early 1650's (1.14 × 0.92 m), Swiss private collection.

40. Vincencio Carducho, *St. Bruno declining the archbishop's mitre* (3.42 × 3.03). 1632. Madrid, Prado.

41. Mazo, *Count-Duke of Olivares, equestrian*, Mid-1630's (1.25 × 1.015 m), New York, The Metropolitan Museum. Courtesy of the Museum.

Apart from the colour, Velázquez' *White horse* is quite close in shape, pose and live design to the chestnut mount in his equestrian portrait of the *Count-Duke of Olivares*, painted about 1634–5 (plate *147*). In the small replica that Mazo painted of this portrait, probably in the mid-1630's, there are two obvious changes, both showing familiarity with, and dependence on, other works by the Master (plate **41**): the horse is white as in the painting where Velázquez represented it without a rider, and the precipice over which the horse curvets in the original has been replaced by a slope somewhat similar to that in Velázquez's equestrian portrait of *Philip IV* (plate *152*).

Mazo also included Velázquez' white horse, riderless, in *The stag hunt at Aranjuez*, in the Prado (plate **37**). It appears again, dappled in brown and white, as the mount of the Duke of Feria in *The taking of Brisach*, painted about 1634–5 by Jusepe Leonardo for the Great Hall of the Buen Retiro Palace (plate **36**).

As we know, the impact of Velázquez' portrait of *Innocent X* on Italian and Spanish painters of the time was of very high moment. No fewer than thirteen copies, executed either after the original three-quarter length or after the Master's own bust-length replica, have come down to us. Some of them are, of course, copies of copies. Such appears to be the case with the short bust at the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., in which, to mention only one telling difference, the eyes of Innocent X are brown with a little touch of grey rather than blue-grey as Velázquez painted them.

Pietro Martire Neri, who, as indicated above, appears to have been close to Velázquez in 1650 at Rome, signed two copies of the Master's likeness of Innocent X. In one of them, he enlarged the composition to a full-length double portrait of *Innocent X with a prelate* (plate **38**). Curiously, he copied the figure of the Pope from Velázquez' original without, however, attempting to imitate the Master's modelling of the face, while he endeavoured to achieve a Velázquez-like modelling in the head of the standing prelate.

From the mid-1620's till shortly after Velázquez' death, Spanish portrait-painting was to a very large extent under his spell. It was as if he had cast afresh for the benefit of his fellow painters the reality of the individual. As for the sitters, social affectation probably played some part in their desire or willingness to appear on canvas with a Velázquez-like dignity of carriage.

By comparison with Velázquez' originals, the extant portraits from his workshop or by his followers often seem garish, and almost invariably make the sitter look relatively small in a space which is either pictorially jejune or too contrived. Naturally, most of them are mediocre; a few, however, are executed with a sense of emulation, making use of brilliant accents which add weight to the naturalism of the pictorial image.

The Master must have been aware of the gap between his work and that of his gifted assistants or followers, especially evident in their replicas of his portraits of the King. He probably was also aware that, as in like cases, the imitation and emulation of his works were the small coin of the admiration paid to him.

Life, fashion and painting

It was most probably soon after his return to Madrid that Velázquez painted a new likeness of the Infanta María Teresa, whom he had portrayed some three years earlier (plate *200*). Only the head of this likeness of the Infanta has come down to us (plate *210*): now she has the lower lip considerably more developed in the manner characteristic of her Habsburg family; her left eye is more sharply almond-shaped, while the underlid of the right one still bulges out, and the outswelling of her temple is somewhat more marked.

María Teresa was about ten years old when Velázquez painted her earliest extant portrait (plate *200*) and just a few months over fourteen when he painted the latest of those which have come down to us. The teenager's features were obviously taking new shapes under the eyes of her portraitist, who, between the sitting for one portrait and that for another, saw a somewhat different presence which he fashioned into a new pictorial likeness.

The case was similar, though not quite the same, with the portraits of the Queen, who was just four years older than her blood cousin, María Teresa. Velázquez had what might have been a harder, but certainly turned out to be a more rewarding task with the Infanta Margarita — whom he portrayed from the time when she was a couple of years old up to when she was eight. If, while at Rome, the Master had enjoyed painting as the Pope and members of the Papal Court sat for him, back in Madrid he obviously continued to delight in his work as the Queen and the Infantas came to have their likenesses put on canvas by him.

A portrait of the Infanta María Teresa by Velázquez and a workshop replica of it left Madrid on 22 February 1653 as presents from the Spanish King, one for the Emperor Ferdinand III, at Vienna, and the other for the Duke Leopold Wilhelm, at Brussels. The original, now at the Vienna Museum, must consequently have been painted late in 1652 or early in 1653; unfortunately, it has been cut down, more notably at the bottom (plate *211*).

It is likely that Velázquez portrayed the Infanta María Teresa at least once more, at the time when her marriage to Louis XIV of France, which took place on 9 June 1660, was being arranged. However, the Vienna portrait, of 1652 or early 1653, is the latest we have of her by the Master's hand. In it, Velázquez fashioned the likeness of the Infanta into the subtlest harmony of white, silver and pink against a greenish-blue background. Everything, the voluminous and richly decorated headdress, the pleated tulle yoke, the bodice tight over the stiff corsage, and the ample farthingale on which ribbons and watches rest, is keyed to the make-believe rouge and pearly tones on the Infanta's face. Such make-up and such a costume were a Spanish fashion which French ladies of the time found hideous. In more recent times, Velázquez has been pitied for having to portray faces which looked so lifeless and cumbersome costumes which made the sitter's figure and pose quite unnatural. However, if the paintings themselves may be taken as evidence, it would rather seem that the Master enjoyed painting such portraits.

In the one of María Teresa (plate *211*), he opposed the artificial tones of her make-up to the live pink and ivory hues of her broadly painted hands. Yet it is the face, rouged and pearly, that keys up the whole composition: the yoke-like collar of pink tulle, the light chestnut headdress decorated with a white plume and silver and rose ribbons, the strands of pearls which cast brownish shadows on the silver-tinselled grey-white costume, the rose ribbons which lie on the farthingale or those which adorn the Infanta's wrists. Lit up by a silvery light, she stands against the greenish-blue of a cloth-covered table and the background curtain, made into a vivid pictorial presence without putting the emphasis on the particulars of fashion in a manner that Velázquez' imitators generally failed to achieve.

The Infanta Margarita does not look more than two years old in what obviously is the earliest Velázquez portrait of her which has come down to us, which is consequently datable to sometime in 1653 (plate *218*). As he had done more than twenty years earlier in the portrait of the sixteen-month-old Prince Baltasar Carlos (plate *126*), Velázquez represented the sitter standing on a dais covered by a rug — here patterned in blue, red and light ochre. At the right of the Infanta there is what looks like a table covered with a blue cloth, whose ample folds come to the foreground and blend, at the other end, with those of the greenish-blue drapery which opens into the background shadows. This background opening marks a fluid diagonal which runs across the composition to the very foreground, where it sets off the figure of the Infanta. Her roundish face, rosy and ivory, is framed by her flaxen hair; she is dressed in a pink and silver costume decorated with black lace and gold jewellery, and stands against the greenish-blue curtain and blackish and ochre shadows, her right hand resting on the blue tablecloth on which lies a white rose by a crystal glass containing a pink rose, a blue iris, and other flowers of yellow or light-blue hues — which keys up the whole colour scheme of the composition.

In this portrait, Margarita's neck is short and her chin roundish, which probably corresponded to her true appearance. However, in Velázquez' later portraits of her, shadows and lights elongate the neck and make the jaw look somewhat pointed, though in none has the chin quite the same shape as in the others nor, for that matter, have the eyes. Some of Velázquez' assistants, however, went on executing portraits where the Infanta's jaw is roundish and her neck short. The Master's concern to shade off Margarita's round chin and to elongate her neck recalls similar changes in the likenesses that he painted of Philip IV after 1624.

Late in 1652 or early in 1653 Velázquez completed his first portrait of the nineteen-year-old Queen Mariana (plate *213*). She is seen full-length, in almost the same pose as the Infanta, wearing a silver-braided black costume decorated with red ribbons and gold chains and bracelets, completed with a large gold brooch pinned to the stiff bodice. Her pose is almost identical with that of María Teresa: her right hand rests on the back of a chair, reddish purple like the overhanging curtain and the cloth-covered table in the background, which brings about a pervasive harmony of reds and black. The sense of depth is stressed by the shadow of the farthingale on the foreground; moreover the golden

Velázquez, *The Infanta Margarita*. 1653.
Catalogue No. 122.
Reproduced by courtesy of the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.

Velázquez, *Queen Mariana*. 1652–3.
Catalogue No. 121.
Reproduced by courtesy of the Prado Museum.

yellows of a clock shine in the background as do the like hues of the jewels on the Queen's costume and headdress, making the more vivid the depiction of aerial space.

This likeness of Mariana, with her rouged face made smallish under a heavy headdress, her bust encased in a tight bodice, and the rest of her figure, including the feet, lost to the eye in the stiff fullness of the farthingale, has led to suggestions that the fashion of his time resulted in some sort of handicap for Velázquez who, nevertheless, did his best to do justice to the splendid attire of his royal sitter.[200] Rather, it would seem that the Master took pleasure in underscoring the pictorial nature of his work by keying the likeness of the sitter to the make-believe appearance of her face.

If a parallel between Velázquez' painting and the literature of his day were permissible, without implying its being either necessary or conclusive, one could suggest that his vivid depiction of his sitters' artificial flesh tones as such, and the image of both human likeness and sheer pictorial presence that he thus impels simultaneously, bring to mind the play-within-the-play which, on the stage of the time, intensified, again simultaneously, both the true-to-life and the theatrical nature of the action being played.

It cannot be overemphasized, however, that such parallels between literature and other arts, helpful as they are for setting our understanding of an artist, or just one work, within the flow of the time, ought not to be understood as proving, or even suggesting, influence of one art on the other. Nor are they to be taken as evidence of the existence of a foreordained, or otherwise fixed, plan to which artists of the same period worked. They are no more than coincidences helpful for describing rather than circumscribing the current of creative life at a given point of historical time.

Last portrait of the King

As Philip, newly married but with no male issue, seemed to be bringing to a close the days of his dynasty in Spain, other European Courts eyed with inquietude, hope, or impatience, the immediate future of the Spanish throne. As a result, manners being what they were, many requests were made for portraits of Philip, by then a rather infirm person, his young Queen, his marriageable daughter, and the little Infanta who had disappointed the Spaniards' hopes for a male heir to the throne. Hence the sizeable number of portraits of the sovereigns and the two Infantas which have come down to us.

Yet, after 1644 when Philip IV sat to him at Fraga, Velázquez apparently portrayed the King from life only once more, in a bust portrait datable to 1652–5 (plate *212*). This is the latest of the extant likenesses of Philip IV undoubtedly by Velázquez, except for the image of the King that in 1656 he sketched, together with that of the Queen, as a mirror reflection in the background of the group portrait commonly known as *The meninas* (plate *220*). Also extant are three workshop bust portraits of the King with notable variations from the Master's, and at least five that differ more markedly from it.

In addition to these fine versions, there are others of mediocre quality, executed by Velázquez's less gifted assistants or by some of the hack painters then active at Madrid;

some were, it would seem, painted after the Master's death, in the last five years of Philip's life, and a few are obviously the work of much later copyists or imitators.

As Chamberlain, Velázquez had probably to lend a hand in the elaborate plans which were made for the solemn reburial of Philip IV's ancestors and his first wife, Isabel, in the new Pantheon at the Escorial. At the conclusion of the long ceremony, on 18 March 1654, Philip, who had viewed the remains of his forefathers — the Emperor Charles V one of them — and of his first wife, was a sorrowful man, fearful of death, and tormented by the uncertainty of eternal salvation.[201]

Though, as indicated above, Philip was by then rather infirm in appearance, Velázquez represented him in the bust portrait of 1652–5 as unmarred by age or illness (plate *212*). The light which, as in earlier portraits by the Master's hand, laves the face of the King, elongates his well-turned neck, as only the thinnest of shadows are used for the modelling of the whole. The costume, a black doublet and cloak, is just roughed in by bold strokes and subtle highlights which impart a statuary fullness to the bust.

An *antequem* date for this portrait of *Philip IV* is provided by an engraving based on it, made by Pedro de Villafranca in 1655 (plate **48**). There are, however, a few differences between Velázquez' painting and Villafranca's engraving. For one thing, in the latter, the King is clad in armour rather than in a doublet, though the white collar, which protrudes beyond his hair, is identical with that in the painting; secondly, contrary to the painting, the curls at the right of Philip's head are arranged in regular waves. These are, of course, slight variations. Of greater significance is the fact that Villafranca has hinted at a double chin in place of the elongated and well-rounded neck depicted by Velázquez. The other extant bust portraits of Philip IV from the mid-1650's or later also differ in this from Velázquez' original, as well as in lesser details. Every one of them, indeed, represents Philip with a double chin, often quite flabby, which makes his neck shortish and contributes to his ageing appearance.

Doubtless the likeness of Philip as an aged man corresponded to the truth of his physique more closely than the one painted by Velázquez. The large number of such portraits which have come down to us indicates that the likeness they embodied was the one preferred by those familiar with the appearance of Philip. It might even be that Philip himself, who was by then self-reproachful and well aware of his shortcomings as a King and of his many other weaknesses, favoured the portraits in which the flaws of his human nature were depicted.

The bust portrait at the Prado Museum is the only extant one of the King undisputedly painted by Velázquez after his return from Italy in 1651. From then on, for whatever reasons, he let other painters in his circle, including his assistants, paint likeness after likeness of the ageing Philip which seemingly conformed to the taste of nearly everybody, though not to his own.

Velázquez's name has been claimed at one time or another, though always with reservations, for a few of the bust portraits of the aged Philip. Two of them, one in Vienna and the other in London are rather fine, particularly the latter (plate **44**). Today it is only

the London picture which is still regarded by some as being, at least in part, by the Master, who would have painted the head, while the dress and the golden chain would be by an assistant. It should be noted that the shoulder braid in Philip's doublet and the chain with the Golden Fleece appear in this and in almost every one of the derivative portraits of Philip, though not in Velázquez' original. In the latter, the highlights which fully model the bust make it questionable that a gold chain was to be painted on, with all the changes, particularly as to highlights, that would have entailed. In some of the derivative pictures the chain is seen without the Golden Fleece hanging from it, most likely as a result of the canvas having been cut down.

Even Beruete, who did include the London portrait among the Master's works, pointed out that, though it is 'a picture of admirable effect', its execution does not entirely agree with that of Velázquez' last works. The colouring, particularly that of the hair, is lifeless; a sort of indistinctness in the filmy texture of the pigments contributes, moreover, to the lack of the in-the-round quality in the bust of the King. The lack of spatial depth is, indeed, the most telling difference between this and Velázquez' work.

The portrait of Philip IV, of which the London picture is the finest extant version, was also reproduced in an engraving made in 1657 by Pedro de Villafranca (plate **49**). This suggests that the likeness of the King with a double chin, first engraved by Villafranca in 1655, had gained currency two years later.

Velázquez himself might have arrived at the point of fashioning the self-reproachful and shaken Philip into an elderly figure. However, there is no painting unquestionably by Velázquez' hand nor other evidence which can give substance to such a surmise. All indicates that it was rather one of the painters in the Master's circle who turned his portrayal of the august monarch into the likeness of an ageing man.

The master and the follower

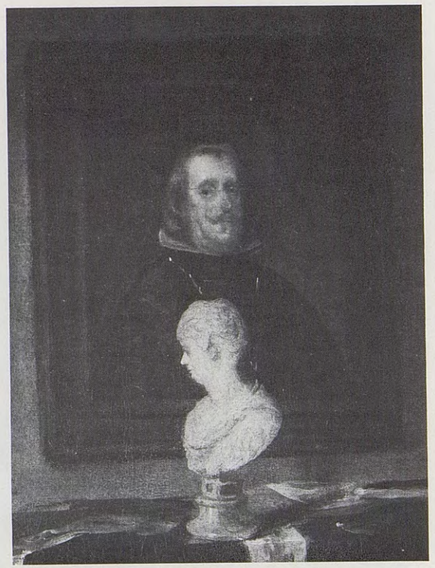
There is reason to infer that Mazo was the painter in Velázquez' circle who, in the 1650's, originated the version of the bust portrait of Philip IV in which, contrary to the Master's original, the sitter's natural characteristics are accented. A bust portrait of the ageing King hangs prominently on the wall of *The family of the artist*, at the Vienna Museum (plate **43**). In this group portrait, a painter is seen working, though not from life, on a portrait of the Infanta Margarita, which resembles, even to the green colour of the dress, a copy, now in the Budapest Museum, of the likeness that Velázquez painted of her in 1659.

According to a convincing and generally accepted view, *The family of the artist* was painted by Mazo; it portrays his family, and he is the painter seen at work in the background. That the family depicted is Mazo's appears to be supported by the fact that the coat of arms in the upper left corner displays a mallet *(mazo)* held by a hand in armour. It has been suggested that the room represented is the same depicted in *The fable of Arachne*,

42. Mazo, *View of Saragossa*, 1646-7 (1.81 × 3.33 m), Madrid, Prado. Courtesy of the Museum.

43. Mazo, *The family of the artist*, about 1660-1 (1.50 × 1.72 m), Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum. Photo E. Swenk.

44. Mazo, *Philip IV*, Mid-1650's (0.641 × 0.537 m), London, National Gallery. Courtesy of the National Gallery.



45. Mazo, Portrait of Philip IV in *The family of the artist*, About 1660-1, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum. (The actual size of this portrait of the King is slightly more than one fifth of the life-size bust at the London National Gallery, reproduced on plate **44**.)

46. Mazo, Sketch for boy in *The family of the artist* about 1660-1 (0.518 × 0.263 m), Dulwich College Picture Gallery. Courtesy of the Gallery.

47. Roman bust *(Domitia Lucilla?)*, Mid-IIcentury (height 0.62 m), Madrid, Prado. Courtesy of he Museum.

48. Pedro de Villafranca, *Philip IV, 1655* (28 × 17 cm.) From *Regla, y establecimientos, de la orden y cavallería, del gloriosso Apostol Santiago, Patrón de las Spañas*, Madrid, 1655.

49. Pedro de Villafranca, *Philip IV*, 1657 (26 × 17.1 cm). From Francisco de los Santos, *Descripción breve del monasterio de S. Lorenzo el Real del Escorial*, Madrid, 1657.

50. Velázquez' workshop, *Queen Isabel*. 1639 (2.56 × 1.45 m), Hampton Court.

51. Mazo, *The Infanta Margarita*, about 1664-5 (2.05 × 1.47 m), Madrid, Prado. Courtesy of the Museum.

52. Jan van Eyck, *Jan Arnolfini and his wife, Jeanne Cenami*, 1434 (0.818 × 0.595 m), London, National Gallery. Courtesy of the National Gallery.

seen from another point.[202] It should be added that the bust of a woman seen below the portrait of the King seems to be one in marble, from the second century A.D., then at the Royal Palace, where Mazo had his workshop, at least after Velázquez' death (plates **45** and **47**).[203] Still more important is that, in composition and execution, the painting coincides with Mazo's works, and so does the extant colour sketch for the figure of one of the boys, at the centre (plate **46**).

The portrait of the King in the background of *The family of the artist* corresponds quite closely in appearance, proportions and modelling to the likeness of the ageing Philip in the London National Gallery (plates **44** and **45**). Hence, it would seem that it was Mazo who originated the variant of Velázquez portrait of *Philip IV*, of which the London picture is the finest though not necessarily the earliest example, that gained acceptance in the mid-1650's; if so, it may be that his success prompted him to display that likeness of the King in the picture of his own workshop, probably after Velázquez' death, when he became Court painter. In that capacity, he went on painting portraits of the King and of the Infanta Margarita till the mid-1660's, when both he and Philip IV died.

Even if this picture of Mazo's workshop had been painted by another artist, the prominence given in it to the bust portrait of Philip IV as an ageing man would lead to the inference that Mazo was regarded as the originator, or at least as the outstanding painter of this true-to-life image of the King.

The earliest known document concerning Mazo is the entry in the registry of the church of Santiago, at Madrid, which tells of his marriage in 1633 to Francisca Velázquez. The date of his mother's birth, 26 June 1596, together with that of his marriage, suggests that he was born in the early or mid-1610's.

It is documented that Velázquez furthered his son-in-law's career with a steady hand, securing palace appointments for him and his children.[204] In the early 1640's, Mazo became master of drawing and painting to Prince Baltasar Carlos, who in 1645 was godfather to his fifth child. The Prince died the following year, at the age of sixteen, but Philip IV decreed that the perquisites that Mazo had been receiving be continued, and kept employing him as a painter.

While contemporary writers on art, as well as administrative documents of the time, including petitions to the King signed by Mazo himself, often refer to him as Velázquez' son-in-law, none mentions him as his pupil, and there is, indeed, no indication that he was, before his marriage, in that or any other professional capacity at the Master's workshop. Nor is there any evidence that he later became an assistant to Velázquez, a status which would hardly have been helpful for his advancement at the Court. At the same time, it is true that he came closer than any other painter to Velázquez' manner, though not so close as the misattributions of works of one to the other has led to believe. As his contemporaries noted and his signed or fully documented works plainly show, Mazo had a personality of his own, however much he, in fact, owed to Velázquez' style.

Jusepe Martínez (1601–82), a friend of Velázquez, praised Mazo for his mastery in painting small figures,[205] certainly a cardinal compositional element in both his hunting

pictures and his city views, such as that of *Saragossa* (plate **42**), which Martínez, a native and resident of the city, most likely saw in 1646 when Mazo was at work on it.

In 1657, Lázaro Díaz del Valle, an enthusiastic admirer of Velázquez, wrote that Mazo painted admirably hunting subjects and views of cities, of which he cited those of Pamplona and Saragossa, executed at Philip IV's command. Díaz del Valle also praised Mazo for his portraits of Philip IV and Queen Mariana, emphasizing one of the latter which was displayed at one of the gates of Madrid on a Corpus Christi day, presumably in 1650.[206] Since Velázquez was then in Italy and did not return to Madrid till June 1651, Mazo's portrait of Queen Mariana, which, according to Díaz del Valle, was of surprising naturalism and marvellous execution and one of the first of the new Queen to be seen at Madrid, must have been very much his own work.

Martínez praised Mazo also for his copies after Titian, and it is known that he copied many works by Rubens, Jordaens, and other Flemish or Italian masters, particularly for Prince Baltasar Carlos. Such copies must have cut down considerably the time available for his original work. So, obviously did the replicas after Velázquez' royal portraits which he painted, though in these he felt free to follow his own bent for brilliancy of execution and true-to-life naturalism.

Mazo's palette is rather like Velázquez', except for a penchant that he often shows for stressing blue or bluish tints. Of greater import as a departure from the Master's style is Mazo's way of shaping men and things by highlights which flash the pictorial image, as it were, toward the surface of the painting, even from the background. As a counterbalance, an explicit, even emphatic, perspective design marks out the spatial confines of the composition, making it look squarish. A further departure from Velázquez is Mazo's luxuriant depiction of detail or incident, which he achieves with brilliant, depthless strokes, whether on the figure of a sitter, a curtain, a wall, a floor, the surface of a river, or plain grounds. These stylistic traits ought not to be understood merely in a negative sense, as failures to be Velázquez-like; they actually reveal Mazo's own personality. Such traits are, indeed, as manifest in *The view of Saragossa*, begun in 1646 and completed in 1647 (Prado, plate **42**), as in the portrait of *Queen Mariana*, of 1666 (London, National Gallery, plate **31**), to cite his earlist and latest extant dated works. They are manifest, too, in the portrait of *Infanta Margarita* (Prado, plate **51**), most likely painted about 1664–65, where the background curtains build the space behind the glimmering figure of the Infanta as if they were stage flats — which is quite unlike Velázquez, as a comparison with his portrait of *Queen Mariana*, of about 1652–53, also at the Prado, makes evident (plate *213*).[207]

Velázquez at work in his world

In the inventory of the Madrid Royal Alcázar began by Mazo in 1666, at the death of Philip IV and six years after that of Velázquez, he described a large painting 'portraying' the Infanta Margarita with 'her ladies-in-waiting and a female dwarf, by the hand of

Velázquez'. Nothing else is known from any other of Velázquez' contemporaries concerning the title, subject or significance of the painting. The inventories of the Alcázar of 1686 and 1700 noted that in this work Velázquez had 'portrayed himself painting'. Later it was described as *The family of Philip IV*, and from 1843 on it has commonly been known as *The meninas*, and occasionally as *The royal family*.[208] I should now like to suggest *Velázquez and the royal family* as a somewhat more matter-of-fact title (plate *220*).

According to Palomino, this masterpiece 'was finished' in 1656, and, while Velázquez was painting it, the King, the Queen, and the Infantas María Teresa and Margarita often came to watch him at work. Some forty years later, in the 1690's, a new Court painter, the deft and quick Luca Giordano, paused before the old masterpiece long enough to proclaim it 'the theology of Painting'[209].

Palomino's account of this work is quite detailed, and the truth of it has been verified by documentary evidence in most respects. He identified by name and occupation nearly every person, and even the room, represented in the large group-portrait. The location is the main chamber of the apartment which Prince Baltasar Carlos had occupied in the Royal Palace till his death, in 1646. Some time later, Velázquez was allowed to use the appartment. In 1660, when he died, he had there his workshop and a sort of office for his activities as Chamberlain of the Palace, which involved a great deal of paper work.[210]

Mazo, painter to the late Baltasar Carlos, had painted the forty paintings which decorated the main chamber of the Prince's apartment; thirty-five of them were copies after Rubens or other Flemish painters, and only five — small canvases representing a wild boar and some dogs — were original. The forty paintings were inventoried there again, in exactly the same order, in 1686 and 1700.

In the painting, Velázquez himself is seen at the easel; a mirror in a black frame on the rear wall reflects the half-length figures of Philip IV and Queen Mariana under a red curtain. The Infanta Margarita is in the center, attended by two *meninas*, or *maids of honour*, Doña Isabel de Velasco and Doña María Sarmiento, who curtsy as the latter offers her mistress a drink of water in a *búcaro* — a reddish earthen vessel — on a tray. In the right foreground stand a female dwarf, Mari-Bárbola, and a midget, Nicolás de Pertusato, who playfully puts his foot on the back of the mastiff resting on the floor. Linked to this large group there is another formed by Doña Marcela de Ulloa, *guardamujer de las damas de la Reina* — attendant to the ladies-in-waiting — and an unidentified *guardadamas*, or escort to the same ladies. In the background, the *aposentador*, or Palace marshal, to the Queen, Don José Nieto Velázquez, stands on the steps leading into the room from the lit-up door way.

Philip IV's children by his first wife, Queen Isabel, were dead, except for the eighteen-year-old Infanta María Teresa, whose likeness does not appear in the painting. Philip had married the new Queen in 1649, and the Infanta Margarita, born on 12 July 1651, was then their only child; her apparent age in the painting confirms that this could not have been executed substantially earlier or later than 1656, as reported by Palomino.

There is another portrait of the *Infanta Margarita* by Velázquez that most probably was also painted in 1656 (plate *219*). She is wearing a white costume decorated with red

Velázquez, *Velázquez and the royal family*. 1656.
Catalogue No. 124.
Reproduced by courtesy of the Prado Museum.

rosettes and black lace, standing on a rug, patterned in reds, ochres, blue and black, against a reddish ochre background, enlivened by a red curtain. This is the only portrait in which Velázquez stressed the curls of Margarita's hair. Fashion, of course, would suffice to explain such change, as well as the fact that her hair is parted on the right rather than on the left. What matters, however, is that the two likenesses of Margarita painted by Velázquez about 1656 are different pictorially, which is not surprising since he really was a creative painter. In the group-portrait, the face of the Infanta appears elongated by thin shadows and by the luminous strokes which make her hair weightless and shape her figure into a lucent image, the like of which he never painted again.

Palomino pointed out that in 'the large picture' of the Infanta Margarita 'as a child', Velázquez had represented himself 'painting', and explained that the red cross of the Order of Santiago on his doublet had been added, by command of Philip IV, after the painter's death. It is, of course, a fact that Velázquez did not become a knight of Santiago till 28 November 1659, less than one year before he died.

Velázquez was fifty-seven years old when he painted this work. Yet, he represented himself without a wrinkle on his pensive face, his dark chestnut hair flowing down to his shoulders.

Palomino called attention to the pictures decorating the walls of the room in Velázquez' composition — the 'gallery' in Prince Baltasar Carlos' apartment — and said that one could see, if only dimly, that they were subjects from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* painted by Rubens. He obviously had in mind the two pictures hanging high on the rear wall, over the mirror, the only ones whose subjects, *Pallas and Arachne* and *Apollo and Pan*, are recognizable. Mazo's copies of Rubens' *Pallas and Arachne* and of Jordaens' *Apollo and Pan*, after a Rubens' sketch, actually hung side by side on one of the walls of the chamber represented by Velázquez, as recorded in the royal inventories of 1686 and 1700.

There is no indication that there was a mirror on that wall. However, according to an inventory of objects belonging to the King which were at the apartment used by Velázquez till his death, there was 'a mirror's black frame, without plate glass' in a small hall, near the main chamber, where the painter kept wood planks, stretchers and ordinary frames.

In 1855, Stirling, possessed of the spirit of his time, wrote in praise of '*The meninas*': 'Velázquez seems to have anticipated the discovery of Daguerre, and taking a real room and real chance-grouped people, to have fixed them, as it were, by magic, for all time on canvas'.[211] A quarter of a century later, Justi further explained that Velázquez' grouping of the figures of the Infanta and her attendants 'would be inexplicable' as the painter's own 'invention' and that it must consequently have been brought about 'by chance', at the sight of an actual event.[212] Beruete rather thought that 'Velázquez, a realist by temperament and education, surpassed himself in this work, to such a degree' that the viewer 'may believe himself to be actively present at the scene' depicted.[213]

Lately, there has been a tendency to consider Velázquez' composition as mainly allegorical. Diverse readings of the painting have been suggested, based on one or another

of the various allegorical or emblematic interpretations to which either portraits or objects included in the composition lend themselves, notably the two mythological pictures dimly depicted in the background, both of which, as we know, did actually hang side by side on a wall of the chamber which Velázquez represented in the painting.[214]

Few will, I believe, nowadays regard the painter of this masterpiece as a precursor of Daguerre. Nor, to my mind, can he be cast in the implausible role of a scholiast.

This is not to imply that Velázquez, who had painted *The fable of Arachne*, was unaware of, or indifferent to, the various allegorical meanings of the two pictures over the mirror on whose surface he chose to portray the King and the Queen as reflected images. He was doubtless as aware of the current interpretations of the two mythological subjects as he was also of the concept that the painter's true-to-life achievements emulated the images reflected in a mirror.[215] Yet, it would be inconsequential to reduce the significance of this masterpiece to an illustration of those ideas, which were part of the small coin current at the time.

Van Eyck's portrait of *Arnolfini and his wife*, of 1434, where the images of persons not otherwise included in the composition are reflected in a background mirror, was in the Spanish royal collection in Velázquez' time (plate **52**). There can be no doubt that Velázquez knew it, and hence he might have had it in mind at one time or another during the composition of this group-portrait. Nor can there be any doubt that the composition which he achieved is essentially different from Van Eyck's, where the convex mirror on the rear wall reflects, not only the two men coming in through a door at the opposite end of the room, but also, and equally distinctly, the other three walls and the back view of the two sitters, none of whom is related by action or gesture to the space lying out of the picture frame (plates *220* and *222*). Grouped together, indeed, they centre about themselves the space of the interior, which the reflection in the mirror makes the more definite. This has little in common with Velázquez' composition, the closest and most meaningful antecedent to which is to be found within his own *œuvre* in *Christ in the house of Martha and Mary*, painted almost forty years earlier, in Seville, before he could have seen the Arnolfini portrait at Madrid (plate *62*).

Radiographs made in 1960 show that Velázquez introduced several changes in the process of composition which, as we know, was often one with that of execution (plate *223*). He made slight changes in most of the figures, and altered his own pose. He had sketched himself at first with his head bent to his right rather than to his left as he appears in the painting; there is no indication, however, that he depicted himself at any time looking at the Infanta or at any other of the figures in the group behind which he stands (plate *221*). As for the figures in this group — the Infanta, the two *meninas* and the two dwarfs — no major change is noticeable in any of them. A highlighted shape revealed by the X-rays between the figure of the painter and the edge of the canvas he is painting on might be the head of a wimpled woman, perhaps that of Doña Marcela de Ulloa, who stands at the opposite side in the finished painting, forming a group with a man, who like herself, is an attendant to the ladies-in-waiting.[216]

Coming back to the painting, the composition that Velázquez represented himself putting on canvas is not shown. It has some times been suggested that he represented himself portraying the Infanta Margarita, who is being offered a drink of water, or given the large size of the canvas on which he is seen working, painting the very composition which he put before the viewer's eyes, including the portraits of the royal persons and their attendants, and his own likeness.[217] The main difficulty with either suggestion is that in Velázquez' composition, he stands behind the Infanta and the *menina* who brings her a drink of water, looking at neither. Moreover, he has his back to the wall which in the painting is depicted in full sight.

Somewhat more plausible, though hardly conclusive, is the prevailing belief that Velázquez represented himself in the act of portraying Philip IV and Queen Mariana, whose half-length figures are reflected in the rear mirror. Yet, there is validity to the objection that the canvas is too large even for a double portrait, and that, moreover, there is no record that Velázquez ever painted a double portrait of the King and the Queen, except, of course, the one which appears in this composition as a reflection in a mirror.[218]

Whatever particular subject, if any, Velázquez had in mind for the painting that he portrayed himself working on, the decisive fact is that he chose not to show it. Since, moreover, the composition does not seem to provide any firm indication, it is idle to try to identify the subject which Velázquez chose not to show nor even to adumbrate.

The lit-up mirror on the rear wall is in full view, and the images of the King and the Queen reflected in it are undisturbed by the reflection of anything else. These reflected images unequivocally suggest the presence of the King and the Queen in the depicted chamber, though in the space lying out of the picture frame. The Infanta, one of her *meninas*, the girl dwarf, the courtier in the rear doorway, and Velázquez himself are looking, each from a different point, into this outlying space, obviously at the sovereigns. The viewer's attention is thus simultaneously directed to the very edge of the luminous foreground and to the lit-up half-length images of the King and the Queen reflected in the background — again a painting, fancied as a reality, within the painting. Thus, an interplay of variable distances to and from an outer focal point is established which spans, and hence underlines, the chasm between the realm of painting and the realm of reality.

It has been pointed out in various ways that there is no other canvas that Velázquez brushed in more broadly or accented with sharper strokes; it has also been noted that 'the unusual disproportion' between the height of the canvas and the figures leaves a large space above their heads, which contributes both to the truthfulness and the airiness of the composition.[219] Certainly Velázquez has built a vast perspective setting where contrasts of light and shadow, roughened-out shapes and striking vivacities of touch heighten at one and the same time the world around him and his depiction of it. He has portrayed himself, his brush in his right hand, a palette and a mahlstick in the other,[220] and the key of his office of Chamberlain at his belt, at work on a canvas. His face and his hands are lit up as he stands in the area of shadow which fills most of the composition. As a foil to this self-

contained figure, there are, at the other side, the shadowed shapes of two Court attendants engaged in conversation.

If the painting that Velázquez is working on is not shown, the back is keenly depicted — the stark structure of the stretcher and the easel and the coarse texture of the canvas, its uneven edge lit up along the upright board, sharply rendered. As somewhat of a contrast, the painter's right hand is luminously modelled, the fingers tapering to the point where they hold the slender brush, unerringly shaped by strokes of light. The poise of the hand as he holds the brush in readiness between the palette — where the pigments' hues are distinctly seen — and the canvas is coupled with the sentient expression on his face.

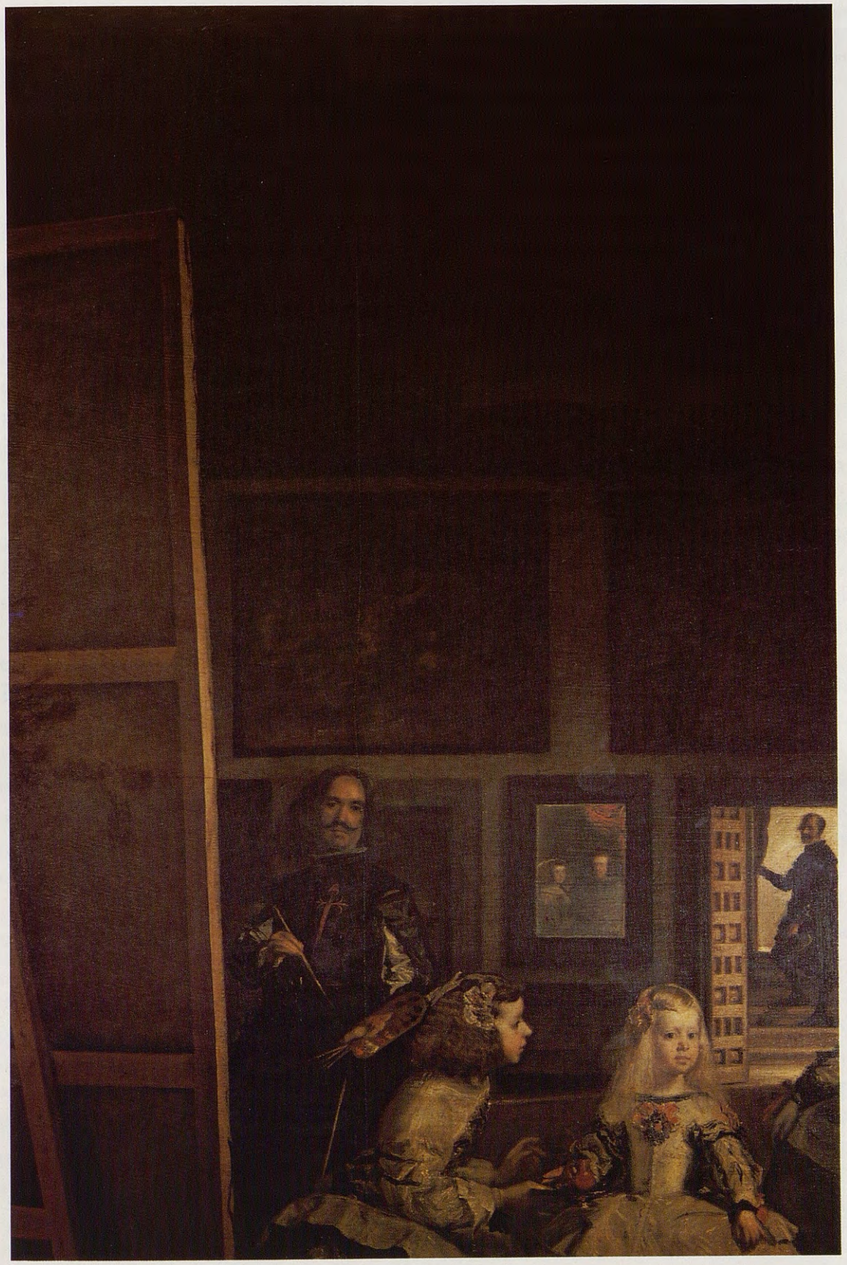
As Velázquez completed it, the group portrait has three foci: the figure of the Infanta Margarita is the most luminous; the likeness of the Master himself is another; and the third is provided by the half-length images of the King and the Queen in the mirror on the rear wall.

In no other painting has Velázquez rendered space in so architectural a manner as in this, the only work in which he has depicted a ceiling. There are, of course, spatial uncertainties which enhance the sheer representational character of the work. The composition is built on live diagonals, anchored, as it were, on the two which intersect at about the spot where the Infanta stands, and encompass at one end the background shining mirror and lit-up doorway, and at the other the expanse of light which fans out into the foreground to the very edge of the picture frame. The interlocking of these luminous areas is the more compelling as the middle distance is cut off by the shadows which spread across the floor. Yet, the depth of the chamber is stressed by the alternation of window jambs and picture frames on the right-hand wall, the stretcher of the large canvas on the left foreground, and the perspective sequence of the empty lamp hooks, which mark as central the spot in the rear wall where the King and the Queen are seen reflected in the mirror.

Nor is there any other composition which Velázquez keyed so dynamically — or scenically — to areas which are out of the viewer's sight: the face of the canvas where the viewer is compelled to fancy Velázquez' work taking shape, and the space lying out of the composition frame where the viewer is compelled to fancy the presence of the sovereigns.

The vast ceiling, without decoration but for the two empty lamp hooks, underlines the bareness of the chamber, unfurnished and unadorned except for the pictures and the mirror on the walls — a state which could hardly have been that of the actual room. This bareness, further emphasized by the stark view of the back of the canvas on which Velázquez is at work, sets off the radiant and richly textured group of the Infanta and her entourage, and makes the whole into a world of painting: ancient myths of the arts are dimly seen in the distance and life images, more vivid than reflections in a mirror, people the visible space and presumably too the surface of the canvas hidden from sight, on which the painter is at work.

There is in this masterpiece a starry interplay of ambivalences, with one slant spanning the gulf between the realm of painting and the realm of reality, another underscoring both the Infanta's regal bearing and her childish charm, a third offering the luminous



Velázquez, *Velázquez and the royal family* (detail). 1656.
Catalogue No. 124.
Reproduced by courtesy of the Prado Museum.

images of the King and Queen and a view of their forlorn Court, and yet another making vivid at one and the same time the compass of Velázquez' world — his circumstance — and the might of his brushstroke.

Velázquez knighted

The hope of being knighted must have entered Velázquez' mind rather early, not later than his first Italian journey. In 1632, Pacheco punctually noted that in that year he had learned from his son-in-law that the King of France, aware of Giuseppe d'Arpino's dissatisfaction with the none-too-prominent order of which he was a knight, had appointed him to a more prestigious one, sending him his new robes, a gold chain and a sword. Pacheco rounded off the paragraph which contains this piece of information — the last bit in chapter VII of *Arte de la Pintura* — with the statement that the Pope had bestowed the mantle of the Order of Christ on the Spaniard José Ribera. Pacheco, moreover, chose to open the following chapter, concerned in the main with an account of Velázquez' life, with a short narrative of the successes of Diego de Romulo Cincinato — a now obscure Spanish painter — knighted in 1625 by the Pope, and Peter Paul Rubens, who though already a knight, was knighted again by Charles I of England.[221] Long as he lived, Pacheco did not see his son-in-law knighted. Back in Rome in 1650, Velázquez, after his success with the portrait of Innocent X, secured, as mentioned above, the Pope's support for his desire to be made a knight of one of the Spanish military orders.

For the Master, the 1650's were marked by events of sorrow and joy which underscored the fullness, success and melancholy of his last years. On 5 November 1652, his seventh and last grandchild was born. Not much later, its mother, Velázquez's only remaining child, died. On 3 November 1654, Inés de Silva Velázquez, his granddaughter, married Dr. Onofrio de Lefranchi, who received an appointment as magistrate to the Court of Justice of his native Naples, granted expressly by Philip IV as a dowry for the Master's granddaughter. Lefranchi died in 1657 at Naples, and Velázquez had to send Mazo there, apparently to expedite the recovery of Inés's dowry. The King helped with the expenses of Mazo's journey out of the royal 'secret funds', appointed him assistant to the Chamberlain of the Royal Palace, that is, to Velázquez, and authorized him to pass on to his son Gaspar the position of Usher of the Chamber which twenty-four years earlier Velázquez had passed to his son-in-law as dowry for his daughter, Gaspar's mother. Velázquez's patriarchal contentment must have been broken when his two-and-a-half-year-old great-grandson, Jerónimo Lefranchi, who was living under his roof, died on 27 March 1658. Within three months of the melancholy event, Philip IV appointed Velázquez to the Order of Santiago, decreeing that the inquiry required for the investiture be promptly opened.

Two great masters, Velázquez' friends since his youth, were then at Madrid. Alonso Cano (1601–67), for a while Velázquez' fellow apprentice at Pacheco's workshop, had

been at the Court for some time, engaged in litigation with the canons of the Cathedral of Granada, who had deprived him of the prebendary which he had held for several years; thanks to the King's support, a decision had recently been rendered in his favour. Francisco de Zurbarán (1598–1664) had just arrived in Madrid, where, as it turned out, he stayed till his death. At Seville, his reputation, as well as his income, had been declining for some time, rather understandably for he had let his towering personality be lessened by the steady and mediocre output of his workshop, which he ran with little concern for true values. At Madrid, he was to display again a sense of artistic integrity, though too late for him to win back his old prestige.

As it happened, the rising star of Sevillian painting, Bartolomé Esteban Murillo (1617–82) had also arrived at Madrid for a visit a few months earlier, and he was probably still there when the appointment of Velázquez to the Order of Santiago, a milestone in the Spanish painters' struggle for social status, became known.

In compliance with the rules of the Order, an inquiry was opened in Tuy, Verín, Vigo and other Spanish places near Portugal, as well as in Seville and Madrid, to determine whether Velázquez' ancestry was free from any Jewish or Moorish strain, and whether he descended from the nobility on both his paternal and his maternal side. One hundred and forty-odd witnesses came forward to testify in the affirmative. Several of them were aristocrats, such as the Marquis of Malpica, who, putting aside old rivalries, described himself as Velázquez' colleague in the royal service. Among the fellow artists were Zurbarán, Cano, Nardi, and Burgos Mantilla, as well as Juan Carreño de Miranda (1619–71) and Sebastían de Herrera Barnuevo (1614–85) from the younger generation.

Another point to be proved was that Velázquez had never had a shop of any sort or practiced any menial craft or occupation. Luckily, the rules of the Order, as revised in 1653, stated that only those painters who practiced their art as a trade should be regarded as engaged in a menial occupation.[222] Velázquez' friends took full advantage of this loophole. Reading their testimonies in the light of what we know of his life, it is obvious that many of them, including Cano who some months earlier had been ordained as a priest, were so bent on securing the knighthood for Velázquez that, though they were under oath, they felt free to stretch, or even to disregard, the truth. They affirmed, for instance, that the Master had not studied his art under another painter, or had ever had a workshop in the professional sense, not even at Seville, or sold any of his paintings, and that, in fact, he had always painted either for his own pleasure or for that of the King.

The stumbling block was the nobility of Velázquez' ancestors, which could not be substantiated, particularly on his mother's side. Early in April 1659, the outcome was still unpromising. At that point, however, the King decided to take a short cut through the maze of red tape and instructed his ambassador at Rome to request from the Pontiff, Alexander VII, the issuance of a brief exempting Velázquez from the proof of nobility. The Pope complied promptly with the royal request, and on 28 November 1659, Philip invested his favourite painter with the Order of Santiago, thus fulfilling the Master's high hope.

Earlier, in 1657, Baltasar Gracián, a writer widely admired for his subtlety, had depicted the heroes of his allegorical novel, *El criticón*, setting out for the Isle of Immortality in a sloop of everlasting cedar, whose golden oars were like feathers and whose sails looked like canvases painted by either the ancient Timanthes or 'the modern Velázquez'.[223]

The Hall of Mirrors

The weariness which had pervaded the ageing Spanish monarchy for years and which Quevedo, an early admirer of Velázquez, had keenly expressed in 1643, when he was released from a long imprisonment after Olivares' downfall, became more and more evident throughout the 1650's with Philip's own increasing penury and lack of purpose. Yet the splendid refurbishing of the Madrid Royal Alcázar — in which Velázquez took a more active part, precisely beginning in 1643 — went on with no trimming of expenses.[224]

As we know, Velázquez spent much of his time in Italy in 1649–51 securing casts from the antique, adornments and even artists for the refurbishing and decoration of the old Alcázar. One of his achievements at the Alcázar was the rebuilding of an old tower into an 'octogonal hall', magnificently decorated — a glimpse of which has been preserved in Mazo's portrait of *Queen Mariana*, dated 1666 (plate **31**).

Velázquez' architectural activity was not limited to the Alcázar. He took charge of similar work in other royal palaces, including El Escorial. In 1656 and again in 1659 Lázaro Díaz del Valle referred to Velázquez as a 'renowned architect and painter',[225] though the truth is that his architectural work never did command, nor deserve, more than a fraction of the admiration that his painting won for him.

On 22 October 1659, the Duke of Gramont, who had come to the Spanish Court as ambassador to request the hand of the Infanta María Teresa for Louis XIV, admired the paintings hanging in the chamber where he was received by Philip IV, and expressed the wish of seeing the rest of the royal collection. Velázquez took him on a tour of the Palace, where the new Hall of Mirrors had just been completed.[226]

Velázquez had designed and supervised the refurbishing of this hall, which derived its new name from the Venetian mirrors prominent in the overall decorative scheme (plate **32**). The subject of the whole fresco ceiling decoration, divided into five sections, was the fable of Pandora; the painting of the various scenes had been entrusted to Agostino Mitelli and Michele Colonna, whom Velázquez had engaged to come to Spain years earlier, and to the younger Spaniards, Juan Carreño de Miranda and Francisco Rizi de Guevara (1608–85), who assisted them. On the walls hung oil paintings, all in black frames, by Titian, Tintoretto, Veronese, Rubens, José de Ribera, and Velázquez; most of them were mythological compositions, though there were several biblical subjects too. Four focal points were provided by large portraits of the monarchs from the reigning Spanish dynasty: Titian's *Charles V at the battle of Mühlberg* (plate **18**) and *Philip II after the battle of Lepanto*

(Prado, No. 431), Velázquez' *Philip III and the expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain*, and Rubens' *Philip IV equestrian with the allegorical figures of Faith and Divine Justice*.

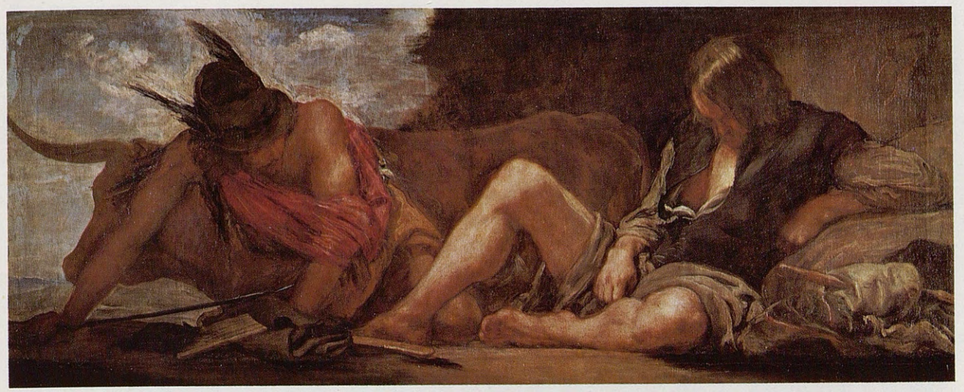
The mythological compositions painted by Velázquez for the Hall of Mirrors were *Apollo flaying Marsyas*, *Mercury and Argus*, *Venus and Adonis*, and *Psyche and Cupid*. Three of them, as well as the portraits of Philip III and Philip IV mentioned above, were destroyed in the fire that gutted the Palace in 1734. Rescuers, however, succeeded in cutting *Mercury and Argus* out of its frame; like its lost companion piece, *Apollo flaying Marsyas*, it hung in a narrow space above a large window, which explains the somewhat unusual proportions of the canvas, the height of which was originally one-third of its width. Sometime between 1746 and 1772, narrows strips were added at the bottom and the sides of the canvas, and a substantially larger one at the top, with the result that the height, originally about 0.835 m., was increased by half to its present 1.27 m. (plates *227* and *228*).

For all the monumentality of the figures, which gives depth and breadth to the composition, Velázquez has once more stressed the denseness of the world of the fable in *Mercury and Argus*, broadly brushed-in. As dark tints make both Argus and Mercury almost faceless, the highlights on their bodies accent the murderous treachery of the action depicted. Argus, in black and grey rags, is weighted down by sleep in the shadow of the cave, as Mercury, wrapped in a red and dull-yellow cloth, steals in on his knees, while the earthen reddish blob of Io, the heifer, quietly outlines itself against both the shadows of the cave and the distant cloudy sky.

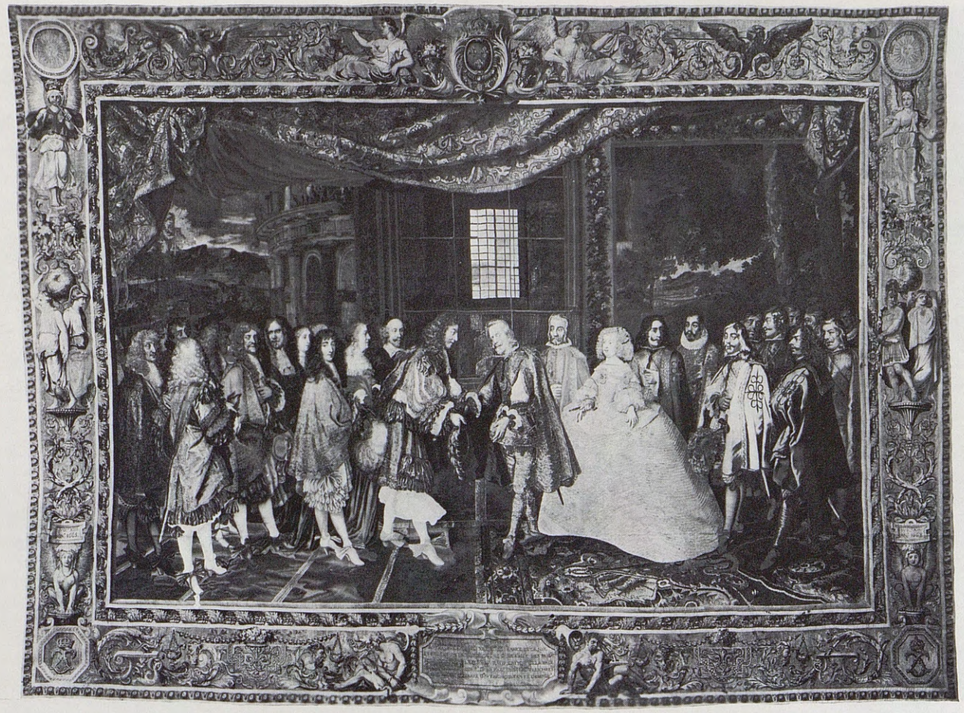
Last works

The last years of Velázquez' life were a time of melancholy dismay for many a perceptive Spaniard. Philip IV, after the solemn reburial of his ancestors in the Pantheon of the Escorial, had become even more painfully aware of his inadequacies as a king, and watched more helplessly than ever the threatening march of world events. Reverses of every kind — military, diplomatic, commercial — only compounded by the self-righteous thought and actions with which they were met, had been for over two decades steadily narrowing the approaches of the Spanish monarchy to the present and to the future.

The French proposal for the marriage of Louis XIV with his cousin María Teresa, which the Infanta contemplated with cheerfulness, had been looked upon with distrust by many Spaniards who feared that it might result in the political union of France and Spain under a French king. It was only after the birth of Prince Felipe Próspero, on 20 November 1657, that those fears were allayed, and the marriage of the French king and the Spanish Infanta was agreed upon. In the event, even this prudently delayed action proved precipitate. The heir to the throne, on whom the hopes for the continuity of the Spanish monarchy were pinned, was a sickly child from birth, and despite the great care taken to protect him against both infectious diseases and the evil eye, he died before reaching his



Velázquez, *Mercury and Argus* (the original painting as it would approximately look without the 18th-century additions). About 1659.
Catalogue No. 127.
Reproduced by courtesy of the Prado Museum.



53. Lebrun (after), *The meeting on the Isle of Pheasants*, Museum of Versailles.

fourth birthday, little more than a year after the marriage of his half-sister and the King of France.

In 1659, Philip commanded Velázquez to paint the portraits of Felipe Próspero and his sister, the Infanta Margarita, for Emperor Leopold I, whom she was to marry years later. These two paintings, still extant, and a lost miniature portrait of Queen Mariana, were, as far as it is known, the last works painted by Velázquez.

Margarita was then eight years old, and Felipe Próspero about two, somewhat younger than Velázquez' great-grandson had been on his death the year before. The portrait of the *Infanta Margarita* was altered into an oval shape in the eighteenth century (plate *229*). Though now skilfully restored, it lacks the sense of depth that it must have had originally when the chariot of the Sun could be distinctly seen circling around the numerals of the hours on the face of the huge clock in the background. Still, the blue-clad Infanta appears encompassed by the ochre hues of the clock and the sideboard on which it stands and those of the fur muff she holds in her hand. For pervasive harmony of colour, this portrait must have been — and to a considerable extent still is — an outstanding work. Everything is keyed to the Infanta's blue eyes and pearly face, faintly rouged, and framed by the pale gold of her hair and necklace: the gold and faded red of the hanging on the wall, the golden yellow of the *passementerie* gimp across her bust and of the gilt-bronze lions on the sideboard, the silver trimmings on the blue velvet costume, and the greenish touches which lighten this blue, harmonizing it with the tint that suffuses her white collar, undersleeves, and wrist cuffs.

As for *Prince Felipe Próspero* (plate *230*), Velázquez represented him wearing a silver-banded rose dress under a transparent white pinafore against which a pomander ball, to prevent infection, and several amulets to ward off the evil eye, are conspicuous. He does not appear to be quite two years old; indeed, he looks scarcely older than the sixteen months that Baltasar Carlos was when, twenty-eight years earlier, the Master portrayed him — at a time when the Monarchy appeared still as a living idea and a boundless reality to sensitive Spaniards.

In that earlier portrait of *Baltasar Carlos* (plate *126*), Velázquez included the figure of a dwarf, whose shape and gesture are a foil to the majestic bearing and pose of the Prince, who towers over his surroundings. In the painting of Felipe Próspero, a playful little dog — one which, according to Palomino, was very dear to Velázquez[227] — brings a note of warmth into the composition where the frail figure of the Prince is seen against a looming space. The purplish hues dominant in either portrait are about all that the two works have in common.

A rug, red and brown on light blue, marks out a rectangle where the Prince stands by a short-legged armchair set at a diagonal to the full-size stool at his back. He rests a hand on the gold-braided armchair, where the dog is curled, and his silver and rose cap lies casually on the silver-tasselled cushion which builds up the height of the stool — a compositional scheme which emphasizes the stature of the Prince child without dwarfing him. The live diagonal rhythm is furthered by the perspective relation between the lit-up

Velázquez, *Prince Felipe Próspero*. 1659.
Catalogue No. 129.
Reproduced by courtesy of the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.

purplish drapery hanging from above in the foreground and the one shadowed forth near the half-lighted doorway at the rear.

The bloodless face of the blue-eyed Felipe Próspero is modelled with greyish tints, which also tinge the top of the white pinafore, where the rose shoulder bow is set off by a vivid blue shadow; the Prince, in his white, silver and rose dress, looks all the paler as highlights silver his straw-coloured hair. The cheerless half-light coming from the distant doorway adumbrates a high floor line and accents the vertical lines of a wainscoted door against whose bottom panels the head of the Prince is perspectively set. Thus, the vastness of the chamber is stressed, and the shadowy space is made to loom over the Prince child, whose melancholy shape and comely bearing are enhanced by the brilliancy and casualness of his immediate surroundings. It is a somewhat dramatic portrait, painted with as much warmth as sentience, the first portrait in which Velázquez embodied a dismal sentiment. As it happened, it was one of his very last works.

Last service to the King, and death

From October 1659 till the following Spring, Velázquez, as Chamberlain of the Palace, was busy with the arrangements for the Spanish section of the building erected on the Isle of Pheasants, off Fuenterrabía, in the North of Spain, close to France, where peace between the two countries was to be formalized and the Infanta María Teresa given in marriage to Louis XIV. After deciding on the decoration and choosing the tapestries for the Spanish rooms, Velázquez left Madrid on 8 April 1660, two weeks ahead of the King, to attend to one of his duties, the preparation of lodgings for the royal party along the route to Fuenterrabía. He was accorded the use of a travelling litter for the journey, which he made in twenty-four days, accompanied by a crew of workers riding on mules.

On 7 June Velázquez, wearing a gold chain from which hung the diamond-studded badge of the Order of Santiago, was one of the magnificently dressed courtiers present at the great hall when Philip led the Infanta from the Spanish section — decorated with a series of tapestries of the Apocalypse — to the French side, decked with hangings from the series of Scipio and Hannibal. The following day, he started on his way back to Madrid, this time with the royal party. He arrived home on the 26th, much to the relief of his family and friends, for rumours of his death had circulated at the Court. He felt 'weary of travelling by night and working by day, but in good health', as he wrote to Diego Valentín Díaz, a fellow painter whom he had just seen at Valladolid during a five-day stop on the return trip, to whom he also told that Queen Mariana and Prince Felipe Próspero, who had stayed at the Court, looked 'very pretty'.

Routine matters were awaiting him at the Palace, and he had to busy himself with payments due to others for services rendered or small purchases made in the course of the royal journey. On 1 July, he went to a bullfight, as he did on occasion; it turned out to be

a rather simple affair, without horsemen, which made him and other courtiers think of the more elaborate one they had watched with the King a few days earlier at Valladolid.

On 31 July he had been for the whole morning attending the King at the Palace when he felt fatigued and feverish, and had to retire to his apartments. Philip sent two of his doctors to care for him and, on hearing that there was little or no hope of recovery, he asked the Patriarch of the Indies, Archbishop Don Alfonso Pérez de Guzmán, to assist his dying painter.

Death came to Velázquez on Friday, 6 August 1660. His body, clothed in the robes of the Order of Santiago, lay in state in his bedroom, where an altar was erected, till the following night when he was buried in the church of San Juan Bautista at solemn services attended by titled aristocrats and royal servants. His wife, who survived him by only seven days, was also buried there. Nothing remains of either their tomb or the church of San Juan Bautista.

A few years later, Louis XIV had a series of tapestries made, under the direction of his favourite painter, Charles Lebrun (1619-90), to commemorate his marriage to María Teresa. One of them represents the meeting of the French and the Spanish kings in the grand hall at the Isle of the Pheasants, each surrounded by his Court, and depicting the Spaniards and the French as quite different in costume and bearing (plate **53**). Lebrun portrayed Philip IV in a graceful stance though aged and somewhat stoop-shouldered; as for the Infanta, he made her figure stand out rather ungracefully by the use of a perspective which emphasizes the bulk and stiffness of her farthingale. To the student of Velázquez, Philip IV and the Infanta María Teresa appear miscast in Lebrun's somewhat anecdotal portrayal of courtly pomp, a world alien to that of sheer monarchical sentiment into which Velázquez had fashioned his royal sitters.

Like other truly great masters, Velázquez was more a maker than a recorder of his epoch, and it is so that his work — where he gave sentient shape to the divine persons, the King, the aristocrat, the dwarf, the artist, and plain men and women, and religious belief, mythological scenes and man-made events — lives, unique and communing, in the continuum of historical time, and hence, in our present.

NOTES

1. I have discussed the relation between art-historical interpretation and connoisseurship in 'On the matter of attributions', *Museologia 4*, Florence, Università Internazionale dell'Arte, 1976, pp. 51–4.

2. *Velázquez: A Catalogue Raisonné of his Œuvre, with an Introductory Study*, London, 1963, and *Velázquez' Work and World*, London, 1968.

3. A black chalk drawing on white paper, catalogued at the École des Beaux-Arts, Paris, as by an anonymous hand (M.315, 19.3 × 15.9 cm), has lately been published as a portrait of Olivares by Velázquez (Jonathan Brown, 'A portrait drawing of Olivares by Velázquez', *Master Drawings*, Spring 1976, pp. 46-50). It is a bust portrait, enclosed by an oval borderline, showing an entirely frontal view of the sitter's head, erect without the slightest tilt. As far as I know, no such pose occurs in any of the extant portraits by Velázquez. Nor, for that matter, in the Rubens' portrait of Olivares, to which, it is argued, the drawing in question would be related.

As I see it, this black chalk drawing hardly brings to mind Velázquez' hand, particularly the subtle interplay of light and shade which he used to build firmly the human figure while placing it in ambient air. Indeed, this frontal-view portrait seems to be the work of a diligent but somewhat dull hand; for instance, the bridge of the nose, broad and flat, sets the sitter's eyes far apart, and not quite at the same level.

4. In a letter to Théodore Fantin-Latour, reproduced by E. Moreau-Nélaton, *Manet raconté par lui-même*, Paris, 1926, vol. I, pp. 71–2.

5. A few examples, chosen at random, must suffice. José Camón Aznar describes *Pablo de Valladolid* as "warmer" in hue than earlier Velázquez' works "since the background is ochre"; he goes on to explain that this ochre background is one of the means by which Velázquez endows the figure of the sitter with "an impetuous plastic effect" — after which he perfunctorily quotes Manet's discerning words (*Velázquez*, Madrid, 1964, vol. I, pp. 477–9). Camón's views have been echoed by another author who also quotes Manet's words and yet unqualifiedly writes that the buffoon's figure "stands out in strong relief against the ochre background" (Madlyn M. Kahr, *Velázquez: The Art of Painting*, Toronto, 1976, p. 51). Still another writer sees in the background of *Pablo de Valladolid* "the luminous ochre of celestial visions" which Velázquez would have brushed in with some sort of blasphemous intention (Julián Gállego, *Zurbarán*, Barcelona, 1976, p. 38; the second part of this book is a catalogue of Zurbarán's works independently compiled by José Gudiol). It is not my purpose, of course, to chastise any of the writers whose understanding of Velázquez' style has been warped by inadvertent exposure to seriously impaired paintings that have lost some of their essential qualities.

6. My exclusion of two paintings till now included, one for over half a century and the other for almost a century, in every Velázquez catalogue, deserves some explanation. *The temptation of St. Thomas Aquinas* (Orihuela, Museo de la Catedral), was included as by Velázquez in Allende-Salazar's catalogue of this master's works, published in 1925 (pp. 47 and 276), and in every other one published since then (Mayer, 1936, No. 44; Lafuente, 1943, No. 42, and 1944, No. 44; López-Rey, 1963, No. 54, and Gudiol, 1973, No. 57). After examining this remarkable painting anew, I reversed my opinion. I concluded indeed that, though it certainly has similarities with some Velázquez' works of the late 1620's — notably the brushwork which builds the figure in the background and the objects in the foreground — there are other features which suggest a hand other than Velázquez'. The shapes of the three main figures are imbued with a malleable quality, which contrasts with the markedly linear definition of space; both of these contrasting traits are rather alien to Velázquez' style.

The half-length portrait of the *Count of Benavente* (Prado Museum) was purchased sometime before 1746 from an unknown source by Queen Isabel Farnese (1692–1766), wife of Philip V of Spain, as Titian's portrait of an unidentified prince. Pedro de Madrazo attributed it to Velázquez (*Catálogo descriptivo e histórico de los cuadros del Museo del Prado de Madrid*, Madrid, 1872, p. 624, No. 1090), an attribution which has found acceptance in every Velázquez catalogue published since then (Curtis, 1883, No. 182; Cruzada Villaamil, 1885, No. 132; Allende-Salazar, 1925, pp. 124 and 281; Mayer, 1936, No. 333; Lafuente, 1943, No. 88, and 1944, No. 99; López-Rey, 1963, No. 487; and Gudiol, 1973, No. 126). Beruete, who held that Velázquez had painted this portrait in 1635–8, remarked that there 'is nothing in the whole of Velázquez' painting which approaches nearer to the style of El Greco', and that the armour worn by the sitter 'recalls, by its colour and reflected lights, that worn by the principal figure in the *Burial of the Count of Orgaz*' (*Velázquez*, London, 1906, pp. 47–8). On the other hand, as Pedro Beroqui pointed out, Benavente's armour is rather like that worn by Philip II in the full-length portrait painted by Titian in 1550–1 (Prado, No. 411) — a suit of armour which has been preserved at the Madrid Real Armería (*Tiziano en el Museo del Prado*, Madrid, 1946, p. 116). As I now see it, there is in the Benavente portrait a prodigality of reflected lights which emphasize the awkward shape of the sitter and of the helmet on which he rests his right hand; the rendition of space appears also rather maladroit, though this could partly be explained as a result of the fact that the painting has evidently been cut down, probaby on all sides. Even taking this into consideration, the muddled character of the composition leads to the conclusion that it is not by Velázquez.

I did not mention either of these two paintings in my 1968 monograph on Velázquez.

7. Unless otherwise indicated, the text of every document bearing on Velázquez' family, life and work referred to in this study can be found, in chronological sequence, in *Varia velazqueña*, Madrid, 1960, vol. II, pp. 211–413. For further data concerning his works, including their provenance, see the corresponding catalogue numbers in the second part of the present book.

8. Francisco Pacheco, *Arte de la Pintura*, ed. F.J. Sánchez Cantón, Madrid, 1956, vol. I, pp. 155, 162, 166; vol. II, pp. 146, 154. Pacheco completed the manuscript on 24 January 1638, but it was not published till 1649, at Seville. All my references are to Sánchez Cantón's edition of the original manuscript.

9. We owe, in fact, this information to three of the witnesses who in 1658, when Velázquez' ancestry was being scrutinized to decide whether he could be admitted into the Order of Santiago, testified that he was descended from the nobility and had always behaved accordingly. For a fuller discussion of the matter, see José López-Rey 'Nombres y nombradía de Velázquez', *Goya*, Madrid, July-October, 1960, pp. 4–5.

10. See F.J. Sánchez Cantón, 'La librería de Velázquez', *Homenaje a Don Ramón Menéndez Pidal*, vol. III, Madrid, 1925, pp. 379–406.

11. Antonio Palomino Velasco, *El Museo Pictórico*, Madrid, 1947, pt. III, p. 892 (1st ed., Madrid, 1724).

12. For this and all other quotations from Pacheco's narrative of Velázquez' life see *Arte de la Pintura*, vol. I, pp. 155–62. Whenever the references to Velázquez are from other sections of this work, the corresponding page number has been indicated.

13. For the document, see Celestino López Martínez, *Desde Jerónimo Hernández hasta Martínez Montañés*, Seville, 1929, pp. 127–8.

14. Pacheco, *Arte de la Pintura*, vol. I, p. 370; vol. II, pp. 8, 165.

15. *Arte de la Pintura*, vol. I, pp. 366–71, and passim. A critical edition of *Arte de la Pintura*, which has not yet been undertaken, would help to clarify Pacheco's views on the matter.

16. Op. cit., vol. I, p. 478.

17. *Ibidem*, vol. I, pp. 370 and 456; vol. II, p. 79.

18. Pacheco, *Arte de la Pintura*; vol. II, p. 146. The verb *cohechar* (to bribe) with which Pacheco refers to the agreement between Velázquez and the peasant-boy apprentice connotes an idea of mischief which can only be understood if Velázquez, too, was still an apprentice.

19. *Considerazioni sulla Pittura*, ed. by Adriana Marucchi, Rome, 1936, vol. I, p. 223.

20. For data on works by Caravaggio, or copies after them, in Spain early in the seventeenth century, see J. Ainaud, 'Ribalta y Caravaggio', in *Anales y Boletín de los Museos de Arte de Barcelona*, July-December 1947, pp. 345–413.

21. *Arte de la Pintura*, vol. II, p. 13.

22. Op. cit., vol. I, pp. 108–9. Mancini points out the unnatural character of Caravaggesque chiaroscuro: 'It is peculiar to this school to light up [the composition] with an even light, coming from above, without reflections, as if through a window into a room with the walls painted black, for by so doing, by making the lights very light and the shades very dark, they succeed in giving relief to the painting, even though in an unnatural manner.'

23. I expressed this view in *Velázquez...*, London, 1963, p. 26. Yet, as Richard E. Spear has written 'the Caravaggio mystique still persists' and 'Velázquez *bodegones* and earliest religious paintings are repeatedly explained in terms of Caravaggio's art, despite the visual contradictions that this thesis rises' (*Caravaggio and his followers*, Cleveland, 1971, p. 19).

24. Cf. Theodor Hetzer, *Tizian, Geschichte seiner Farbe*, Frankfurt a/M., 1948, pp. 232 ff.

25. *Arte de la Pintura*, vol. I, pp. 155 and 160; vol. II, p. 154.

26. Pacheco, *Arte de la Pintura*, vol. I, p. 165. The Spanish word *limpieza* may be translated as integrity, but in Pacheco's context it rather means 'purity of blood', that is, an ancestry free of any Jewish, Moorish or heretic — i.e., non-Catholic — strain.

27. Baltasar de Cepeda, a guest at the wedding banquet, wrote a poem describing it (William L. Fichter, 'Una poesía contemporánea inédita sobre las bodas de Velázquez', *Varia velazqueña*, vol. I, pp. 636–9).

28. For Velázquez' extant signed or dated paintings, see catalogue Nos. 6,7, 19, 20, 21, 51, 56, 77 and 114. For paintings with the folded-out piece of blank paper, see catalogue Nos. 66, 71 and 73.

29. F.J. Sánchez Cantón, 'Sobre la vida y las obras de Juan Pantoja de la Cruz', *Archivo Español de Arte*, Madrid, 1947, pp. 95–120.

30. For a historical account of the early origins and later development of still-life painting in Europe, see Charles Sterling, *La nature morte de l'Antiquité à nos jours*, Paris, 1952. On Dutch and Spanish still-life, see; Ingvar Bergström, *Dutch still-life painting in the seventeenth century*, London, 1956, and *Maestros españoles de bodegones y floreros del siglo XVII*, Madrid, 1970. Julio Cavestany's catalogue *Floreros y bodegones en la pintura española* (Madrid, 1940) remains a most valuable source on the subject.

31. Max J. Friedländer, one of the first to hold that still-life had emerged in the wake of the Dutch struggles for freedom, made the more valid suggestion that still-life may be regarded as a form of art for art's sake (*Landscape, Portrait, Still-life*, London, 1949, p. 279).

32. I first expressed these views on *bodegón* and still-life painting in the foreword to the catalogue of the exhibition *The Golden Age of Spanish Still-life Painting*, organized by the Newark Museum, Newark, New Jersey, December 1964-January 1965.

33. For this and the preceding references to Pacheco's understanding of *bodegones*, see *Arte de la Pintura*, vol. II, pp. 135–9. Antonio Palomino, writing in the first quarter of the eighteenth century, defined the term *bodegón* somewhat more broadly as a 'type of painting in which victuals are depicted' (see *Indice de los términos privativos del Arte de la Pintura* appended to the second volume of his *El Museo Pictórico*, first published in Madrid in 1724). About a century later, Juan Agustín Ceán Bermúdez, after describing several *bodegón* compositions with no reference to human figures, explained that 'to paint *bodegones* is the same as painting food and kitchenware' (*Diálogo sobre el Arte de la Pintura*, Seville, 1819, pp. 26–8).

34. Cf. August L. Mayer, 'Velázquez und die niederländischen Küchenstücke', *Kunstchronik und Kunstmarkt*, 3 January 1919, pp. 236–7, and *Velázquez*, Berlin, 1924, p. 57; Kurt Gerstenberg, *Diego Velázquez*, Munich and Berlin, 1957, pp. 22 ff.; Halldor Soehner, 'Die Herkunft der Bodegones de Velázquez' *[sic]*, *Varia velazqueña*, vol. I, pp. 233–44, and J. López-Rey, *Velázquez...*, 1963, p. 32.

35. This suggestion was renewed by Emilio Orozco Díaz ('Un aspecto del barroquismo de Velázquez', *Varia velazqueña*, vol. I, pp. 184–99) and the present writer (*Velázquez...*, 1963, pp. 32–3). To some, however, the background scene is seen through an opening into another room. Others hold it to be a picture hanging on the wall. If either were the case, Velázquez would have represented Jesus gesturing with His left hand and with the right one motionless, and Mary holding her mantle close to the chin with her high-lighted left hand, while the right, hardly noticeable, rests on her lap. Had Velázquez so represented both Christ and Mary, an awkward emphasis would have crept into the composition, of which he could not have been unaware since left-handed people were then, and later, regarded in Spain and elsewhere as mischievious or even devilish. This does not, of course, imply that he, or for that matter any other painter of his, earlier or later times, would have excluded altogether left-hand gestures from his representations of the divine persons

or of the saints. Yet, we are concerned here with a particular work which can only be understood within the context of its time in terms of its own composition. Hence it cannot be reasonably assumed that since in Velázquez' *Christ at Emaus* the background scene is seen through an open hatch, the door of which is plainly visible, the same must be the case in *Christ at the house of Martha and Mary*, where no hatch door is visible. Neither does the significance of the painting hinge on whether the background scene is regarded as a picture on the wall, a reflection in a mirror, or a view through an opening into another room. See catalogue Nos. 7 and 17.

36. For Pacheco's own description of this picture, see his *Arte de la Pintura*, vol. II, pp. 327–8. Cf. Priscilla E. Muller, 'Francisco Pacheco as a painter', *Marsyas*, New York, 1960–1, vol. X, p.40.

37. Alfonso Sobrino, *Tratado de la Immaculada Concepción*, Seville, 1615, and Alvaro Piçaño de Palacios, *Discurso primero en confirmación de la purissima concepción de la Virgen María*, Seville, 1615. The latter was followed by a *Discurso segundo, etc.*, published by the same author in 1616, also in Seville.

38. See Ramón Menéndez Pidal, 'Onomástica inspirada en el culto mariánico', *Cuadernos del idioma*, Buenos Aires, 1965, vol. I, No. I, pp. 9–16.

39. *Apacible conversación entre un tomista y un congregado acerca del misterio de la purísima concepción de Nuestra Señora*, Seville, 1620 (reprinted in José Maria Asensio's *Francisco Pacheco: Sus obras artisticas y literarias*, Seville, 1886, pp. LVII–LXVIII).

40. Vol. II, pp. 208–12, and 317–9.

41. See José López-Rey, 'Pincelada e imagen en Velázquez', *Varia velazqueña*, vol. I, pp. 200–6.

42. According to Pacheco, Velázquez left Seville for Madrid 'sometime in April of the year 1622'. On the 14th, Velázquez was still in Seville and signed a document empowering Pacheco to collect in his behalf any and all moneys or merchandises due to him.

43. Duque de Berwick y de Alba, *Discursos leídos ante la Real Academia de San Fernando en la recepción pública del...*, Madrid, 1924, pp. 23–4.

44. For the date of Vincencio Carducho's birth, 1570, see A. Gambacorta, 'Arte in Puglia. Vincenzo Carducci', *Tempi nostri*, 1967, No. 11, and A. Rodriguez G. de Ceballos, 'La fecha de nacimiento de Vicente Carducho', *Archivo Español de Arte*, 1975, pp. 263–4.

45. For Borgianni's years in Spain, see Alfonso Pérez Sánchez, *Borgianni, Cavarozzi y Nardi en España*, Madrid, 1964, pp. 10 ff.

46. I am indebted to Mr. Volker Schierk who some ten years ago let me know the date of Lanchares' death, 14 March 1630, which he had found in the course of his research on this painter. Jusepe Martínez, who in 1634 was at Madrid where he mixed with many of his fellow painters, wrote that Lanchares, an outstanding pupil of Eugenio Caxés, had spent a long time in Rome, and had died prematurely (*Discursos practicables del nobilísimo arte de la pintura*, ed. Valentín Carderera, Madrid, 1866, p. 115).

47. See J. Ainaud, 'Ribalta y Caravaggio', *Anales y Boletín de los Museos de Barcelona*, July-December 1947, pp. 345–413.

48. In 1653 it was still at Valladolid, inventoried as Caravaggio's 'original' in the collection of the 10th Count of Benavente, grandson of its first owner. Its valuation, 1500 ducats, was the highest in the inventory, almost four times as much as a *St. Jerome* by Jusepe Ribera appraised at 400 ducats (see Esteban García Chico, *Documentos para el estudio del Arte en Castilla*, Valladolid, 1946, vol. I, pp. 392–4). Emmerich and Christa Back-Vega published a *Crucifixion of St. Andrew* which they claimed was Caravaggio's original ('A lost masterpiece by Caravaggio', *The Art Bulletin*, March 1958, pp. 65–6); as I have pointed out elsewhere, there is no validity to this claim (*Velázquez' Work and World*, London, 1968, p. 37). There are other versions of the same composition. One of them (2.54 × 1.52 m) was included under No. 4 in the exhibition *Caravaggio y el naturalismo español* held at Seville in 1973. A.E. Pérez Sánchez, author of the catalogue, described it as 'Caravaggesque' and as surely not representing the *Crucifixion of St. Andrew*, for the representation of which, he mistakenly believed, the transverse cross would have been absolutely 'indispensable'. The painting was acquired as Caravaggio's original *Crucifixion of St. Andrew* by the Cleveland Museum of Art in 1976; it is said to be 'in acceptable, but not the best condition'. See Ann Tzeutschler Lurie, 'Caravaggio's Crucifixion of St. Andrew from Valladolid', *The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art*, January 1977, pp. 3–24, and *La Chronique des Arts*, Paris, July-August 1977, p. 8. I know the painting only from a photograph.

49. Madrid, 1633 [actually published in 1634] fols. 89 r. and ff.

50. *Diálogos de la Pintura*, fol. 39 r.

51. In *Diálogos de la Pintura* several important Madrilenian art collections are described. One of them, outstanding on account of the number and quality of the pieces it contained, was at a house — whose owner exceptionally is not named — where works of art by old and living masters were traded, and where artists, intellectuals and highborn people gathered to discuss art matters (folios 147 v. and 148 r.). María Luisa Caturla has pointed out that several works of art described as in the unnamed collector's house were included in the inventory of Carducho's possessions drawn up at the time of his death ('Documentos en torno a Vicencio Carducho', *Arte Español*, Madrid, 1968–9, pp. 145–221). In this article María Luisa Caturla published most of the documents concerning Carducho's estate preserved at the Archivo de Protocolos, Madrid. One of those documents, not mentioned by Caturla, is a list of paintings which Carducho had shipped on 22 April 1631 to the Spanish Dominions in America *('las Yndias')* to be sold at prices ranging from 66 to 880 *reales* (fol. 443). The subjects of the paintings are described but no painter's name is mentioned. The lowest price corresponded to each of the five full-length portraits of Philip IV, his Queen, brothers and sister. Obviously such low-priced works could not be by the hand of Carducho, who, moreover, is not known to have ever portrayed any of the mentioned royal persons. Doña Carmen Caamaño Diaz' transcription of the documents concerning Carducho's estate has been made available to me by Dr. William B. Jordan.

52. For data on Maino see Fray Antonio García Figar, O.P., 'Fray Juan Bautista Maino, pintor español', *Goya*, Madrid, July-August 1958, pp. 6–12. Jusepe Martínez wrote that Maino 'had been a pupil and friend of Annibale Carracci, and a great crony of our great Guido Reni' (op. cit., pp. 120–1).

53. Hernani Collection, Madrid; The Fine Arts Gallery of San Diego, California, and Museo Provincial de Bellas Artes, Granada.

54. See Enriqueta Harris, 'Cassiano dal Pozzo on Diego Velázquez', *The Burlington Magazine*, June 1970, pp. 364–73. Both Velázquez' and Van der Hamen's portraits of Cardinal Francesco Barberini are lost or unidentified.

55. José López-Rey, foreword to the catalogue of the exhibition, *The Golden Age of Spanish Still-life Painting*, The Newark Museum of Art, Newark, N.J., 1964, p. 4. See also William B. Jordan, 'Juan van der Hamen y León: A Madrilenian Still-life Painter', *Marsyas*, New York 1964–5 [actually printed in 1966], pp. 52–69.

56. Villandrando was a pupil of Pantoja de la Cruz (1553–1608). He took the oath as 'Usher of the Chamber without perquisites' on 6 July 1621, and died in December 1622. The inventory of the Madrid Royal Alcázar compiled in 1636 described in some detail six portraits by him; the sitters were Philip III, Queen Margarita, Prince Philip (later Philip IV), Princess Isabel, the Infanta Doña María and the Infante Don Fernando. The description of Princess Isabel's dress ends with the statement that it is the one she wore on the occasion of Philip III's entrance into Lisbon (on 29 June 1619). That royal journey ended with the return of the King to Madrid on 4 December 1619. A few weeks later, on 31 December, Bartolomé González was paid 400 reales on account for a life-size portrait of Philip III in the stately robes which he wore when he made his formal appearance at the Portuguese *Cortes*. Consequently, Villandrando's portraits of *Princess Isabel* and *Philip IV as a Prince with the dwarf Soplillo*, none of which is dated though both are signed, were most likely painted around 1620, certainly before 31 March 1621, when Philip III died and Philip IV became King (José López-Rey, 'Muerte de Villandrando y fortuna de Velázquez', *Arte Español*, Madrid, 1968–9, pp. 1–4.

57. See preceding note.

58. José López-Rey, 'Idea de la imitación barroca', *Hispanic Review*, July 1943, pp. 253–7.

59. Juan Agustín Ceán Bermúdez stated as a matter of fact that Pacheco accompanied Velázquez in his second trip to Madrid (*Diccionario histórico de los más ilustres profesores de las Bellas Artes en España*, Madrid, 1800, vol. V, p. 159). The statement has since been repeated by all writers on the subject, including the present one. There is, however, no evidence that Pacheco went with Velázquez to Madrid in 1623.

60. Pacheco's report about the portrait of Philip IV finished by Velázquez on 30 August 1623 closes with the statement: '*Hizo también de camino un bosquexo del Príncipe de Gales, que le dió cien escudos*'. The expression *de camino* in this context cannot be taken to mean that Velázquez made a sketch of the Prince of Wales 'at the time of the trip' to the Escorial, or anywhere else, nor to indicate that Velázquez portrayed the

Prince 'in travelling dress', as some writers have held in what can be regarded only as an assertion of freedom from knowledge of the Spanish language. What Pacheco says is that Velázquez made a colour sketch of the Prince of Wales at roughly the same time, or immediately after, he painted the portrait of Philip IV.

According to Enriqueta Harris, an entry of 8 September 1623 in an account book for the Prince of Wales' Spanish journey mentions a payment to an unnamed painter 'for drawing the Prince' picture'. See 'Velázquez and Charles I', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, London, 1967 [published in 1968], pp. 414–20. The unnamed painter might have been Velázquez, but the picture must certainly have been drawn in Madrid since it was paid for on 8 September and the Prince did not leave there till the following day (See *Account of the departure which the most serene prince of Wales made from this city of Madrid*, written at the time by Andrés de Almansa y Mendoza, published by the Hispanic Society of America, New York, 1902, p. 5).

61. In the summer of 1847 a portrait of Charles I was exhibited at London as the missing colour sketch by Velázquez. Its owner, John Snare, a bookseller at Reading, subsequently published a book giving his reasons for the attribution of the picture to Velázquez: *The history and pedigree of the portrait of Prince Charles, (afterwards Charles the First) painted at Madrid in 1623 by Velázquez*, Reading, 1847. The attribution was rejected on rather plain grounds by Sir Edmund Head and William Stirling, then the leading British connoisseurs of Spanish painting. Snare replied to both with hollow arguments in a second publication: *Proofs of the authenticity of the portrait of Prince Charles (afterwards Charles the First) painted at Madrid in 1623 by Velázquez contained in observations on the remarks of Sir Edmund Head, Bart. and William Stirling, Esq. M.A.*, Reading, 1848. The painting has since been lost sight of.

62. See Francisco de Quevedo y Villegas, 'Grandes anales de quince días (1621)', *Obras completas, Obras en prosa*, ed. Luis Astrana Marín, Madrid, 1932, p. 476.

63. The document is not at the archive of the ducal house of Granada de Ega-Zaráuz as stated in *Varia velazqueña*, vol. II, p. 224, but at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. See catalogue Nos. 29 and 30.

64. The similarity of mien and countenance between *Philip IV in parade armour* and the portrait of the same young King in half armour included in Maino's *The recapture of Bahia*, of 1635 (Prado) is accented by the brisk and lively rhythm which pervades both portraits. It is likely that *Philip IV in parade armour*, or another version of it, was sent to Flanders. Gaspar de Crayer (1584–1669), a Fleming who never was in Spain nor saw Philip IV in person, made a dull copy of the figure of the King in an awkward composition, showing Philip IV, without leg armour, standing on a platform with a dwarf carrying the royal helmet, and a page holding a horse down below; the perspective setting of the latter group is particularly maladroit (Madrid, Palacio de Viana).

In 1639, Crayer painted a portrait of the Cardinal Infante Don Fernando, Governor of Flanders, who sent it to his brother Philip IV, at Madrid, without mentioning the name of the painter in either of the letters in which he referred to the completion of the portrait and to its shipment (the rather finical portrait, signed and dated, is at the Prado, No. 1472). The following year, after Rubens' death, Don Fernando had to concern himself with several paintings commissioned by Philip IV which the deceased master had left unfinished; he wrote to the King that at the moment there were available only two painters capable of finishing them, even though both were 'very inferior to Rubens'. One was the latter's 'first assistant', who, Don Fernando pointed out, might possibly not perform as well on his own as he had done under Rubens' direction. The other was Crayer, who was held in 'great esteem', particularly as a painter of 'large figures'; he was the one who painted 'the portrait of myself which I sent to Your Majesty last year', stated Don Fernando, adding that he did not know whether there were in Spain other works by Crayer. For the full text of Don Fernando's references to Crayer, see Justi, *Diego Velázquez...*, vol. II, Berlin, 1923, pp. 421 and 424.

The belief has been expressed that Crayer was the painter of *Philip IV in parade armour* at the Metropolitan Museum. Leaving aside plain stylistic considerations, it seems rather preposterous, literally speaking, to suggest that Maino, who had been close to Philip IV for sixteen years, would have used for his likeness in *The recapture of Bahia* a portrait done by a painter who had never seen the sitter. See José López-Rey, 'Maino y Velázquez: Dos retratos de Felipe IV en el Metropolitan Museum of Art', *Colóquio*, Lisbon, October 1963, pp. 15–9; 'A portrait of Philip IV by Juan Bautista Maino', *The Art Bulletin*, New York, December 1963,

pp. 361–3, and 'Sobre la atribución de un retrato de Felipe IV a Gaspar de Crayer', *Archivo Español de Arte*, Madrid, 1966, pp. 195–6. For the attribution of *Philip IV in parade armour* to Gaspar de Crayer, see Matías Díaz Padrón, 'Gaspar de Crayer, un pintor de retratos de los Austria', *Archivo Español de Arte*, Madrid, 1965, pp. 229–44, and Hans Vlieghe, *Gaspar de Crayer, sa vie et ses œuvres*, Brussels, 1972, vol. I, pp. 258–9.

65. Six portraits of Philip IV painted by Velázquez in the 1620's, including two visible only by means of X-rays, have come down to us:

(i) The full-length hidden under a later portrait, at the Prado. Most probably the one finished on 30 August 1623 (plate *99*).
(ii) The bust portrait in black, Meadows Museum, Dallas. Painted after August 1623, and most probably before December 1624 (plate *89*).
(iii) The full-length at the Metropolitan Museum. Finished by 4 December 1624 (plate *91*).
(iv) The bust in armour, hidden under a later portrait, at the Prado (plate *102*).
(v) The full-length painted over (i) in 1626–8, Prado Museum (plate *100*).
(vi) The bust in armour painted over (iv) in 1626–8, Prado Museum (plate *103*).

66. Diego Saavedra Fajardo, *República literaria* (first published posthumously in 1655), ed. Vicente García de Diego, Madrid, 1942, pp. 18–9, 21.

Francisco de Quevedo drew a vivid parallel between the figure of Christ on the Earth and that of the King in *Política de Dios, Gobierno de Cristo*, the first part of which was published in 1626 (*Obras en prosa*, pp. 302–447). Father Francisco de los Santos referred to the Spanish Kings from the Habsburg dynasty as 'Vicegods on earth' *('Vicedioses en la tierra')* in a context which indicates that the expression was current at the time (*Descripción breve del monasterio de S. Lorenzo el Real del Escorial*, Madrid, 1657, fol. 166 r.).

67. José López Navío, 'Velázquez tasa los cuadros de su protector D. Juan de Fonseca', *Archivo Español de Arte*, January-March, 1961, pp. 53–84.

68. Cf. fols. 2 r. and 56 r. [misnumbered 52].

69. Cf. *Diálogos de la Pintura*, fol. 160 v. and 161 r., and Antonio Palomino, *El Museo Pictórico y escala óptica*, Madrid, 1947, pp. 161 and 853. Palomino's first reference corresponds to vol. I, first published in Madrid in 1715; the second, to vol. III, first published in 1724, also in Madrid.

70. George Kubler has given an iconographic interpretation of the eight allegories of Painting, pointing out what they owe to traditional sources and what they have of original ('Vicente Carducho's allegories of Painting', *The Art Bulletin*, December 1965, pp. 439–45). The engravings corresponding to dialogues 1, 3 and 4 are signed by Francisco Fernández, who also signed the engraved title page and the end-piece, both of which have also value as allegories of Painting. Francisco López signed the plates corresponding to dialogues 2, 5, 6, 7, and 8.

In his mentioned article, Kubler has suggested that Carducho made the preparatory drawings — none of which has come down to us — for the allegorical engravings corresponding to each of the eight dialogues. It should be noted that the style of Fernández is more linear than that of López.

At the time of his death, Carducho had in his house the plates of the ten engravings for *Diálogos de la Pintura*, but no drawing for any of them was mentioned in the inventory drawn up then.

Kubler has convincingly identified the Francisco Fernández who signed half of the ten plates as the painter of the same name who, according to Palomino, was born in 1604 or 1605, studied under Vincencio Carducho, and died in Madrid about 1646. I should add that on 14 November 1638, shortly before his death, Carducho drafted a codicile in which he left 'to Francisco Fernández a colour sketch of a St. James' by Carducho's hand.

As for Francisco López, Kubler has supposed that he too was a pupil of Vincencio Carducho. He has given López' birthdate as 1552, and that of his death as 1629. Actually, the Francisco López to whom Kubler refers was born in 1554 at Colmenar de Oreja; in 1581, he was active as a painter in Madrid, where he died, in fact, in 1629 (Cf. José Martí y Monsó, *Estudios histórico-artísticos relativos principalmente a Valladolid*, Valladolid 1901, p. 280; Cristóbal Pérez Pastor, *Noticias y documentos relativos a la historia y literatura españolas*, Madrid, 1914, pp. 26 and 34, y Conde de la Viñaza, *Adiciones al Diccionario histórico de los mas ilustres profesores de las Bellas Artes en España de D. Juan Agustín Cean Bermúdez*, Madrid, 1894, vol. II, p. 245). Consequently, he could hardly have been a pupil of Vincencio Carducho, born in 1570, and who arrived in Spain, with his

brother Bartolomé in 1585. It is also unlikely that five of the plates for the *Diálogos*, whose title page bears the date 1633, would have been completed by 1629.

71. *Diálogos de la Pintura*, fols. 52 r. and v. and 110 v. – 112 r.

72. It is documented that Francisco Pacheco was a 'resident' of Madrid by 20 October 1624; he refers to his being there in 1625, and to 'those two years which I lived in Madrid', where on 8 August 1626 he signed a power of attorney to be sent to Seville. However, it has been generally held that Pacheco made at least two trips to Madrid during 1624–6 since a document, as published, placed him at Seville on 27 December 1624 (Universidad de Sevilla, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, *Documentos para la Historia del Arte en Andalucía*, vol. VIII, ed. Antonio Muro Orejón, Seville, 1935, p. 67). Mr. Myron Davy, of High Point Anchorage, Lorton, Virginia, let me know in 1969 that there seemed to be an error in the transcription of the date of the mentioned document, preserved in the Archivo de Protocolos Notariales, Seville. I am indebted to the staff of this Archive for having confirmed, at my request, that the transcription of the date was, indeed, in error, since the document is plainly dated 23 December 1626. There is no reference to any later stay of Pacheco in Madrid. Consequently, the two years that he spent there can reasonably be placed within the period 1624–6. For Pacheco's mention of Vincencio Carducho as his 'íntimo amigo', see *Arte de la Pintura*, vol. I, p. 149.

73. Carducho begins by acknowledging that expressing one's ideas in the form of dialogues is no longer fashionable. Though he expounds his ideas with remarkable consistency, he shows now and then a desire to come to terms with the new tendencies, which however he fails to grasp. According to Sousa Viterbo, the manuscript of the *Diálogos de la Pintura* was in the Library of the National Archive at Lisbon (*Noticia de alguns pintores portuguezes, et de outros que, sendo estrangeiros, exerceram a sus arte em Portugal*, Lisbon, 1902, pp. 40–1). I have been unable to verify this information. If the manuscript were found, it might throw light in the process of composition of the *Diálogos*, possibly including corrections, additions and deletions.

For Carducho's views referred to above, see *Diálogos*, fols. 29 v., 30 r. and v., 32 v., 74 r., 77 v., 84 v., 90 r., 109 r., 154 v. and *passim*.

74. The available data on Nardi have been summarized by A.E. Pérez Sánchez, *Borgianni, Cavarozzi y Nardi en España*, Madrid, 1964, pp. 25–30.

75. The cited documents state that the twelve-*reales* daily allowance is equal to that of the King's barbers. As Cruzada wrote, only by taking this fact out of its historical context could one read in it any disparagement of either Velázquez or the painter's profession (*Anales de la vida y de las obras de Diego de Silva Velázquez*, Madrid, 1885, p. 45). A like instance concerning an Italian artist is that of Andrea Sacchi, who from 1637 to 1640 'was placed in Cardinal Antonio Barberini's household among three slaves, a gardener, a dwarf and an old nurse' (Francis Haskell, *Patrons and Painters*, London, 1963, p. 7). Like all others, administrative documents ought to be read within the context of usage. For instance, in 1950, both chairwomen and university professors in the United States of America were granted Social Security benefits at the same time and by the same law. Surely it would be a distortion of fact to see in it a disparagement of either group.

76. J.J. Martín González, 'Sobre las relaciones entre Nardi, Carducho y Velázquez', *Archivo Español de Arte*, Madrid, 1958, pp. 59–66, and José López-Rey, 'Muerte de Villandrando y fortuna de Velázquez', *Arte Español*, Madrid, 1968–9, pp. 1–4.

77. *Arte de la Pintura*, vol. I, pp. 152–5.

78. '*Mórbido*', as well as '*morbidez*', meant in art terminology a certain softness or smoothness achieved in the depiction of human flesh. See Carducho, *Diálogos de la Pintura*, fol. 134 r; Juan Interián de Ayala, *El pintor christiano y erudito*, Madrid, 1733, vol. I, p. 429; Palomino, *Museo Pictórico y escala óptica*, Madrid, 1947, p. 1157 (first. ed. 1724), and Real Academia Española, *Diccionario de la lengua castellana*, Madrid, 1734, vol. IV, p. 605.

The lines concerning Velázquez occur in one of the two incomplete drafts of the poem *El pincel*, published as independent pieces by Quevedo's nephew, Don Pedro Aldrete Quevedo y Villegas (*Las tres musas últimas castellanas. Segunda cumbre del Parnaso español de Don Francisco de Quevedo y Villegas...*, Madrid, 1670, pp. 196 and 201). Luis Astrana Marín held that the two versions were written in 1629, and published them in the form of a single poem (*Obras completas de Don Francisco de Quevedo y Villegas, Obras en verso*, Madrid, 1932, pp. 496–9). José Manuel Blecua has published another incomplete version of *El pincel*, which does not include the lines about Velázquez, quoting the date assigned to the poem by Astrana Marín, and borrowing,

as the latter did, some lines from another of the known versions for the sake of completeness (*Francisco de Quevedo, Obras completas. I. Poesía original*, Barcelona, 1963, pp. CXX–CXXI and 249–53). The matter deserves further study from both a literary and a biographical point of view. It should be noted that the one draft in which the lines on Velázquez occur contains also a praise of Pacheco's drawings for the *Libro de retratos*. One of the drawings for this work, begun in 1599 or earlier, and left unfinished by Pacheco, represents Quevedo with his spectacles on, a wreath of laurel on his head, and the red cross of Santiago on both his doublet and his cloak. If this portrait was drawn from life, which there is no compelling reason to believe it was, Pacheco must have executed it no later than 1624–6, when he was in Madrid for the last time. In those years, in 1625 to be precise, Pacheco signed the portrait of *An unknown knight of Santiago*, whom he also represented wearing spectacles (Lawrence Art Museum, Williamstown, Mass.). It may be that Velázquez originated the portrait of Quevedo with the glasses on — which would explain why Palomino called attention to this detail — if he actually portrayed him. The Master could have painted the portrait referred to by Palomino in 1622, when he was first in Madrid, or between 1623 and 1629, when he left for Italy, or perhaps between his return in 1631 and 1639, when Quevedo was imprisoned by order of the King far from Madrid, to which he never returned.

As I have stated elsewhere, contrary to the opinion held by most scholars, it is not certain that any of the extant oil portraits of Quevedo wearing spectacles was executed after the one that, according to Palomino, Velázquez painted (*Velázquez: A catalogue Raisonné of his Œuvre*, Nos. 530–4).

79. According to Pacheco, Velázquez sailed from Barcelona on the day of St. Lawrence, that is, on 10 August. Data concerning Velázquez's first journey to Italy other than that provided by Pacheco or collected in *Varia velazqueña* can be found in Palomino, *El Museo pictórico*, pp. 900–3; Antonio Rodríguez Villa, *Ambrosio Spínola, primer Marqués de los Balbases*, Madrid, 1904, pp. 547–8, and Johannes A.F. Orbaan, 'Notes on art in Italy', *Apollo*, July 1927, pp. 28–9.

80. This surmise was turned into an apparent statement of fact by Denis Mahon (*Studies in Seicento Art and Theory*, London, 1947, p. 69, n. 111). and repeated as such by other writers.

81. Ellis Waterhouse, *Italian Baroque Painting*, London, 1962, p. 115.

82. In his testimony concerning Velázquez's qualifications for admission in the Order of Santiago.

83. Beruete, *Velázquez*, 1906, p. 38; Moreno Villa, *Velázquez*, 1920, p. 33, and Gerstenberg, *Velázquez*, 1957, p. 68.

84. Pedro Beroqui, *Ticiano en el Museo del Prado*, 2nd ed., Madrid, 1946, p. 139.

85. Gerstenberg, *Diego Velázquez*, pp. 217–9.

86. F.J. Sánchez Cantón, 'La Librería de Velázquez', *Homenaje a Don Ramón Menéndez Pidal*, Madrid, 1925, vol. III, pp. 379–406.

87. Aureliano de Beruete, *Velázquez*, London, n. d. (1906), p. 35.

88. José López-Rey, 'Pincelada e imagen en Velázquez', *Varia velazqueña*, Madrid, 1960, vol. I, pp. 200–6.

89. R.A.M. Stevenson, *Velázquez*, London, 1962, pp. 110–1. The first edition of this lively and perceptive book appeared in 1895. For my views on it, see 'A great Velázquez critic revived', *Apollo*, London, September, 1962, pp. 558–60.

90. *Velázquez*, p. 39.

91. Velázquez is only known to have signed three other paintings, in addition to the two mentioned portraits of Philip IV, after his appointment as Court painter; all three are also portraits, and two of them were of momentous importance to him: the lost *Philip III and the expulsion of the 'Moriscos'*, painted in the crucial competition of 1627, he signed in Latin, and the portrait of *Innocent X*, painted in 1650, carries a dedication in Italian, signed by the artist as painter to His Catholic Majesty. The other signature has come down to us in a fragment of a picture: the hand of an ecclesiastic holding a paper with the inscription: *Ill^mo. Señor — Diego Velázquez* (plate *134*).

92. On the Buen Retiro Palace, see: Elías Tormo, 'Velázquez, el Salón de los Reinos del Buen Retiro y el poeta del palacio y del pintor', *Pintura, escultura y arquitectura en España, Estudios dispersos*, Madrid, 1949, pp. 127–246; María Luisa Caturla, *Pinturas, frondas y fuentes del Buen Retiro*, Madrid, 1947; *Un pintor gallego en la Corte de Felipe IV: Antonio Puga*, Santiago de Compostela, 1952, pp. 10–13, and 'Cartas de pago de los doce cuadros de batallas para el Salón de Reinos del Buen Retiro', *Archivo Español de Arte*, 1960,

pp. 333–55; and Bottineau, 'Felipe V y el Buen Retiro', *Archivo Español de Arte*, 1958, pp. 117–23. No account of the Palace's early decoration nor of the corresponding payments has yet been published.

93. In the minutes of a meeting of the *Cortes del Reino* held in Madrid on 9 September 1633, it is stated that Velázquez, appearing as a petitioner, is '*pintor de Cámara de Su Magestad y de el Señor Conde Duque*'.

94. Pedro Beroqui, *El Museo del Prado*, Madrid, n.d. (1933), vol. I, pp. 27–9.

95. Loc. cit.

96. Sorano listed twelve subjects, with no indication of the painters who had painted them. However, according to documents published by M.L. Caturla ('Cartas'), the number of battle-pieces executed for the Great Hall was thirteen. Only eleven of them have come down to us; their measurements vary within the following limits: height, from 2.9 m. to 3.09 m.; width, from 3.11 m. to 3.81 m. All are now at the Prado Museum; their painters, subjects, and inventory numbers are as follows: Velázquez, *The surrender of Breda* (No. 1172); Maino, *The recapture of Bahía* (No. 885); Zurbarán, *The relief of Cadiz* (No. 656); Pereda, *The relief of Genoa* (No. 1317a); Jusepe Leonardo, *The surrender of Julich* and *The taking of Brisach* (Nos. 858 and 859); Caxés (with help of Antonio Puga), *The recapture of San Juan de Puerto Rico* and *The recapture of the Island of Saint Christopher*, one of them actually finished by Luis Fernández (Nos. 653 and 654); Vincencio Carducho, *The victory of Fleurs*, *The relief of Constanza*, and *The storming of Rheinfelden* (Nos. 635, 636 and 637).

It is documented that Zurbarán received payment for the extant picture of *The relief of Cadiz* and for another of the same subject executed by him at the same time and for the same destination, which has not come down to us. It is also documented that Félix Castelo completed a picture of an unspecified subject for the *Salón* before 23 April 1635, when he received the final payment for it; the total fee, 350 ducats, indicates that it was a large composition, and it is reasonable to assume that it was a battle-piece.

Caturla holds that Zurbarán's lost *The relief of Cadiz* was mistitled by Sorano, who thought that it represented *The dislodging of the Dutch from the Island of Saint Martin by the Marquess of Cardereyta* — an error that would have arisen from the fact that Cardereyta had also played an important role in the naval action fought off Cadiz in 1625. As for Castelo's work, Caturla has suggested that it should be identified with *The recapture of the Island of Saint Christopher*, one of the two pictures which had been commissioned to Caxés (*Archivo Español de Arte*, vol. 33, 1960, p. 340). Yet, the available evidence contradicts this suggestion. Indeed, Castelo received a first payment for his painting for the *Salón* on 1 August 1634, about three weeks before Caxés received his first payment for the works commissioned to him for the same destination. Moreover, Puga, in his testament of 1 March 1635, claimed that he had worked on Caxés's painting for the Buen Retiro at the latter's home, and Caxés' widow received a final payment for both pictures, even though one was completed by Luis Fernández. It appears consequently more likely that Castelo's painting was *The dislodging of the Dutch from the Island of Saint Martin by the Marquis of Cardereyta*, listed by Sorano and now lost. A painting of 'the Marquis of Cardereyta with the Spanish armada', corresponding in size to those in this series, was inventoried, without artist's name, at the Buen Retiro Palace in 1701. As for the two pictures of *The relief of Cadiz*, it is probable that only one was hung in the *Salón*, where Sorano recorded it as one of the twelve battle scenes.

Another Spanish military victory, *The rescue of Valenza del Pó in 1635* was painted by Juan de la Corte for another chamber in the Buen Retiro Palace some time later. According to the royal inventory of 1701, the head of the victorious general, Don Carlos Coloma, was by Velázquez. The picture disappeared from the Madrid Palace at the time of Napoleon's invasion of Spain (1808–14); its present whereabouts is unknown.

97. Diego de Covarruvias i Leyva, *Elogios al Palacio Real de Buen Retiro escritos por algunos ingenios de España. Recogidos por...*, Madrid, 1635, fol. D2. The sonnet about the portrait of Baltasar Carlos is by Don José Pellicer de Tovar, and the one on the portrait of Philip IV by Dr. Felipe Godínez; they read as follows:

Esse Mayor que todo el edificio
Magnifico Salon, Theatro grave
A donde aun el silencio apenas cave
Por ser siempre menor que su artificio
Esse que dá esculpido tanto indicio
De quanto España de su Reynos sabe,
Y sin que el ocio su materia acabe
Lisonja Real embuelta en beneficio

Esse exemplo eloquente, estudio mudo
Purpureo Baltasar, que os ha labrado
Varon Heroyco en nunca estilo rudo

Esse pues, consultad, que alli enseñado
En vivas lenguas de uno y otro Escudo
Quedareis a mas glorias empeñado.

Felipe, El que con tantas atenciones
Tu nombre copia, o su grandeza imita,
No se si te dá gloria, o te la quita,
Tu mismo a ti parece que te opones.
A sido equivocar admiraciones
Que la pintura a la verdad compita,
La fe que erije templos, solicita
Cultos a la Deidad, no emulaciones.

Mas si inspirando tu, que se construya
A tu nombre esta fabrica; en presencia
De tanta Magestad luzio la suya.

Esse es tambien obsequio de la sciencia
Pues osó competir, porque era suya
La gloria de su misma competencia.

A new limited edition of this collection of poems was issued in Valencia in 1949.

98. The titles of four of the poems mention both Maino's name and the subject of his painting.

99. See, for instance, *Elogios al Palacio del Buen Retiro*, fols. A2, C2, E (poems by Luis Vélez de Guevara, 'Arminda', and Juan de Paredes).

100. The entry in the inventory reads: '*El Principe Nro. Sr. a cauallo, en bosquejo*'. Pacheco makes it clear that *bosquejo*, or *metido de colores*, is always in paint; though he is aware that some painters use only black and white, or reddish and white pigments, his advice is to employ a full range of colours, especially for the heads and flesh of human figures sketched from life (*Arte de la Pintura*, vol. II, pp. 78, 127–8).

There were also in Velázquez' studio three unfinished large canvases, representing respectively a white, a chestnut, and a grey horse, without any human figure; it is likely that they were by the artist himself, though the possibility cannot be excluded that some of them were among the four canvases of similar subject and size inventoried at the Royal Palace as early as 1600.

101. Pacheco, *Arte de la Pintura*, vol. I, p. 419; vol. II, p. 133.

102. *Velázquez*, pp. 79–81.

103. Pacheco, *Arte de la Pintura*, vol. I, p. 153.

104. F. Saxl, 'Velázquez and Philip IV', *Lectures*, vol. I, London, 1957, p. 314.

105. *Lettere*, Paris, 1609, vol. V, fol. 53v., and José López-Rey, 'Idea de la imitación barroca', *Hispanic Review*, vol. XI, July 1943, pp. 253–7.

106. Baltasar Gracián, *El político* (Madrid, 1961, pp. 39 and 55).

107. *Anales de la vida y de las obras de... Velázquez*, p. 118.

108. For accounts of the surrender of Breda published before Velázquez painted this subject, see Saxl, 'Velázquez and Philip IV', *Lectures*, vol. I, pp. 315–18, and Marqués de Lozoya, *La Rendición de Breda*, Barcelona, 1953, pp. 8, 14–19. Saxl stated that he had 'not read in any account that Justinus delivered up the keys' (op. cit., p. 317). Nor have I, not even in the passage, cited by Lozoya, in which Gonzalo de Céspedes y Meneses, after describing the surrender, mentions that Don Fernando de Guzmán was sent with the news to Madrid (*Historia de Don Felipe IIII, Rey de las Españas*, Barcelona, 1634, p. 226).

109. G. Barry, *The Siege of Breda*, Louvain, 1627, p. 145. Cf. Herman Hugo, *The Siege of Breda* (translated from the Latin), [Brussels?], 1627, pp. 140–2; for the terms of the surrender, dated 2 June 1625, see pp. 129–38. The Latin edition, *Obsidio Bredana*, had been published in Antwerp in 1626. A Spanish translation, *Sitio de Breda*, was also published there in 1627.

110. Angel González Palencia (ed), *Noticias de Madrid, 1621–7*, Madrid, 1942, p. 120.

111. There is uncertainty as to the date of Calderón's play. It was written in 1625, according to Emilio Cotarelo Mori (*Ensayo sobre la vida y obras de D. Pedro Calderón de la Barca*, Madrid, 1924, p. 123) and Harry Warren Hilborn (*A chronology of the plays of D. Pedro Calderón de la Barca*, Toronto, 1938, pp. 9, 12). Simon A. Vosters holds that it was not written before 1626 and probably not till 1628 (*La rendición de Bredá en la literatura y el arte de España*, London, 1973, p. 10). The matter needs further study.

112. Two of the outstanding elements in the composition of *The surrender of Breda*, the lances and the group of Spínola and Nassau, have lured some writers into a search for works by other artists which might have influenced Velázquez'. José Ortega y Gasset crisply commented on the *naíveté* of a method which results in regarding any picture executed before April 1635 whose composition includes soldiers holding their lances up — or for that matter, a group of two men embracing or bending to each other — as a source for *The surrender of Breda* (*Papeles sobre Velázquez y Goya*, Madrid, 1950, pp. 74–5). However, the number of works supposed to have influenced the composition of this masterpiece keeps growing at random and *ad nauseam*; those most frequently or most recently suggested are the following: Bernard Solomon's smallish wood-cut representing *Melchizedek*

presenting Abraham with bread and wine, which illustrates Claude Perrin's *Quadrines historiques de la Bible*, Lyon, 1553; an illustration to *Concordia* found in some editions of Alciati's *Emblemata* brought out by Christian Wechsel between 1534 and 1545; a drawing dated 1565 by Jan van der Straet (Stradanus) which is an allegory of Philip II's role as mediator of the treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis (Ashmolean Museum); Martin de Vos's illustration of *Melchizedek presenting Abraham with bread and wine* in Gerard de Jode's *Thesaurus sacrarum historiarum*, Antwerp. 1579; Antonio Tempesta's frontispiece for Otho Vaenius's *Batavarum cum Romanis bellum*, 1612; three paintings by Rubens, *Melchizedek presenting Abraham with bread and wine*, *Reconciliation between Henry III and Henry of Navarre*, and *The Cardinal Don Fernando and the King of Hungary after the battle of Nördlingen*; El Greco's *Despoiling of Jesus* and *Martyrdom of St. Maurice*; Veronese's *Susanna and the Elders* and *Jesus and the centurion*; Dürer's *Large horse*, and Christopher Jobst's tapestry cartoon of 1615, *The Surrender of Hersfeldt* (Kassel, Archiv). It is rather unlikely that Velázquez was acquainted with some of the works supposed to have influenced his composition of *The surrender of Breda*. For instance, both Rubens's *The Cardinal Infante Don Fernando and the King of Hungary after the battle of Nördlingen* and Velázquez's *The surrender of Breda* were shown publicly for the first time in April 1635, one in Antwerp and the other in Madrid.

The same sort of catch-as-catch-can effort has, of course, been applied to other masterpieces, including Velázquez' *The fable of Arachne (The weavers)* and *Velázquez and the royal family (The meninas)*.

113. Velázquez had certainly departed from the traditional ways of composition and execution still being taught in the 1630's. As Carducho explained it, the master ought to begin by making preparatory drawings, which he should then use for the final composition; this was to be squared and transferred to the canvas by either the master himself or an assistant. Either of them must then brush in the colour though only the master could give the final and decisive touches (*Diálogos de la Pintura*, fol. 133 r.).

114. The flag of the Infanta Isabel Clara Eugenia, great aunt of Philip IV, Archduchess of Austria and Governor of Flanders (Simon A. Vosters, *La rendición de Bredá...*, p. 80).

115. The original Latin expression, 'insigni canitie venerabilem' was rendered as 'venerable old Gentleman' in the English edition of *Obsidio Bredana* (p. 141) and as 'venerable por sus canas' in the Spanish edition (p. 123). Both editions were published in 1627 (see p. 163, n. 109).

116. As Saxl suggested ('Velázquez and Philip IV', *Lectures*, vol. I, p. 316), it is very likely that Velázquez knew the extraordinarily large engraving (more than three feet high) depicting the siege and surrender of Breda which Jacques Callot made in 1628 by commission of the Infanta Isabel Clara Eugenia, Governor of the Netherlands. He doubtless had also seen the engravings, some with details of the siege, which illustrate Herman Hugo's *The Siege of Breda*, which had been available in Latin, Spanish, and other languages since 1626–7.

117. See José López-Rey, 'An unpublished Zurbarán: The surrender of Seville', *Apollo*, London, July 1965, pp. 23–5.

118. *Discursos practicables*, p. 115. For data on Jusepe Leonardo, see María A. Mazón de la Torre, 'La partida de bautismo de Jusepe Leonardo' and 'En torno a Jusepe Leonardo', *Archivo Español de Arte*, 1969, pp. 59–62, and 1975, pp. 266–70. In the light of Jusepe Leonardo's documented paintings, including *The taking of Breisach* mentioned in note 119 below, it is groundless to regard him as a 'disciple' of Velázquez, as was done by Martin S. Soria ('José Leonardo, Velázquez's best disciple', *The Art Quarterly*, 1950, pp. 267–80).

119. In *The taking of Breisach* (Prado, No. 859), also painted for the Great Hall of the Buen Retiro, he imitated somewhat awkwardly the horse in Velázquez's equestrian portrait of Olivares at the Prado Museum, and in *The surrender of Jülich* (Prado, No. 858), he plainly imitated one of the horses in Rubens's *Riding school*, of 1608, now at the Berlin Museum (Olle Cederlof, 'Kallorna till "Las Lanzas"', *Konsthistorisk tidskrift*, vol. 26, 1957, pp. 43–62).

120. What little is known on the rebuilding of the Torre de la Parada has been summarized by Pedro de Beroqui, *El Museo del Prado*, Madrid, 1933, vol. I, pp. 29–30, and by Svetlana Alpers, *The decoration of the Torre de la Parada* (part IX of *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard*), London, 1971, pp. 25–9. The latter book fully discusses Rubens' commission for the Torre de la Parada; it also throws light on the overall decoration of the hunting lodge.

121. It is said that there are extant, in private hands, some 17th-century pictures depicting the interior of the Torre de la Parada with paintings on the walls. Yet, as far as I know, such pictures, if they do exist, have never been exhibited or reproduced.

122. José Ortega y Gasset, *Papeles sobre Velázquez y Goya*, Madrid, 1950, p. 262.

123. Philip IV became soon proud of the Prince's prowess as a hunter, according to a letter written by the Cardinal Infante Don Fernando on 6 April 1638, published by Justi (*Velázquez*, 1923, vol. II, pp. 418–9).

124. Erwin Walter Palm has suggested that Velázquez' *Aesop*, *Menippus* and *Mars* were, as part of the decoration of the Torre de la Parada, conceptually related to Rubens' *Democritus*, *Heraclitus* and *Vulcan* ('Diego Velázquez: *Aesop und Menipp*', in *Lebende Antike, Symposium für Rudolf Sühnel*, ed. by H. Meller and H.-J. Zimmermann, Berlin, 1967, pp. 207–17). As Svetlana Alpers has pointed out the suggestion is somewhat implausible since the paintings by Rubens did not hang in the same room as those by Velázquez (op. cit., pp. 134–5). Curiously though, after Rubens *Democritus* and *Heraclitus* and Velázquez' *Aesop* and *Menippus* were moved to the Pardo Palace, the four were placed in the same room, with other paintings — which suggests that some sort of relation, conceptual or otherwise, was then discerned among, or forced upon, them. See the Pardo inventory of 1747, fols. 4 and 49.

The attribution of *The wedding of Peleus and Thetis* to Jan Reyn, still maintained in the 1972 Prado catalogue, 'has no foundation' as Alpers has explained (op. cit., p. 249).

125. An interesting contrast is afforded by *Vulcan forging rays for Jupiter*, executed by Rubens for the Torre de la Parada (Prado, No. 1676). In this picture, almost identical in size with Velázquez's *Mars*, a shield and pieces of armour are also placed at the feet of the god, but their function is to scale his figure up to heroic proportions.

126. Gerstenberg, *Diego Velázquez*, pp. 221–4.

127. *La Galeria del Cavalier Marino distinta in pitture e sculture*, Venice 1620, pp. 173–5.

128. Svetlana Alpers has explained the error as a result of which Rubens' *Heraclitus* and *Democritus* (Prado, Nos. 1680 and 1682) have for long been mixed up with another picture representing Democritus and Heraclitus together, on the same canvas, known to have been painted by Rubens in 1603 (op. cit., p. 270).

129. See F. Saxl, 'Rembrandt and Classical Antiquity', *Lectures*, vol. I, pp. 298–310.

130. Cf. Jacinto Octavio Picón, *Vida y obras de Don Diego Velázquez*, p. 54, and José Moreno Villa, *Velázquez*, Madrid, 1920, p. 62.

131. *La Galeria..., passim.*

132. José Moreno Villa published many documents bearing on the matter (*Locos, enanos, negros y niños palaciegos*, México, 1939).

133. For a general discussion of the subject, see E. Tietze-Conrat, *Dwarfs and Jesters in Art*, New York, 1957. The following picaresque novels throw much light on the matter: Mateo Alemán, *Guzmán de Alfarache* (1599) and *La vida de Estebanillo González, hombre de buen humor*, written anonymously by a buffoon, who apparently had been on the service of the Cardinal Infante Don Fernando in Flanders in 1639–41 (first published in 1646).

134. Henry S. Francis, 'Velázquez: Portrait of the jester Calabazas', *The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art*, November, 1965, pp. 117–23.

135. Samuel Gil y Gaya's edition, Madrid, 1965, II, p. 14. On the words *rehilandera, rehilete*, etc., see J. Corominas, *Diccionario crítico y etimológico de la lengua castellana*, Madrid, 1954, III, under *rehilar*.

136. Of Pedro Antonio Vidal we know rather little. On 31 July 1616 Philip III designated him for a position of Court painter, left vacant by the death of Pedro Guzmán, but the king canceled the appointment for reasons of economy (J.J. Martín González, *Archivo Español de Arte*, Madrid, 1958, p. 130); he was still active in 1617, and his portrait of Philip III, now at the Prado (No. 1950) was ascribed to him in the 1636 inventory of the Madrid Alcázar.

137. The painting has substantially deteriorated during the last twenty years; the background, originally of luminous grey hues, has changed to a foul ochre. See catalogue No. 82.

138. For a full discussion of the provenance and condition of these two paintings, see catalogue Nos. 103 and 104.

139. *La Lira de las Musas*, in *Obras de Don Gabriel Bocángel y Unzueta*, ed. by Rafael Benítez Claros, Madrid, 1946, vol. I, pp. 251–2.

140. Cf. Justi, *Diego Velázquez* (third ed.), II, pp. 82–3; Beruete, *Velázquez*, pp. 73–4, and Trapier, *Velázquez*, pp. 224–7.

141. Charles de Tolnay, 'Velázquez's "Las Hilanderas" and "Las Meninas"', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, vol. 35, January 1949, pp. 21–38.

142. For the documents concerning this portrait of Philip IV, see Aureliano de Beruete, *El Velázquez de Parma*, Madrid, 1911.

143. Jusepe Martínez, *Discursos practicables del Arte de la Pintura*, p. 132.

144. José López-Rey, 'A Head of Philip IV by Velázquez in a Rubens Allegorical Composition', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, vol. 53, January 1959, pp. 35–44.

145. Beruete, *El Velázquez de Parma*.

146. *Diálogos de la Pintura*, fol. 58 r. and v.

147. In a letter to Fantin Latour (see E. Moreau-Nélaton, *Manet raconté par lui-même*, Paris, 1926, vol. I, pp. 71–2). Manet's expression, '*le peintre des peintres*', can be translated as either 'the painter of painters' — meaning the first among them — or the 'painters' painter' — meaning the one to be truly appreciated by painters. Manet may have meant both connotations; yet, if one reads his full sentence in the light of what immediately precedes it, the meaning 'first among painters' seems to be stressed: '*Que je vous regrette ici, et quelle joie ceût été pour vous de voir Vélasquez, qui, à lui tout seul, vaut le voyage. Les peintres de toutes les écoles, qui l'entourent au Musée de Madrid et qui y sont très bien représentés, semblent tous des chiqueurs. C'est le peintre des peintres*'.

148. These paintings are now at the Prado Museum, most of them in storage. As Marcel Röthlisberger has noted, several points concerning them are in need of further research (*Claude Lorrain*, New Haven, 1961, I, p. 155).

149. See José Moreno Villa, *Velázquez*, Madrid, 1920, pp. 65–6; Diego Angulo Iñiguez, *Velázquez: Cómo compuso sus principales cuadros*, Madrid, 1947, pp. 63–75; Trapier, *Velázquez*, pp. 241–5.

150. *Velázquez*, pp. 108–12.

151. *Ibid.*

152. See catalogue No. 107.

153. It is perhaps not irrelevant to mention that a 17 th-century Spanish actress created a scandal when it became known that she used black taffeta sheets on her bed. (Felipe Picatoste, *Estudios sobre la grandeza y decadencia de España*, vol. III, *El siglo XVII*, Madrid, 1887, p. 121.

154. See Giambattista Marino, *Epitalami*, Venice, 1646.

155. See catalogue No. 108.

156. Diego Angulo Iñiguez, 'Las Hilanderas', *Archivo Español de Arte*, Madrid, 1948, pp. 1–19, and María Luisa Caturla, 'El coleccionista madrileño don Pedro de Arce que poseyó "las Hilanderas" de Velázquez', *Archivo Español de Arte*, 1948, pp. 292–304.

157. *Venus at her mirror* was in the Marquis of Carpio collection at Madrid by 1 June 1651 before Velázquez' return from Italy.

In her cited article, written before the just mentioned fact became known, María Luisa Caturla held that since *The fable of Arachne* was not included in an inventory of the Arce collection compiled in 1657, Velázquez must have painted it after this date, which would confirm the view of those who believed it to be the Master's 'latest work'. Caturla's argument does not hold for there is no indication that Velázquez painted *The fable of Arachne* for Arce nor that the latter acquired it either from Velázquez or in Velázquez' lifetime. We only know that he acquired it sometime between 1657 and 1664, a period during which he also acquired other works by painters who were deceased such as Borgianni (1578–1616) and Jusepe de Ribera (1591–1652), according to data published by Caturla in her mentioned article.

158. Velázquez made changes, of course, in the process of execution, and so did the unknown painter who enlarged the composition. A few of those changes have always been noticeable to the naked eye; others have recently been revealed by the use of x-rays or infra-red light. For instance, the Master painted out the full face of a woman which he had originally placed in the space between the sitting Arachne and the girl at her back. This discovery is due to Gonzalo Menéndez Pidal, co-author with Diego Angulo Iñiguez of '"Las Hilanderas" de Velázquez — Radiografías y fotografías en infrarrojo', *Archivo Español de Arte*, Madrid, 1965, pp. 1–12.

159. This identification was first suggested by C. Lewis Hind, *Days with Velázquez*, London, 1906, pp. 139–40.

160. *Ibid.*, p. 140.

161. R.A.M. Stevenson, *Velázquez*, London, 1962, p. 128 (first ed., 1895, p. 85).

162. *Velázquez*, p. 114.

163. Angulo Iñiguez, art. cit. and 'Las Hilanderas: Sobre la iconografia de Aracne', *Archivo Español de Arte*, 1952, pp. 67–84; Charles de Tolnay, 'Velazquez's "Las Hilanderas" and "Las Meninas"', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, January, 1949, pp. 21–38; Gerstenberg, *Diego Velázquez*, pp. 232–9. Both the iconography and the composition of this masterpiece have understandably challenged the ingenuity of other writers of various persuasions, whose suggestions it would be pointless to record here.

164. Tolnay, art. cit., p. 32.

165. Pedro Sánchez de Viana, *Anotaciones sobre los quinze libros de las Trãsformaciones de Ouidio. Con la Mithologia de las fabulas y otras cosas*, Valladolid, 1589, fol. 128v. The title page for the translation reads: *Las Transformaciones de Ouidio: Traduzidas del verso Latino, en tercetos, y octauas rimas, Por el Licẽciado Viana. En Lẽgua vulgar Castellana*, Valladolid, 1589. The illustration corresponding to the fable of Arachne depicts the weaver turning from her work, which is being admired by two women, to speak with Pallas, disguised as a sort of hag; a spider's web is partly visible in the upper left, above Arachne's workshop (fol. 92r.).

166. Juan Pérez de Moya's book was first published in Madrid in 1585; several other editions were printed in the following decades. My reference is to *Filosofia secreta, donde debaxo de historias fabulosas, se contiene mucha doctrina prouechosa a todos estudios*, Alcalá de Henares, 1611, p. 502.

167. Cf. Trapier, *Velázquez*, p. 350 and Karl M. Birkmeyer, 'Realism and Realities in the Paintings of Velázquez'. *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, vol. 52. July-August 1958, pp. 63-80.

168. 2. Art. cit.

169. See August L. Mayer, 'Ein unbekanntes Spätwerk des Velazquez', *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, vol. XXIV, 1912, pp. 40-1; *Velázquez*, Berlin, 1924, p. 176, and *Velázquez: A Catalogue Raisonné of the Pictures and Drawings*, London, 1936, No. 570.

Velázquez earlier 'version of the "Sibyl" motive' to which Mayer referred is *No. 49* in the present catalogue.

170. William B. Jordan has titled the painting *Sibyl with tabula rasa*, borrowing the last two words, translatable as blank tablet, from a Latin inscription in the end-piece to Carducho's *Diálogos de la Pintura*. He believes that Velázquez' painting represents a prophetess pointing to a blank tablet and uttering some truth as a result of inspiration — which he finds consonant with the artistic philosophy expounded by Vincencio Carducho (*The Meadows Museum: A Visitor's Guide to the Collection*, Dallas, 1974, pp. 20–1 and 106, No. 21; figs. 5 and 6, and frontispiece).

Carducho's end-piece is an allegorical engraving; it represents a brush, held by no one, which touches a blank tablet where it projects its shadow, the whole encircled by a laurel wreath. The engraving includes the mentioned Latin inscription and a quatrain in Spanish which epitomize Carducho's tenet that only the brush possessed of 'sovereign science', that is, the painter both theoretic and practical, can bring potentially creative talent to the act of achievement.

171. The legend goes back to Pliny the Elder. Vasari referred to it (*Le Vite...*, ed. G. Milanesi, Florence, 1878, vol. I, p. 218), and so did Marino (*Dicerie sacre*, Milan, 1618, fol. 5 v.); Carducho (*Diálogos*, fol. 27 r.), Saavedra Fajardo (*República literaria*, 1942 ed., p. 19), and Pacheco (*Arte de la Pintura*, I, p. 31). For further references to the legend and to Murillo's depiction of it, see Al. Busuioceanu, 'A re-discovered painting by Murillo: *El cuadro de las sombras*', *The Burlington Magazine*, 1940, pp. 55–9, and Robert Rosenblum, 'The origin of Painting: A problem in iconography of Romantic classicism', *The Art Bulletin*, 1957, pp. 279–90.

172. Angulo Iñiguez, articles cited; Tolnay, art. cit.

173. Jusepe Martínez, *Diálogos practicables del Arte de la Pintura*, pp. 118–19.

174. Gabriel Bocángel y Unzueta, *Piedra cándida con que en real y festiva máscara numera los felicissimos años de la Serenissima, y Augustissima Señora Archiduquesa María Ana de Austria, Reina de las Españas, el Rey N.S. Don Felipe IIII*, Madrid, 1648, fol. 10 r. (Included in *Obras de Don Gabriel Bocángel y Unzueta*, ed. by R. Benítez Claros, Madrid, 1946, vol. II, p. 122).

175. J.E. Varey, 'Notas velazqueñas', *Archivo Español de Arte*, 1972, pp. 58–60.

176. For this and the following references to Palomino's account of Velázquez' second Italian journey, see *El Museo Pictórico*, pp. 910–7.

205. *Discursos practicables del nobilisimo arte de la pintura*, ed. Valentín Carderera, Madrid, 1866, p. 119.

206. The text is included in F.J. Sánchez Cantón, *Fuentes literarias para la historia del arte español*, Madrid, 1933, II, p. 374.

207. The Prado portrait, in which the Infanta Margarita, born in 1650, appears to be between fourteen and sixteen years old, could not have been painted before 1664, at least four years after Velázquez' death. In it, the features of the Infanta are markedly different from those in the portrait painted by Velázquez some time in 1659 (plates **51**, *229*). She, indeed, looks much the same as in another portrait, at the Vienna Museum, in which she is wearing a brooch with the imperial double eagle, the gift of her bridegroom, the Emperor Leopold, to whom she was betrothed in 1664 and whom she married two years later. This portrait is painted in a manner close to Mazo's, and I once suggested that it was 'most likely' that he had executed it (*Velázquez: A Catalogue Raisonné*, No. 410). However, a recent re-examination of its brushwork has convinced me that it was executed after Mazo's original by a less dexterous hand.

The Prado *Infanta* Margarita has for years been attributed to Velázquez in the Museum's catalogues, formerly with the contention that the sitter was really the older Infanta María Teresa, now with the qualification that the Master left it unfinished and that, after his death, Mazo completed it, painting the 'face, neck and hands', to quote from the 1972 edition (p. 738, No. 1192). The suggestion that Velázquez started the portrait by painting the background curtains and the sitter's dress is incredible. Surely, he was no itinerant portrait-painter.

208. See catalogue No. 125.

209. Palomino, *El Museo Pictórico*, pp. 920–2.

210. Cf. F.J. Sánchez Cantón, *Las meninas y sus personajes*, Barcelona, 1952, and Yves Bottineau, 'L'Alcázar de Madrid et l'inventaire de 1686', *Bulletin Hispanique*, October-December, 1958, pp. 450–83. See also *Certificación de las alhajas que se hallan en el cuarto del Principe Tocantes a S.M. por muerte de Diego Velázquez...*, drawn up on 10 August 1660, and *Relación de las Pinturas que ay en el Obrador del Pintor de Cámara de Palacio oy 10 de Agosto de 1694*', both in the Archive of the Madrid Royal Palace (the first is included in *Varia velazqueña*, II, pp. 388–9)

In his cited article, Bottineau has shown that Palomino's identification of the room depicted, by Velázquez as one in the '*cuarto del Principe*' is right, contrary to the the views held by Francisco Iñiguez Almech in *Casas reales y jardines de Felipe II, Madrid, 1952, pp. 97–8.* The number and apparent dimensions of the pictures above and between the windows on the side wall of Velázquez' composition correspond with the data provided by the 1686 inventory about the paintings that decorated a like wall of the main chamber of the '*cuarto del Príncipe*'. As for the large paintings on the rear wall, *Pallas and Arachne* and *Apollo and Pan*, they also correspond in apparent size with the paintings of the same subjects which, according to the cited inventory, hung side by side in the same chamber. Both were by Mazo, the first after Rubens; the second, as we now know, copied after Jordaens' version of a work by Rubens. Justi, and others after him, held that the latter represented *Apollo and Marsyas* (*Velázquez*, II, p. 337). J.A. Emmens properly rectified this identification ('Les Menines de Vélasquez, miroir des princes pour Philip IV', *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboeck*, vol. 12, 1961, pp. 51–79).

211. William Stirling, *Velázquez and his works*, London, 1855, p. 173.

212. Justi, *Diego Velázquez* (third ed.). Vol. II, p. 333. Justi suggested that Philip IV, as he and the Queen were sitting to Velázquez for a portrait, noticed the artistic quality of the lively chance group, and said 'That is a painting!', whereupon Velázquez got busy to put on canvas the 'instantaneous' scene.

213. *Velázquez*, p. 117.

214. Charles de Tolnay, who, following Justi, believed that one of the paintings represented *Apollo and Marsyas* rather than *Apollo and Pan*, concluded that the two mythological pictures placed in the background signified 'that the talent of artistic creation is an expression of divine principle', and that they were meant as commentaries on the painting's main subject, 'the dignity of the artist as creator' ('Velázquez's Las Hilanderas and Las Meninas', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, January 1949, pp. 21–8). George Kubler rather thinks that Velázquez may have intended 'to suggest the equal rank of painting *(Pallas and Arachne)* with music *(Apollo and Pan)*, in his contribution to the contemporary campaign to secure recognition of painting as a liberal art under Spanish taxation law' ('Three remarks on the Meninas', *The Art Bulletin*, June 1966, pp. 212–4). J.A. Emmens holds that the two mythological paintings signify the triumph of wisdom over pride, and that

the mirror on the same wall is meant as the attribute of prudence with particular reference to the King; he sees other allegorical or emblematic meanings in the drink of water offered to the Infanta, in the dwarfs, the *meninas* and the courtiers — all of which Velázquez would have had in mind for the composition of this painting, conceived as an allegory of the *Mirror of Princes*, intended though for the Infanta Margarita and, exceptionally too, for both the King and the Queen (art. cit. in note 210 above). Other authors have written along lines similar to those just mentioned.

215. Cf. Pacheco, *Arte de la Pintura*, II, p. 207, and Benedetto Varchi, *Lezzione dalla maggioranza delle Arti* (1547) in *Trattati d'Arte del cinquecento*, ed. Paola Barocchi, Bari, 1960, vol. I, pp. 41–2. Varchi, arguing in favour of the superiority of Sculpture over Painting, says that in the latter the figures are only 'apparent' like the images reflected in a mirror. Pacheco, who praises Painting by referring to the similarity of her images to those reflected in a mirror, does not mention Varchi's views on the matter, even though he repeatedly cites the latter's *Lezzione* elsewhere in *Arte de la Pintura*.

216. Felix da Costa, a Portuguese painter (1639–1712), stated in his *Antiguidade da Pintura*, written before 1696, that Velázquez had painted 'a picture which adorns a room of the palace at Madrid' in which he portrayed himself 'in a cape bearing the cross of Santiago' with 'his glance upon' the Infanta Margarita, whom the *meninas* are entertaining. The only painting of this subject listed in any of the Spanish royal inventories compiled in the 17th century or later is the one now at the Prado, in which Velázquez wears no cape and is not glancing at the Infanta. Nor do the X-rays indicate that any change concerning either point was made prior to the completion of the painting.

In his above cited article (pp. 213–4), Kubler has suggested that Costa 'must have been looking at a lost drawing or canvas prior to the state we now see', and 'was describing a picture in progress'. Actually, Costa discussed Velázquez' painting as one more example of the high honours conferred by Kings on painters, and his description of the picture — the only one by Velázquez that he mentions in the whole book — begins with a long reference to the cross of Santiago, which he believed was painted by Velázquez himself (Felix da Costa, *The Antiquity of the Art of Painting*, ed. G. Kubler, New Haven, 1967, pp. 258 and 458). As we know, the cross of Santiago is a later addition, made at least a few years after the painting was completed. Moreover, since there is no evidence that Costa was ever in Spain, it rather seems that his inaccurate idea of Velázquez' composition, sprang from his recollection of an oral description, which might have been provided, among others, by his brother and fellow painter, Bras d'Almeida (1649–1707), who had been in Spain before 1677.

217. Cf. Gerstenberg, *Diego Velázquez*, Munich, 1957, p. 191, Trapier; *Velázquez*, New York, 1948, p. 341, and José Camón Aznar, *Velázquez*, Madrid, 1964, II, p. 834.

218. Cf. Palomino, op. cit., p. 921; Tolnay, art. cit; Emmens, art. cit; and Kubler, art. cit. Recently, Bartolomé Mestre Fiol suggested that the mirror does not reflect directly the persons of the sovereigns but rather their likenesses on the canvas which Velázquez is seen painting, and that it was only after painting the mirrored images that Velázquez introduced his self-portrait in the composition since otherwise it would have obstructed the space between the royal sitters' portrait and the mirror ('El "espejo referencial" en la pintura de Velázquez', *Traza y Baza*, Barcelona, 1973, No. 2, pp. 15–36, and No. 3, pp. 75–100). It is an ingenious though not convincing suggestion; the difficulties to accept it are indeed too evident.

219. Beruete, *Velázquez*, p. 117.

220. Some scholars have remarked that the palette in Velázquez' hand is too small; it is not smaller than the one in the *Self-portrait* by Pedro de Moya (1610–74), at the Museum of Bordeaux. Obviously, so small a palette was not unusual in the seventeenth century.

221. Pacheco, *Arte de la Pintura*, vol. I, pp. 149–54.

222. *Regla, y establecimientos, de la Orden y Cavalleria del glorioso Apostol Santiago, Patrón de las Españas, con la historia del origen y principio de ella*, Madrid, 1655, fol. 57 v.

223. Third part, last chapter (or *crisi*).

224. On Velázquez' activity as superintendent of works, cf. Antonio Bonet Correa, 'Velázquez, arquitecto y decorador', *Archivo Español de Arte*, 1960, pp. 215–50; Enriqueta Harris, 'La misión de Velázquez en Italia', *Archivo Español de Arte*, 1960, pp. 109–36, and José María Azcárate, 'Noticias sobre Velázquez en la Corte', *Archivo Español de Arte*, 1960, pp. 357–86.

225. For Díaz del Valle's texts, see *Velázquez: Homenaje en el tercer centenario de su muerte*, Madrid, 1960, pp. 24–9 and 334–5.

205. *Discursos practicables del nobilisimo arte de la pintura*, ed. Valentín Carderera, Madrid, 1866, p. 119.

206. The text is included in F.J. Sánchez Cantón, *Fuentes literarias para la historía del arte español*, Madrid, 1933, II, p. 374.

207. The Prado portrait, in which the Infanta Margarita, born in 1650, appears to be between fourteen and sixteen years old, could not have been painted before 1664, at least four years after Velázquez' death. In it, the features of the Infanta are markedly different from those in the portrait painted by Velázquez some time in 1659 (plates **51**, *229*). She, indeed, looks much the same as in another portrait, at the Vienna Museum, in which she is wearing a brooch with the imperial double eagle, the gift of her bridegroom, the Emperor Leopold, to whom she was betrothed in 1664 and whom she married two years later. This portrait is painted in a manner close to Mazo's, and I once suggested that it was 'most likely' that he had executed it (*Velázquez: A Catalogue Raisonné*, No. 410). However, a recent re-examination of its brushwork has convinced me that it was executed after Mazo's original by a less dexterous hand.

The Prado *Infanta* Margarita has for years been attributed to Velázquez in the Museum's catalogues, formerly with the contention that the sitter was really the older Infanta María Teresa, now with the qualification that the Master left it unfinished and that, after his death, Mazo completed it, painting the 'face, neck and hands', to quote from the 1972 edition (p. 738, No. 1192). The suggestion that Velázquez started the portrait by painting the background curtains and the sitter's dress is incredible. Surely, he was no itinerant portrait-painter.

208. See catalogue No. 125.

209. Palomino, *El Museo Pictórico*, pp. 920–2.

210. Cf. F.J. Sánchez Cantón, *Las meninas y sus personajes*, Barcelona, 1952, and Yves Bottineau, 'L'Alcázar de Madrid et l'inventaire de 1686', *Bulletin Hispanique*, October-December, 1958, pp. 450–83. See also *Certificación de las alhajas que se hallan en el cuarto del Principe Tocantes a S.M. por muerte de Diego Velázquez...*, drawn up on 10 August 1660, and *Relación de las Pinturas que ay en el Obrador del Pintor de Cámara de Palacio oy 10 de Agosto de 1694*', both in the Archive of the Madrid Royal Palace (the first is included in *Varia velazqueña*, II, pp. 388–9)

In his cited article, Bottineau has shown that Palomino's identification of the room depicted, by Velázquez as one in the '*cuarto del Principe*' is right, contrary to the the views held by Francisco Iñiguez Almech in *Casas reales y jardines de Felipe II, Madrid, 1952, pp. 97–8.* The number and apparent dimensions of the pictures above and between the windows on the side wall of Velázquez' composition correspond with the data provided by the 1686 inventory about the paintings that decorated a like wall of the main chamber of the '*cuarto del Príncipe*'. As for the large paintings on the rear wall, *Pallas and Arachne* and *Apollo and Pan*, they also correspond in apparent size with the paintings of the same subjects which, according to the cited inventory, hung side by side in the same chamber. Both were by Mazo, the first after Rubens; the second, as we now know, copied after Jordaens' version of a work by Rubens. Justi, and others after him, held that the latter represented *Apollo and Marsyas* (*Velázquez*, II, p. 337). J.A. Emmens properly rectified this identification ('Les Menines de Vélasquez, miroir des princes pour Philip IV', *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboeck*, vol. 12, 1961, pp. 51–79).

211. William Stirling, *Velázquez and his works*, London, 1855, p. 173.

212. Justi, *Diego Velázquez* (third ed.). Vol. II, p. 333. Justi suggested that Philip IV, as he and the Queen were sitting to Velázquez for a portrait, noticed the artistic quality of the lively chance group, and said 'That is a painting!', whereupon Velázquez got busy to put on canvas the 'instantaneous' scene.

213. *Velázquez*, p. 117.

214. Charles de Tolnay, who, following Justi, believed that one of the paintings represented *Apollo and Marsyas* rather than *Apollo and Pan*, concluded that the two mythological pictures placed in the background signified 'that the talent of artistic creation is an expression of divine principle', and that they were meant as commentaries on the painting's main subject, 'the dignity of the artist as creator' ('Velázquez's Las Hilanderas and Las Meninas', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, January 1949, pp. 21–8). George Kubler rather thinks that Velázquez may have intended 'to suggest the equal rank of painting *(Pallas and Arachne)* with music *(Apollo and Pan)*, in his contribution to the contemporary campaign to secure recognition of painting as a liberal art under Spanish taxation law' ('Three remarks on the Meninas', *The Art Bulletin*, June 1966, pp. 212–4). J.A. Emmens holds that the two mythological paintings signify the triumph of wisdom over pride, and that

the mirror on the same wall is meant as the attribute of prudence with particular reference to the King; he sees other allegorical or emblematic meanings in the drink of water offered to the Infanta, in the dwarfs, the *meninas* and the courtiers — all of which Velázquez would have had in mind for the composition of this painting, conceived as an allegory of the *Mirror of Princes*, intended though for the Infanta Margarita and, exceptionally too, for both the King and the Queen (art. cit. in note 210 above). Other authors have written along lines similar to those just mentioned.

215. Cf. Pacheco, *Arte de la Pintura*, II, p. 207, and Benedetto Varchi, *Lezzione dalla maggioranza delle Arti* (1547) in *Trattati d'Arte del cinquecento*, ed. Paola Barocchi, Bari, 1960, vol. I, pp. 41–2. Varchi, arguing in favour of the superiority of Sculpture over Painting, says that in the latter the figures are only 'apparent' like the images reflected in a mirror. Pacheco, who praises Painting by referring to the similarity of her images to those reflected in a mirror, does not mention Varchi's views on the matter, even though he repeatedly cites the latter's *Lezzione* elsewhere in *Arte de la Pintura*.

216. Felix da Costa, a Portuguese painter (1639–1712), stated in his *Antiguidade da Pintura*, written before 1696, that Velázquez had painted 'a picture which adorns a room of the palace at Madrid' in which he portrayed himself 'in a cape bearing the cross of Santiago' with 'his glance upon' the Infanta Margarita, whom the *meninas* are entertaining. The only painting of this subject listed in any of the Spanish royal inventories compiled in the 17th century or later is the one now at the Prado, in which Velázquez wears no cape and is not glancing at the Infanta. Nor do the X-rays indicate that any change concerning either point was made prior to the completion of the painting.

In his above cited article (pp. 213–4), Kubler has suggested that Costa 'must have been looking at a lost drawing or canvas prior to the state we now see', and 'was describing a picture in progress'. Actually, Costa discussed Velázquez' painting as one more example of the high honours conferred by Kings on painters, and his description of the picture — the only one by Velázquez that he mentions in the whole book — begins with a long reference to the cross of Santiago, which he believed was painted by Velázquez himself (Felix da Costa, *The Antiquity of the Art of Painting*, ed. G. Kubler, New Haven, 1967, pp. 258 and 458). As we know, the cross of Santiago is a later addition, made at least a few years after the painting was completed. Moreover, since there is no evidence that Costa was ever in Spain, it rather seems that his inaccurate idea of Velázquez' composition, sprang from his recollection of an oral description, which might have been provided, among others, by his brother and fellow painter, Bras d'Almeida (1649–1707), who had been in Spain before 1677.

217. Cf. Gerstenberg, *Diego Velázquez*, Munich, 1957, p. 191, Trapier; *Velázquez*, New York, 1948, p. 341, and José Camón Aznar, *Velázquez*, Madrid, 1964, II, p. 834.

218. Cf. Palomino, op. cit., p. 921; Tolnay, art. cit; Emmens, art. cit; and Kubler, art. cit. Recently, Bartolomé Mestre Fiol suggested that the mirror does not reflect directly the persons of the sovereigns but rather their likenesses on the canvas which Velázquez is seen painting, and that it was only after painting the mirrored images that Velázquez introduced his self-portrait in the composition since otherwise it would have obstructed the space between the royal sitters' portrait and the mirror ('El "espejo referencial" en la pintura de Velázquez', *Traza y Baza*, Barcelona, 1973, No. 2, pp. 15–36, and No. 3, pp. 75–100). It is an ingenious though not convincing suggestion; the difficulties to accept it are indeed too evident.

219. Beruete, *Velázquez*, p. 117.

220. Some scholars have remarked that the palette in Velázquez' hand is too small; it is not smaller than the one in the *Self-portrait* by Pedro de Moya (1610–74), at the Museum of Bordeaux. Obviously, so small a palette was not unusual in the seventeenth century.

221. Pacheco, *Arte de la Pintura*, vol. I, pp. 149–54.

222. *Regla, y establecimientos, de la Orden y Cavalleria del glorioso Apostol Santiago, Patrón de las Españas, con la historia del origen y principio de ella*, Madrid, 1655, fol. 57 v.

223. Third part, last chapter (or *crisi*).

224. On Velázquez' activity as superintendent of works, cf. Antonio Bonet Correa, 'Velázquez, arquitecto y decorador', *Archivo Español de Arte*, 1960, pp. 215–50; Enriqueta Harris, 'La misión de Velázquez en Italia', *Archivo Español de Arte*, 1960, pp. 109–36, and José María Azcárate, 'Noticias sobre Velázquez en la Corte', *Archivo Español de Arte*, 1960, pp. 357–86.

225. For Díaz del Valle's texts, see *Velázquez: Homenaje en el tercer centenario de su muerte*, Madrid, 1960, pp. 24–9 and 334–5.

226. Palomino, *El Museo Pictórico*, p. 929. Juan Carreño de Miranda (1614–85) gives a partial view of the Hall of Mirrors in his portraits of *Charles II of Spain*, signed and dated 1673 (East Berlin, Staatliche Museen), and *Queen Mariana* (Prado, No. 644). Several versions of varying quality of each of these portraits are known.

227. *El museo pictórico*, p. 929.

CATALOGUE RAISONNÉ

EXPLANATORY NOTES

1. The entries are arranged in a chronological sequence; some overlapping though has been unavoidable since works are often dated, on documentary or stylistic grounds, not to a particular year but to a less precise span of time — i.e., '1618–9', 'mid–1630's', '1644–8', etc. The catalogue number of each work can be found in both the index of subjects and the index of locations.

2. Unless otherwise stated, all works are in oil on canvas.

3. *No.*, for number, refers to entries in this catalogue, and No. refers to any other catalogue or inventory.

4. At the foot of each entry, the corresponding numbers in the Velázquez catalogues by Curtis, Mayer, López-Rey (1963) and Gudiol are given (see the abbreviations for often-quoted books in explanatory note 8 below).

5. The earliest royal inventory that included a painting by Velázquez (*No. 41*) was that of the Madrid Alcázar probably begun in 1636, after works by him and other artists had apparently been taken from there to the recently built Buen Retiro Palace in the outskirts of Madrid. It is dated 17 March 1637.
No inventory of the Buen Retiro Palace was compiled in Velázquez' or in Philip IV's lifetime. The earliest one was, indeed, drawn up in 1701. There is no reason to surmise that the collection of pictures at the Buen Retiro underwent many or drastic changes during the reign of Charles II (1665-1700).
All the Spanish royal inventories mentioned in the catalogue entries are preserved in the Archive of the Madrid Royal Palace. The one of the old Madrid Alcázar drawn up in 1686 has been published with a scholarly commentary and notes by Yves Bottineau: 'L'Alcázar de Madrid et l'inventaire de 1686: Aspects de la Cour d'Espagne au XVII[e] siècle', *Bulletin hispanique*, Bordeaux, vol. LVIII, 1956, pp. 422–52; vol. LX, 1958, pp. 30–61, 145–79, 289–326, and 450–83.
Bottineau has also discussed, in the light of inventories and other documents, the fire that gutted the Madrid Alcázar in 1734, when 537 paintings, roughly one third of those inventoried there in 1700, were lost (*L'art de Cour dans l'Espagne de Philippe V, 1700-1746*, Bordeaux, n. d. [1962], pp. 484-96, and 624-5).
A transcription of the inventory of the paintings in the old Alcázar, begun on 17 November 1700 and completed on the 22nd of the same month and year, has been included in *Museo del Prado, Inventarios Reales, Testamentaría del Rey Carlos II, 1701* [sic] – *1703*, vol. I, ed. Gloria Fernández Bayton, Madrid, 1975.

6. Any other document whose source is not specifically mentioned can be found, arranged in chronological order, in *Varia velazqueña*, Madrid, 1960, vol. II, pp. 211-413.

7. Unless otherwise stated, the expression 'radiographs made in 1960' refers to those made by the technical staff of the Stockholm National Gallery of works by Velázquez or attributed to him at the Prado. The Swedish National Gallery donated them to the Prado Museum, where they were shown in 1961.

8. References to often-quoted books or other publications have been shortened as follows:

ALLENDE-SALAZAR: Juan Allende-Salazar (ed.), *Velázquez. Des Meisters Gemälde*, vol. VI of *Klassiker der Kunst*, 4th ed., Berlin and Leipzig, n.d. [1925].

BARCIA: Angel M. de Barcia, *Catálogo de la colección de dibujos originales de la Biblioteca Nacional*, Madrid, 1906.

BERUETE: Aureliano de Beruete, *Velázquez*, London, n.d. [1906].

BERUETE, 1909: Aureliano de Beruete, *Velázquez*, Berlin, 1909.

C: see Curtis.

CEÁN: Juan Agustín Ceán Bermúdez, *Diccionario histórico de los mas ilustres profesores de las Bellas Artes en España*, Madrid, 1800, 6 vols.

CRUZADA: Gregorio Cruzada Villaamil, *Anales de la vida y de las obras de Diego de Silva Velázquez*, Madrid, 1885.
CURTIS: Charles B. Curtis, *Velázquez and Murillo*, London and New York, 1883.
G. or GUDIOL: José Gudiol, *Velázquez*, Barcelona, 1973.
JUSTI: Carl Justi, *Diego Velázquez und sein Jahrhundert*, 3rd ed., 2 vols., Bonn, 1922 and 1923 (The first edition was published in 1888, also in Bonn).
LAFUENTE, 1943: Enrique Lafuente Ferrari, *Velázquez*, London, 1943.
LAFUENTE, 1944: Enrique Lafuente Ferrari, *Velázquez*, Barcelona, 1944.
L-R 1963: José López-Rey, *Velázquez. A Catalogue Raisonné of his Œuvre*, London, 1963.
M. or MAYER: August L. Mayer, *Velázquez. A Catalogue Raisonné of the Pictures and Drawings*, London, 1936.
MORENO VILLA: José Moreno Villa, *Locos, enanos, negros y niños palaciegos*, Mexico, 1939.[1]
PACHECO: Francisco Pacheco, *Arte de la Pintura*, ed. F. J. Sánchez Cantón, 2 vols, Madrid, 1956 (First edition, in one volume, Seville, 1649).
PALOMINO: Antonio Palomino de Castro y Velasco, *El Museo Pictórico*, Madrid, 1947 (First edition, in 2 volumes, Madrid, 1715 and 1724).
PONZ: Antonio Ponz, *Viaje de España*, ed. Casto María del Rivero, Madrid, 1947 (the first edition of this work, in 18 volumes, was published in Madrid during the years 1772–94).
PRADO'S CURRENT CATALOGUE: *Museo del Prado, Catálogo de las pinturas*, Madrid, 1972.
SÁNCHEZ CANTÓN: F. J. Sánchez Cantón, *Cómo vivía Velázquez*, Madrid, 1942, (reprinted from *Archivo Español de Arte*, 1942, pp. 69–91). It includes the inventory of Velázquez' belongings drawn up at the time of his death.
TRAPIER: Elisabeth du Gué Trapier, *Velázquez*, New York, 1948.

9. The measurements here recorded for paintings at the Prado Museum differ in a number of instances from those recorded in the Prado's current catalogue. The authorities of this Museum have for some time been checking the actual size of the paintings in their collection, and they have kindly made available to me the rectified measurements of a sizeable number of Velázquez works. I am particularly obliged to the present director, Professor Juan Manuel Pita Andrade, who let *The meninas* be taken off the wall to verify my surmise, which proved to be correct, that the measurements previously recorded for this painting were somewhat inaccurate.
In spite of the good will and assistance of the Museum's authorities, it has not been possible to ascertain the accession date of some Velázquez paintings at the Prado.

10. Study refers to the one preceding this catalogue, *Velázquez: The artist as a maker* (pp. XI-XIV, 3-172).

1. José Moreno Villa (1887–1955), director of the Archive of the National, formerly Royal, Palace at Madrid, collected the data for this book from sundry, even disparate, files preserved there. His research came to an end late in 1936 as, in the course of the Spanish Civil War, shrapnel shattered the Archive's windows. He might otherwise have gathered additional data on the subject of his research which, even though it cannot be regarded as exhaustive, has been of great help to historians of Spanish 16th and 17th century painting. The Archive of the Madrid Royal Palace was reopened in 1939. Moreno Villa never returned there, and his research has not, as far as I know, been pursued further by anyone. Requisites for work of this kind are, of course, a nimble mind to find one's way through the intricacies of an old archive and freedom to do so, both of which Moreno Villa did have.

1. MUSICAL TRIO

1617–8

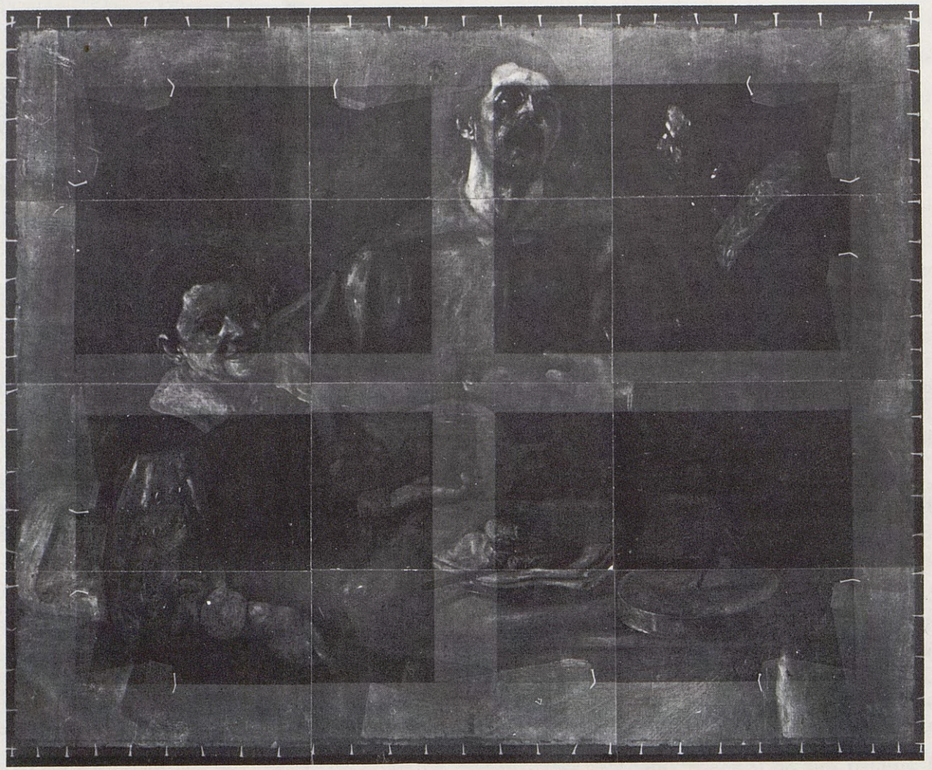
Restored. Radiographs made at the West Berlin Museum in 1974 show that the costume of the singer at the center of the composition has been entirely overpainted in black, while it originally was of lighter and more varied shades; his broad white collar has been painted over a narrower one, partly visible to the naked eye (plate *54*). See the 1975 catalogue of the West Berlin *Gemäldegalerie* (pp. 448–9, No. 413F). I am indebted to Dr. Erich Schleier, curator, for data and for a very helpful exchange of views on the matter.

Cleaning of the painting may reveal more fully its state of preservation and make it possible to reach a firmer conclusion concerning its authenticity, which in the light of present knowledge seems plausible.

There are three more versions of this work, none of which is finer or in better shape (L-R 1963, Nos. 110–2). In 1960 José Gudiol suggested that the one now at the Tenaud de Leygonie collection, in Paris (L-R 1963, No. 112), might be by Velázquez (*Varia velazqueña*, Madrid, 1960, vol. I, p. 415). However, Gudiol did not even mention it in his 1973 Velázquez catalogue. It is, indeed, a much damaged painting which has been extensively restored time and again. At one point, when most of the repaints had been removed, it looked wooden, and the figures' eyesockets appeared too awkward to be by Velázquez.

Lying underneath Velázquez' *Head of a young man in profile*, there is a full face of a man almost identical with that of the singer in the centre of this composition, except that it is tilted to his right rather than to his left (See No. 8, plate *63*). This head, now visible only under X-rays, is very likely a fragment of a larger composition, though it might also be a discarded study for the one now under consideration.

Study, p. 14.
Height 0.87 m. Width 1.10 m.
Ireland: La Touche Collection.
London: R. Langton Douglas.
Berlin: Kaiser Friedrich Museum (since 1906); West Berlin, Gemäldegalerie, No. 413F.
Plates *54, 55*.
M No. 114 — L-R 1963 No. 109 — G No. 2.



54. Musical trio (radiograph). West Berlin, Gemäldegalerie. Courtesy of the Gallery.

55 *No. 1*

2. HEAD OF A BOY

1617–8.

Black and red chalk on yellowish paper.

On the verso there is a somewhat maladroit black chalk drawing of the head of a camel or donkey (the ears and crown of the head are partly missing), whose unsatisfactory condition does not make it possible to suggest an attribution.

As for the head of a boy, its modelling, particularly the eyes and mouth, recalls that of Martha in the painting *Christ in the house of Martha and Mary* (*No. 7*, plate *62*). The boy's left ear distorts the three-quarter view of his face into a rather frontal one. The unblended contourline of the cheek indicates that this is the result of a correction made in the original drawing. Similar treatment is noticeable in several drawings by Pacheco, none of which is executed as sentiently as this (*Libro de descripción de verdaderos retratos de illustres y memorables varones*, facsimile edition, Seville, published with no date in 1886).

Given the quality of the drawing and the nature of the correction, it seems reasonable to suggest, though not to conclude, that this head of a boy was drawn by Velázquez and corrected either by him, at the dictate of Pacheco, or by Pacheco's hand.

Height 21.8 cm. Width 16.8 cm.
Madrid: Private collection (1960's).
Plate *56*.
L-R 1963 No. 648–.

56 *No. 2*

3. THREE MEN AT TABLE

About 1618.

Relined. Considerably darkened, though the original colouring is still visible under a strong light.

There are four lengthwise imitations of this almost square painting which might, of course, have been originally wider. Significantly though all the mentioned derivative works omit the cap, the collar and the sword hanging high on the rear wall in the original; these omissions may by themselves explain the change to a lengthwise format. In the derivative paintings, the objects on the table are also different, and so is the figure of the man sitting at the right, whose head imitates rather the profile study here catalogued under *No. 8.*

For the derivative works, see L-R 1963, Nos. 114–7; plate *157* below reproduces the one at the Moyne Collection, Andover, Hants, England; its measurements are 0.864 m. high by 1.092 m. wide.

Study, pp. 14, 15.
Height 1.07 m. Width 1.01 m.
Bought for Catherine II of Russia (1729–1786).
Leningrad: Hermitage (since 1797), No. 389.
Plate *58.*
M No. 121 — L-R 1963 No. 113 — G No. 7.

57. After Velazquez, *Three men at table* (0.864 × 1.092 m), Andover, Hants, Biddesden House, Lord Moyne.

58 *No. 3*

4. SHORT-BUST PORTRAIT OF A GIRL

About 1618.

Black chalk on yellowish paper. The ink inscription in the upper right corner, *Velázquez*, is by a later hand.

Damaged by humidity and otherwise, notably about the mouth and chin.

Barcia (Nos. 492–3) suggested that this and the following drawing were either portraits of the same woman or of two sisters. F. J. Sánchez Cantón believed that both drawings portrayed the same woman and that she was Doña Juana Pacheco de Miranda, Velázquez' wife (*Dibujos españoles*, Madrid, 1930, vol. III, No. 220). Lafuente thought the same (1943, No. 18). These three scholars placed both drawings in Velázquez' early period. See also Beruete, 1909, p. 18.

The firm design and subtle interplay of light and shade which build the girl's features — her wide eye sockets, vivid nostrils and close lips — are akin to the design and interplay of light and shade which build the features of the boy in *Old woman frying eggs*, of 1618, and to the features of the foremost figure in *Christ in the house of Martha and Mary*, of the same date (*Nos 6* and *7*, plates *61* and *62*).

Study, p. 18.
Height 20 cm. Width 13.5 cm.
Madrid: Biblioteca Nacional (since 1857), 16–40, No. 21.
Plate *59*.
M No. 604 — L-R 1963 No. 650.

59 *No. 4*

5. HEAD OF A GIRL

About 1618.

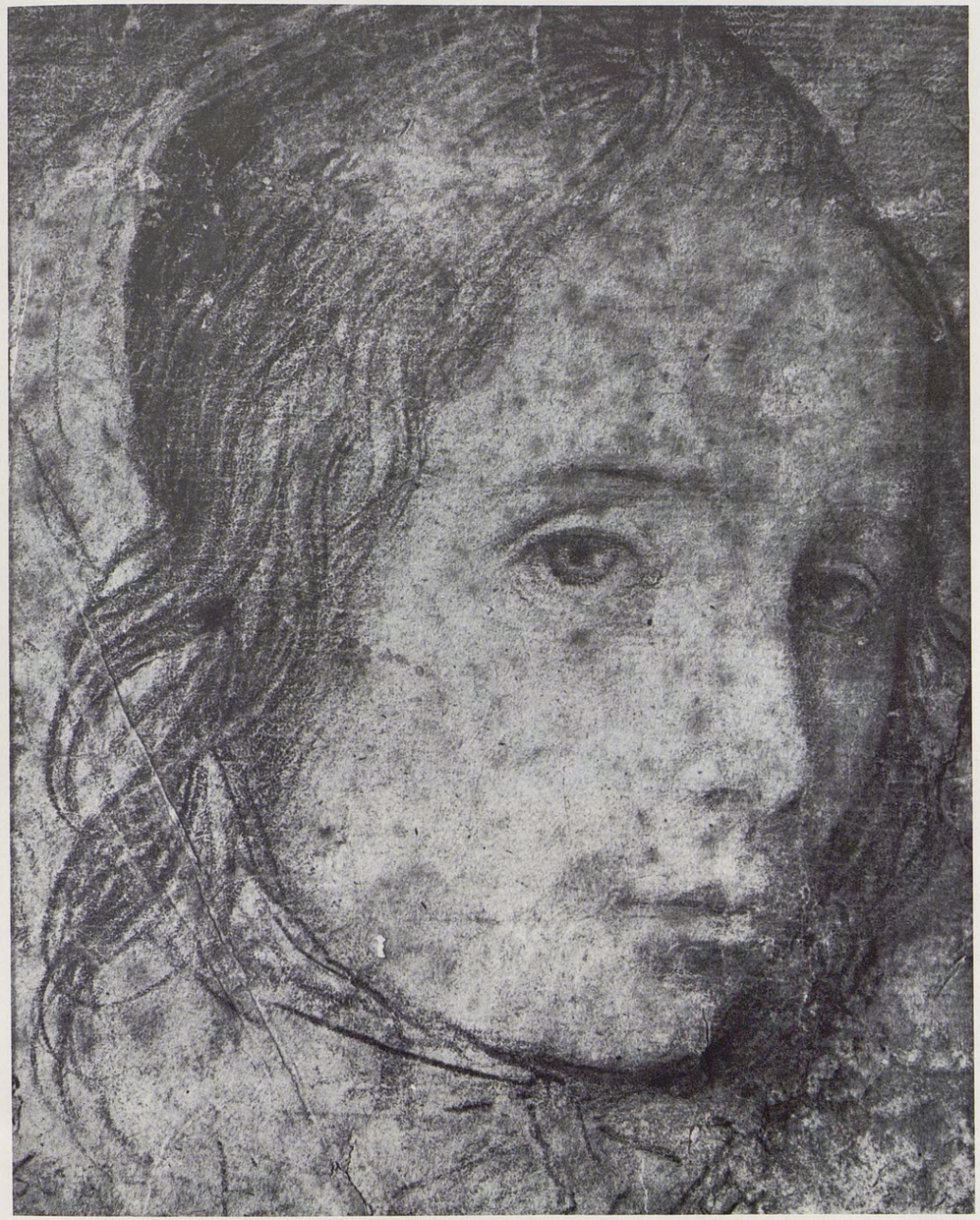
Black chalk on yellowish paper.

Damaged by humidity and otherwise. Clumsily retraced along the line of the jaw.

The sitter looks very much like the one in the preceding drawing though slightly younger. In point of execution both drawings are very close.

See *No. 4* above.

Study, p. 18.
Height 15 cm. Width 11.7 cm.
Madrid: José de Madrazo (died in 1859); Isidoro Gil y Madrazo; Alvaro Gil y Albacete.
Madrid: Biblioteca Nacional (since 1899), 16–40, No. 22.
Plate *60*.
M No. 603 — L-R 1963 No. 649.



60 *No. 5*

6. OLD WOMAN FRYING EGGS

Dated 1618. (See David Baxandal, *Burlington Magazine*, vol. 99, 1957, pp. 156–7.)

Study, pp. 9, 14, 15, 23.
Height 0.99 m. Width 1.169 m.
London: Sir J. Charles Robinson.
Richmond: Sir Frederick Lucas Cook, Bart.; Sir Francis Cook, Bart.
Edinburgh: The National Gallery of Scotland (acquired in 1955 for £57,000), No. 2180.
Plate *61* (and colour plate).
C No. 84 — M No. 111 — L-R 1963 No. 108 — G No. 8.

61 *No. 6*

7. CHRIST IN THE HOUSE OF MARTHA AND MARY

Dated 1618.

The main figures, as well as the background, have extensively suffered from tears in the original canvas, rubbing and paint losses. It was relined, cleaned and restored in 1964. My earlier suggestion that this work must have been painted about 1618 on account of its close stylistic analogies with *Old woman frying eggs* (*No. 6* above) was then confirmed by the partial discovery of the date on the painting. For the official account of the relining, cleaning and restoration, see *The National Gallery, June 1962–December 1964*, London, 1965, pp. 134–5.

The background scene, which discloses the intended subject of the composition, has been variously regarded as a reflection in a mirror, as a picture hanging on the wall or as directly seen through an aperture into another room. In 1964 the staff of the London National Gallery let the restorer's hand clarify the matter to their satisfaction, and so we can read in the 1970 catalogue of *The Spanish School* (p. 122): 'It has become clearer than before, as a result of the restoration [sic] of the picture, that the background scene is indeed shown through an aperture, cut into the thickness of the wall. . .'

Study, pp. 9, 12, 14, 16–7, 18, 23, 142, 155–6 (note 35).
Height 0.6 m. Width 1.035 m.
Norfolk: Twyford Hall, Lt-Col. Packe.
London: Lt-Col. Packe (deceased) sale, 18 June 1881, lot 18, to Sir William H. Gregory, for 21 guineas.
London: Sir William H. Gregory (1881–92).
London: National Gallery (since 1892), No. 1375.
Plate *62*.
M No. 9 — L-R 1963 No. 8 — G No. 9.

62 *No. 7*

8. HEAD OF A YOUNG MAN IN PROFILE

About 1618–9.

Pentimenti are noticeable about the back of the head and the collar.

Added to the Hermitage collection in 1814 as a Velázquez' original. However, this attribution was discarded in the Hermitage catalogues published from 1859 till 1958. In the latter date it was listed as by an unknown 17th-century Spanish painter and removed to the storeroom. I examined it there in 1959 and, agreeing with Allende-Salazar (pp. 3, 273) and Mayer, I concluded and stated in my 1963 catalogue that this extraordinarily fine painting was indeed Velázquez' colour study for the head of the young man in *A girl and two men at table* (*No. 9* following).

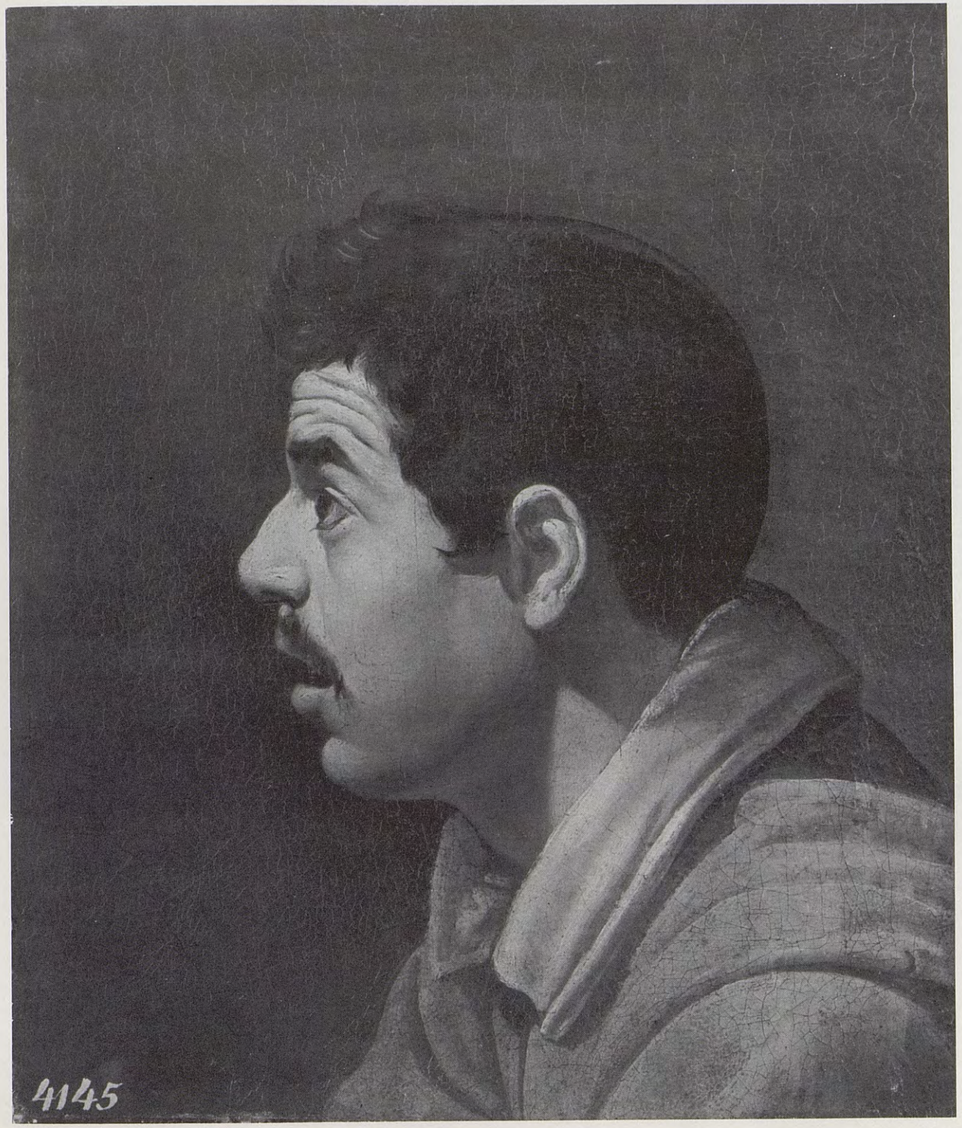
The reattribution of this work to Velázquez has since been generally accepted with the notable exception of Marianna Haraszti-Takács, curator of Spanish painting at the Budapest National Museum of Fine Arts, who believes this *Head of a young man in profile* to be rather by a follower of Velázquez (see the catalogue of the loan exhibition of Spanish paintings held at the said Museum, *Spanyol Mesterek*, Budapest, 1966, No. 50, and the catalogue of pictures by Spanish painters belonging to the same museum, *Spanish Masters*, Budapest, 1966, No. 22).

The Hermitage has returned the painting to the exhibition galleries under Velázquez name (*Musée de l'Ermitage, Peinture de l'Europe occidentale, Catalogue, 1, Italie, Espagne, France, Suisse*, Leningrad, 1976, pp. 163–4, No. 295 (text in Russian). In fact, Irene Levina, curator of Spanish painting at the museum, has recently shown, with the help of radiographs, that Velázquez painted this young man's profile on what probably is a fragment of another painting or a discarded study representing the full face of a man, obviously also by Velázquez (plate *63*). This full face is very similar to that of the central figure in *Musical trio* (*No. 1*), except that it is slightly turned to the man's right rather than to his left *Uckyccmbo*, Moscow, 2/1975, pp. 61–4; see also, José López-Rey *La Chronique des Arts*, September 1975, pp. 28–9).

Irene Levina's discovery confirms that this *Head of a young man in profile* is not a fragment of a larger composition; it is in fact a colour study painted by Velázquez on a piece of canvas from a scrapped painting or perhaps on a discarded study intended for, or derived from, *Musical trio*.

Study, p. 15.
Height 0.395 m. Width 0.358 m.
Amsterdam: W. C. Coesvert (bought from him for Alexander I of Russia).
Leningrad: Hermitage (since 1814), No. 295.
Plates *63, 64*.
M No. 128 — L-R 1963 No. 121 — G No. 6.

63. Velázquez, *Head of a young man in profile*, radiograph showing crosswise the full face of a man related to the central figure in *Musical trio (No. 1)*. Courtesy of the Hermitage Museum.



64 *No. 8*

9. A GIRL AND TWO MEN AT TABLE

1618–9.

Partial radiographs made in 1977 show *pentimenti* concerning the contour of the chin and mouth, as well as the right thumb, of the young man. Most of the rest of the painting is poorly preserved. Large areas have been abraded and repainted, notably the old man's head. The figure of the girl and most of the objects on the table have also been considerably restored.

Allende-Salazar held it to be a work by Velázquez of about 1618; he pointed out that the figure of the old man is the same as in *No. 3* (pp. 4, 273). Mayer found it 'difficult to say whether this picture', which he also held to be 'closely related' to *No. 3*, 'is really by the master's own hand'. Lafuente considered it 'a variant' of *No. 3*, painted by Velázquez himself (1943, No. 2; 1944, No. 3). Kurt Gestenberg regarded it as a work from the 'school of Velázquez' of about 1620 (*Diego Velázquez*, Berlin, 1957, pp. 27–8).

The head of the man sitting at the right has been executed after the study here catalogued under *No. 8*; the lighting is understandably somewhat different, subject as it is to the overall interplay of light and shade in the larger composition.

The three-figure group has been imitated, with some variations, in a composition which includes several large fish hanging from above (Paris, private collection). This enlarged composition is obviously a pastiche, probably from the 18th century, rather than an early copy by Alejandro de Loarte (d. 1626) as Mayer suggested. See Mayer, No. 127, and L-R 1963, No. 122.

Study, p. 15.
Height 0.96 m. Width 1.12 m.
Edinburgh: A. Sanderson.
London: Christie's sale, 3 July 1908, lot 106.
London: R. Langton Douglas (1908).
Budapest: National Museum of Fine Arts (since 1908), No. 3280.
Plates *65*, *66*, *67*.
M No. 122 — L-R 1963 No. 120 — G No. 5.

65 *No. 9*

66. A girl and two men at table, partial radiograph. Courtesy of the National Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest.

67. A girl and two men at table, partial radiograph. Courtesy of the National Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest.

10. ST. THOMAS

1618–20.

Extensively restored around the left eye.

First recognized as an early Velázquez by Manuel Gómez-Moreno (*Archivo Español de Arte y Arqueología*, 1925, pp. 230–1), and then by Roberto Longhi, who pointed out its similarity to the *St. Paul* numbered 14 in this catalogue (*Vita Artistica*, vol. 2, 1927, pp. 3ff.).

Height 0.94 m. Width 0.73 m.
Orleans: Musée des Beaux-Arts (since at least 1843, when it was catalogued as by Murillo), No. 264.
Plate *68*.
M No. 20 — L-R 1963 No. 37 — G No. 21.

68 *No. 10*

11. THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION OF THE VIRGIN

About 1619.

The subject of this painting is closely related to that of *St. John writing the Apocalypse*, in which the vision of the woman followed by the dragon is depicted (*No. 12*). As I have pointed out, since both paintings are of the same size and have the same provenance, there can be no doubt that they were originally meant as companion pieces; yet, as the difference in scale of the figures suggests, they were probably not intended to be on the same wall or altar, or at least not at the same level (L-R 1963, p. 31).

Beruete mentioned neither painting in the French and English editions of his *Velázquez*, but he discussed both and listed them as by the master in the German edition, published in 1909 (pp. 20–1, 94).

Study, pp. 19, 21, 36.
Height 1.346 m. Width 1.016 m.
Seville: Chapter house of the convent of the Shod Carmelites (still there about 1800, according to Ceán, vol. V, p. 179).
Seville: Manuel López Cepero, who sold it together with its companion piece, *No. 12*, in 1809.
London: Bartholomew Frere (1813–51). Frere had been British Plenipotentiary Minister *ad interim* for a short while at Seville (November 1809–January 1810).
London: Heirs of Bartholomew Frere.
London: National Gallery (on loan from Mrs. Woodall and the Misses Frere, 1946–73).
London: National Gallery (acquired in 1974), No. 6424.
Plate *69* (and colour plate).
C No. 4 — M No. 5 — L-R 1963 No. 21 — G No. 23.

69 *No. 11*

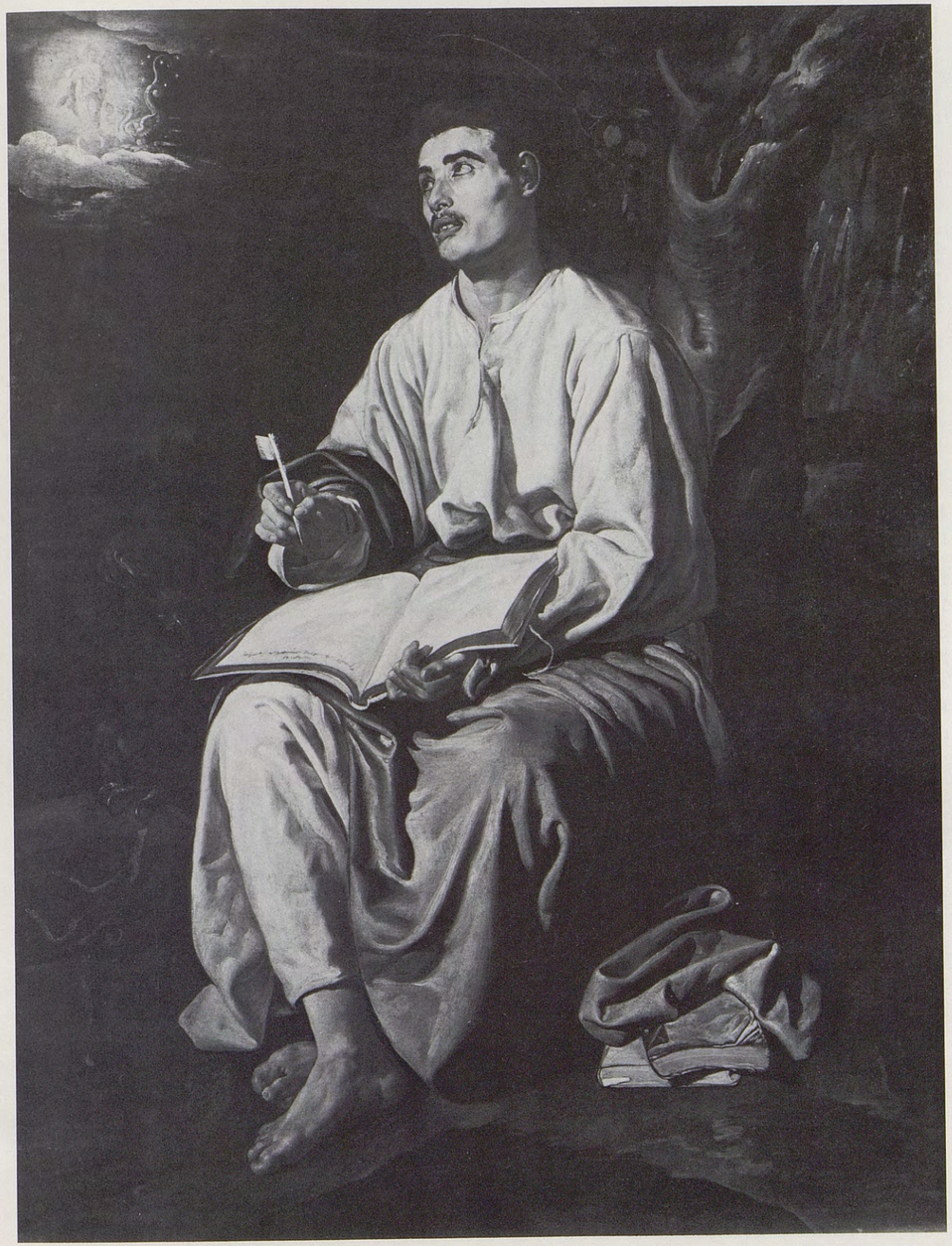
12. St. JOHN WRITING THE APOCALYPSE

About 1619.

The vision of the woman followed by the dragon is depicted in the upper left-hand corner.

Companion piece to *No. 11*.

Study, pp. 19, 21, 36, 91, 107.
Height 1.355 m. Width 1.022 m.
Seville: Chapter house of the Convent of the Shod Carmelites (still there about 1800, according to Ceán, vol. V, p. 179).
Seville: Manuel López Cepero, who sold it together with its companion piece in 1809.
London: Bartholomew Frere (1813–51).
London: Heirs of Bartholomew Frere.
London: National Gallery (on loan from Mrs. Woodall and the Misses Frere, 1946–56).
London: National Gallery (acquired in 1956), No. 6264.
Plate *70* (and colour plate).
C No. 19 — M No. 39 — L-R 1963 No. 29 — G No. 22.



70 *No. 12*

13. THE ADORATION OF THE MAGI

Dated 1619.

It has obviously been cut down on both sides. Trapier (p. 49) called attention to Cayetano Palmaroli's lithograph after this painting, published in 1832 and to which Curtis had referred. In the lithograph the composition is wider; this, however, should not be taken as evidence that the painting had retained its original size till 1832 for it is likely that Palmaroli simply attempted to reconstruct the missing parts according to his own idea of Velázquez' sense of composition.

Juan Ainaud has convincingly suggested that Velázquez probably painted this composition for the Jesuits' Noviciate of St. Louis at Seville, where it still was about 1764, according to a list of paintings drafted by Francisco de Bruna and the Count of Aguila for Antonio Ponz (*Archivo Español de Arte*, 1946, pp. 55–60). The Jesuits were expelled from Spain in 1767, and some of their possessions were sold to private individuals. Ponz did not mention Velázquez' *Adoration of the Magi* in volume X of his *Viaje de España*, published in 1780. It is most likely that, as Curtis surmised, the painting was by then in the collection of Francisco de Bruna, where Richard Twiss saw it in 1773. Twiss shortly afterwards described it as follows: 'A picture representing the Adoration of the Three Kings, who are painted as large as life, together with St. Joseph, *la Virgen, el Niño*, and a servant; the Child in swaddling-clothes; the background is obscure, and the shadows very strong; one of Velázquez' best pieces' (*Travels in Portugal and Spain*, London, 1775, p. 308).

Francisco de Bruna died in 1807. It is not known when or how Velázquez' *Adoration of the Magi* was acquired by Ferdinand VII, in whose Museum, now the Prado, it was included when it first opened its doors in 1819.

Study, pp. 9, 18, 21, 36.
Height 2.04 m. Width 1.26 m.
Seville: Noviciado de los Jesuitas (presumably till 1767).
Seville: Francisco de Bruna (by 1773–1807).
Madrid: Prado (since 1819), No. 1166.
Plate *71*.
C No. 9 — M No. 7 — L-R No. 6 — G No. 16.

71 *No. 13*

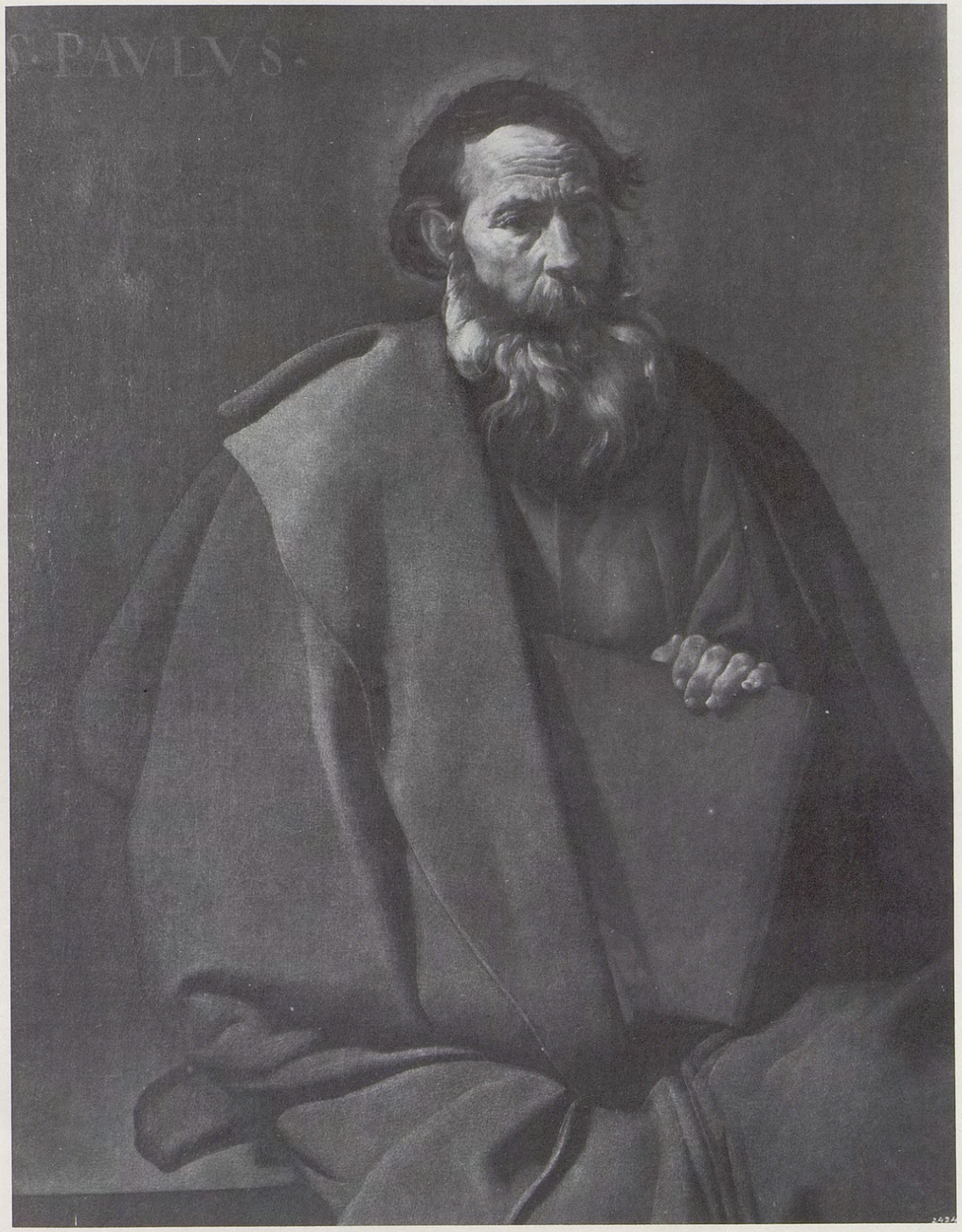
14. ST. PAUL

About 1619–20.

Inscribed top left: *S. Paulus.*

See A. L. Mayer, *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, new series, vol. 32, 1921, p. 36.

Height 0.98 m. Width 0.78 m.
Barcelona: D. Leopoldo Gil; his heirs.
Barcelona: Museo de Arte de Cataluña (since 1944), No. 24242.
Plate *72*.
M No. 18 — L-R 1963 No. 34 — G No. 27.



72 *No. 14*

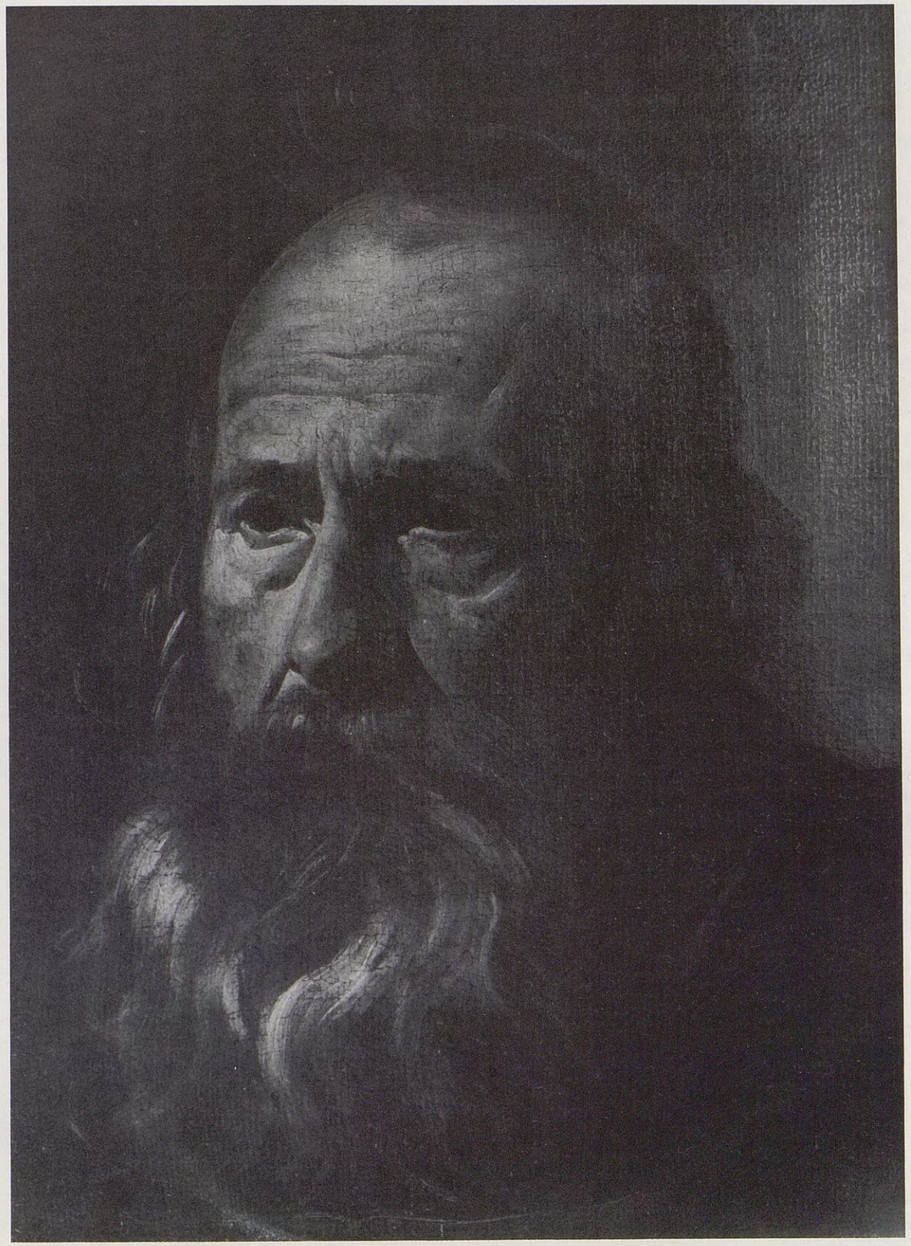
15. ST. PAUL (?)

About 1619–20.

Although turned to the left, this head is very similar to that of *St. Paul* in the preceding entry. It is obviously a fragment of a larger picture. It is visibly rubbed in some parts, and restored in others. It has darkened all over. The attribution to Velázquez is not conclusive.

Vincencio Carducho included a like head, somewhat more sharply delineated, in his *Saint Bruno declining the archbishop's mitre offered by Pope Urban II*, dated 1632, now at the Prado (plate **40**).

Height 0.38 m. Width 0.29 m.
Madrid: Marqués de Casa-Torres.
Madrid: Condesa de Saltes.
Plate *73*.
M No. 19 — L-R 1963 No. 35. — G No. 26.



73 *No. 15*

16. THE WATERSELLER

About 1620.

Impeccably cleaned in 1959.

The waterseller is handling a glass of water with a fig at the bottom to a boy while another youngster drinks from a pitcher. The custom of freshening water by dropping a fig into the glass has not, I am told, entirely died out in Seville. The variety of fig used for this purpose due to its great sweetness is that known as *zafarí* or *zaharí*. For information on this matter, I am indebted to Doña María Luisa Caturla and Don Joaquín del Val, both of Madrid.

The waterseller was identified as '*el corzo de Sevilla*' ('The Deer of Seville') in the royal inventories of the Buen Retiro Palace compiled in 1700 and 1716, and memories of his physical appearance were still alive later in the century when Palomino wrote on the subject, probably because both the painting and the person of the waterseller had for long remained a conversation piece. Indeed, in describing the painting, Palomino changes from the present to the Spanish past imperfect tense to remark that the waterseller portrayed by Velázquez wore a smock that would let the scabs and callouses on his body be seen. No such scabs or callouses are seen in the painting, where, in fact, the smock fully covers the waterseller's body. An attentive reading of Palomino's text reveals that it is the sitter for the waterseller rather than the picture itself that he has in mind.

Palomino's description, in which he mentions only two of the three figures in the composition, reads (pp. 892–3): 'the painting called The Waterseller, who is an old man, very shabbily dressed in a sordid and ragged smock, which bared his chest and belly spotted with scabs and hard, strong callouses; and besides him there is a boy to whom he is giving a drink. This work has been so talked of that it has been kept to this day at the Palace of the Buen Retiro' *('la pintura que llaman del Aguador; el cual es un viejo muy mal vestido, y con un sayo vil y roto, que se le descubría el pecho, y vientre con las costras, y callos duros, y fuertes: y junto a sí tiene un muchacho a quien da de beber. Y esta ha sido tan celebrada que se ha conservado hasta estos tiempos en el Palacio del Buen Retiro')*.

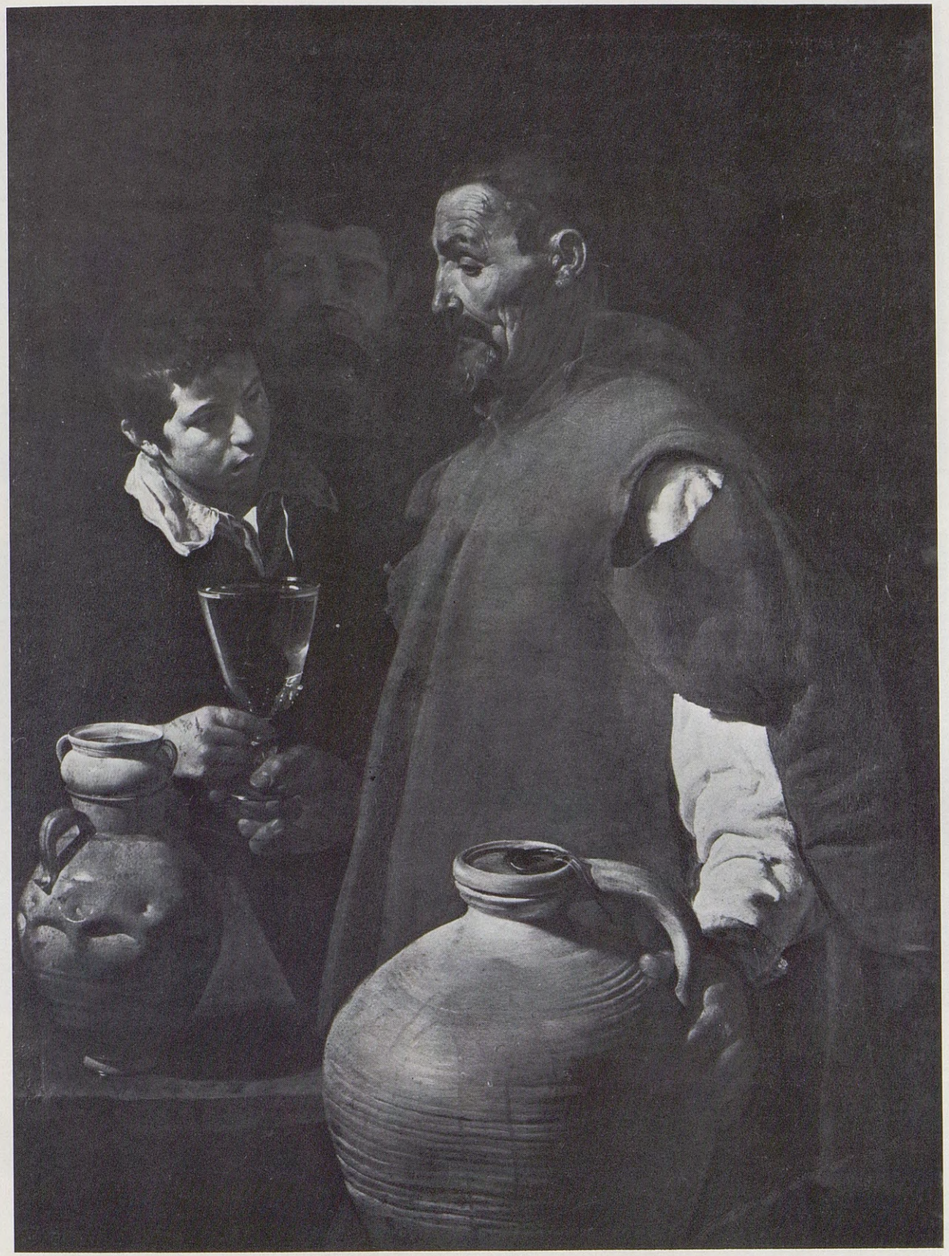
The painting belonged to Velázquez' early admirer and protector, Don Juan Fonseca y Figueroa, chaplain to Philip IV, who died in Madrid on 15 January 1627. On the 28th of the same month, Velázquez appraised the paintings left by Fonseca; he valued '*A waterseller*' at 400 *reales*, higher than any other painting in the collection *('Un quadro de un aguador, de mano de Diego Velázquez, cuatrocientos reales')*. It was bought for 330 *reales* by Don Gaspar de Bracamonte, from whom it passed into the possession of the Cardinal Infante Don Fernando (see José López Navío, *Archivo Español de Arte*, 1961, pp. 64, 76–7).

In 1700 it was inventoried at the Buen Retiro (folio 535): 'Another picture, 1 *vara* high and ¾ of a *vara* wide with a portrait of a waterseller by the hand of Velázquez; the said waterseller, nicknamed the Deer of Seville; in a black and gilted frame; appraised in 10 doubloons' *('Otra de vara de alto y tres quartas de ancho con un Retrato de un Aguador de mano de Velázquez llamádo el dicho aguador el Corzo de Seuilla con marco dorado y negro tasada en diez doblones')*. The metrical equivalent of the recorded size is approximately 0.835 × 0.63 m.

The 1716 inventory of the Buen Retiro described the painting, under No. 497, in almost identical terms and as of the same size, with no appraisal.

The 1772 inventory of the new Madrid Royal Palace described it, also under No. 497, in similar terms, except for the size which was given as 1¼ *vara* high and 1 *vara* wide (approximately, 1.04 × 0.835 m). These measurements, which were repeated in the 1794 inventory of the same palace, are quite close to the present size of the painting, in which no addition is noticeable. The 1794 inventory described the painting as 'Portrait known as the Waterseller of Seville by Velázquez', and appraised it at 3000 *reales ('497. — Vara y quarta de alto, y una de ancho Retrato conocido por el Aguador de Sevilla: Velázquez: en 3000')*.

Study, pp. 15, 16, 37.
Height 1.065 m. Width 0.82 m.
Madrid: Juan Fonseca y Figueroa (d. 1627).
Madrid: Gaspar de Bracamonte (acquired it in 1627).
Madrid: Cardinal Infante don Fernando (d. 1641).
Madrid: Palacio Real del Buen Retiro (inventories of 1700 and 1716).
Madrid: New Palacio Real (inventories of 1772 and 1794). Carried off by Joseph Bonaparte, and taken from him by the Duke of Wellington at the battle of Vitoria in 1813. It was subsequently presented to the Duke by Ferdinand VII of Spain.
London: Apsley House, Duke of Wellington.
London: Apsely House, The Wellington Museum, No. 1600.
Plate *74* (and colour plate).
C No. 86 — M No. 118 — L-R 1963 No. 124 — G No. 11.



74 *No. 16*

17. THE SUPPER AT EMAUS

About 1620.

Cut down by at least 7 or 8 cm. at the left where one arm is all that is visible of the companion of Christ sitting there. The background scene had been painted over at an unknown time (plate *76*); it came back to light in 1933 when the picture was cleaned. See *No. 18* following.

It is not entirely clear whether the mulatto's servant's features and dress are those of a girl or a young man though the latter appears more likely.

Related in composition to the earlier *Christ in the house of Martha and Mary* (*No. 7*), though in the present work the background scene is obviously not reflected in a mirror but seen through an aperture into another room.

Study, pp. 12, 17, 18.
Height 0.558 m. Width 1.18 m.
London: Sir Hugh Lane (c. 1909).
London: Sir Otto Beit (by 1913).
Blessington, near Dublin: Russborough House, Sir Alfred Beit.
Plates *75, 76.*
M No. 106 — L-R 1963 No. 18.

75 *No. 17*

76. Before the 1933 cleaning, when the background scene was not visible.

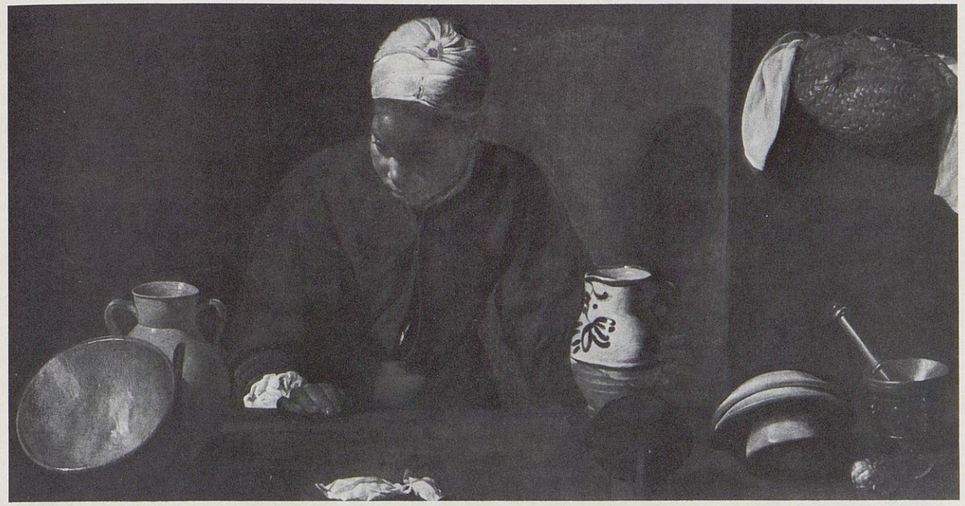
18. THE KITCHEN SERVANT

About 1620.

In poor condition.

Replica of the preceding, *No. 17*, without the religious background scene. The composition recalls, though only partly, an early Velázquez painting, now lost, described by Palomino in 1724 (p. 893): "... one sees a board, used for a table, where there is a portable stove and, on top of it, a pot boiling covered with a bowl, the flare, flames and sparks being vividly seen; there are also a tin-lined kettle, a jar of unglazed clay, some plates and bowls, a glazed jar, a mortar with its pestle and a head of garlic close to it; and one can see a basket of esparto hanging from a hook on the wall with a rag and other worthless stuff; and for guardian of this there is a boy, a jar in his hand and a coif on his head, who looks a ridiculous and comic fellow in his ignoble costume" *("... se ve un tablero, que sirve de mesa, con un anafe, y encima una olla hirviendo, y tapada con una escudilla, que se ve la lumbre, las llamas y centellas vivamente; un perolillo estañado, una alcarraza, unos platos y escudillas, un jarro vidriado, un almirez con su mano y una cabeza de ajos junto a él; y en el muro se divisa colgada de una escarpia una esportilla con un trapo y otras baratijas; y por guarda de esto un muchacho con una jarra en la mano, y en la cabeza una escofieta, con que representa con su villanísimo traje un sujeto muy ridículo y gracioso").*

Study, p. 17.
Height 0.55 m. Width 1.04 m.
Zurich: Private collection.
Munich: Dr. L. v. Buerkel.
Berlin: P. Bottenwiester.
Amsterdam: Goudstikker Gallery.
New York: Mrs. Sterner.
Chicago: Art Institute.
Plate 77.
M No. 105 — L-R No. 99 — G No. 4.



77 *No. 18*

19. THE PRIEST CRISTOBAL SUÁREZ DE RIBERA

1620 (?).

The sitter died on 13 October 1618 at the age of sixty-eight. He was godfather to Juana Pacheco, who married Velázquez on 23 April of the mentioned year.

The portrait hung over the tomb of the sitter in the hermitage or chapel of St. Hermenegild at Seville till 1910. In the mid-1790's it was listed there as by Francisco de Herrera the Elder (1585/90–late 1650's). See J. de M. Carriazo, *Archivo Español de Arte y Arqueología*, 1929, p. 178, and Juan Ainaud, *Archivo Español de Arte*, 1946, pp. 55–6.

It underwent a thorough cleaning in 1910, when it was included in the exhibition of old portraits held at Seville that year; the catalogue described it as from the 'school of Seville' and mistakenly identified the sitter as Father Bernardino Suárez (J. Gestoso y Pérez, *Catálogo de la exposición de retratos antiguos celebrada en Sevilla en abril de MCMX*, Madrid, 1910, No. 12).

The 1910 cleaning revealed the monogram DOVZ and the date 1620 in the folds of the sitter's clothes. The monogram has been read, though naturally not to the exclusion of any other possible reading, as Diego Velázquez.

If the date on the canvas is that of the painting, which seems likely, the portrait must be posthumous. This might be the reason for the kneeling pose and appearance of the sitter, who looks considerably younger than he was at the time of his death or at any time when Velázquez could conceivably had portrayed him from life.

For the attribution to Velázquez, see Valerian von Loga, *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, vol. 34, 1913, p. 284. This attribution has not been questioned by any scholar, and appears, indeed, convincing. The awkward appearance of some passages may be due to the restorations underwent by the painting in 1910 and 1960. It is still noticeable to the naked eye that the painting has suffered extensively from rubbing, notably the sitter's garments and background. Noticeable too are scratches in the same area, and two on the sitter's face.

Study, p. 18.
Height 2.07 m. Width 1.48 m.
Seville: Ermita or Capilla de San Hermenegildo.
Seville: Museo Provincial de Bellas Artes.
Plate *78*.
M No. 438 — L-R 1963 No. 475 — G No. 20.

78 *No. 19*

20. MOTHER DOÑA JERÓNIMA DE LA FUENTE

Signed and dated: *Diego Velazquez f. 1620.* Painted in June of this year.

The sitter, a Franciscan nun, was born in 1554 or 1555. She was the founder and first abbess of the Convent of Santa Clara, Manila (Philippine Islands), where she died in 1630. She was at Seville for three weeks (1–20 June) on her way from Toledo to Manila, in 1620.

The painting is inscribed at the top: *Bonvn est prestolari cvm silentio salvtare Dei.*

Another inscription at the bottom reads: 'This is the true portrait of Mother Donna Jerónima de la Fuente, a religious of this convent of St. Isabel de los Reyes of Toledo, Foundress and first Abbess of the convent of St. Clara de la Concepción of the first Franciscan Order in the city of Manila, in the Philippine Islands. She set out to make this foundation at the age of 66 on Tuesday, 28 April 1620. Mother Ana de Cristo, Mother Leonor of Saint Francis, nuns, and Sister Juana of Saint Anthony, novice, left in her company from this convent. All of them were persons of great importance for so eminent a work' (*'Este es verdadero Retrato de la Madre Doña Jeronima de la fuẽte Religioxa del Convento de Sancta Isabel de los Reyes de T. Fundadora y primera Abadesa del Convento de S. Clara de la Concepcion de la Ciudad de Manila en filipinas. Salio a esta fundacion de edad de 66 años martes veinte y ocho de Abril de 1620 años. Salieron de este convento en su compañia la madre Ana de Cristo y la madre Leonor de Sanct Francisco Relixiosas y la hermana Juana de Sanct Antonio novicicia. Todas personas de mucha importancia. Para tan alta obra'*).

Originally, there was a scroll round the crucifix with the inscription: *Satiabor dvm glori . . .ficatvs fverit*; it was removed in 1944 soon after the painting was acquired by the Prado, and at the same time the inscription at the bottom was toned down on the mistaken assumption that both were later additions. The removal of the scroll has left a deep outline plainly visible to the naked eye. As Juan Ainaud has shown, the scroll was part of Velázquez's original composition (*Goya*, September-October 1957, p. 88).

See *No. 21* following.

Study, pp. 9, 18.
Height 1.6 m. Width 1.1 m.
Toledo: Convento de Santa Isabel de los Reyes.
Madrid: Prado (since 1944), No. 2873.
Plates *79, 80.*
M No. 546 — L-R No. 577 — G No. 17.

79 No. 20

80. Mother Doña Jerónima de la Fuente, before the scroll round the crucifix was removed and the inscription at the bottom was toned down, Madrid, Prado.

21. MOTHER DOÑA JERÓNIMA DE LA FUENTE

Signed and dated: *Diego Velazquez. f. 1620.*

Almost identical with the portrait discussed in the preceding entry, except for the position of the crucifix in the sitter's hand. It also bears three inscriptions identical with those in the Prado painting, including the ones which were removed or toned down on the assumption that they were later additions. None of the three inscriptions has been tampered with.

Restored in the late 1920's, at which time no signature was noticeable. The signature now visible was first noticed in 1942, when the portrait was cleaned again. The painting has since substantially darkened.

F.J. Sánchez Cantón suggested that this picture by Velázquez is probably a replica with slight variations after the portrait at the Prado (*Revista de la Universidad de Oviedo*, March-June 1943, pp. 217–8). One cannot, however, exclude the possibility that it be the other way round.

Study, pp. 9, 18.
Height 1.6 m. Width 1.06 m.
Toledo: Convento de Santa Isabel de los Reyes.
Madrid: Alejandro Fernández de Araóz (since 1944); his widow.
Plate *81*.
L-R 1963 No. 578 — G No. 18.

81 *No. 21*

22. ST. ILDEFONSO RECEIVING THE CHASUBLE FROM THE VIRGIN

Early 1620's (?).

It was first described as by Velázquez and as greatly damaged in the mid–1760's (see J. de M. Carriazo, *Archivo Español de Arte*, 1929, p. 179). In 1898 Beruete called attention to the poor condition of the painting, aggravated by a crude restoration (*Velázquez*, Paris, 1898, p. 24). A large hole in the canvas had, indeed, been patched up in a perfunctory manner, and half of the face of the angel next to the Virgin, on her right, had been painted afresh by a clumsy hand.

In 1960, it was cleaned and restored again. The right sleeve of the Virgin, which had become almost indistinguishable, was entirely repainted, and other areas were similarly restored. For the condition of the painting shortly before this restoration, see Diego Angulo Iñiguez, *Archivo Español de Arte*, April-September 1960, pp. 290–1.

In spite of the very poor condition of the painting, where some areas are very much rubbed while others have been extensively repainted, a few better preserved passages, such as St. Ildefonso's head, make the attribution to Velázquez fairly plausible. It is, however, difficult to date it with any degree of certainty.

Height 1.65 m. Width 1.15 m.
Seville: Church of San Antonio (by the mid–1760's).
Seville: Palace of the Archbishop.
Seville: Museo Provincial de Bellas Artes (since 1969).
Plates *82*.
M No. 43 — L-R 1963 No. 47 — G No. 28.

82 *No. 22*

23. PORTRAIT OF A MAN WITH A GOATEE

1620–2.

Related in style to the portrait of Don Luis de Góngora, known to have been painted by Velázquez in 1622 *(No. 25)*.

Allende-Salazar suggested that the sitter may be Pacheco (p. 12). This suggestion, which has since been repeated in the Prado catalogues, rests on a slight resemblance between this portrait and engravings after the self-portrait of Pacheco included in his lost painting of *The Last Judgement*.

The 1746 inventory of Philip V's paintings at the Royal Palace of San Ildefonso, La Granja, described it under No. 43 as by Tintoretto and as representing 'a head of a man with a ruff' *('una Cabeza de Hombre con Gorguera, tiene una tercia y cinco dedos de alto; otra, y quatro de ancho')*. The metrical equivalent of the recorded measurements is approximately 0.37 × 0.35 m., rather close to the picture's present size.

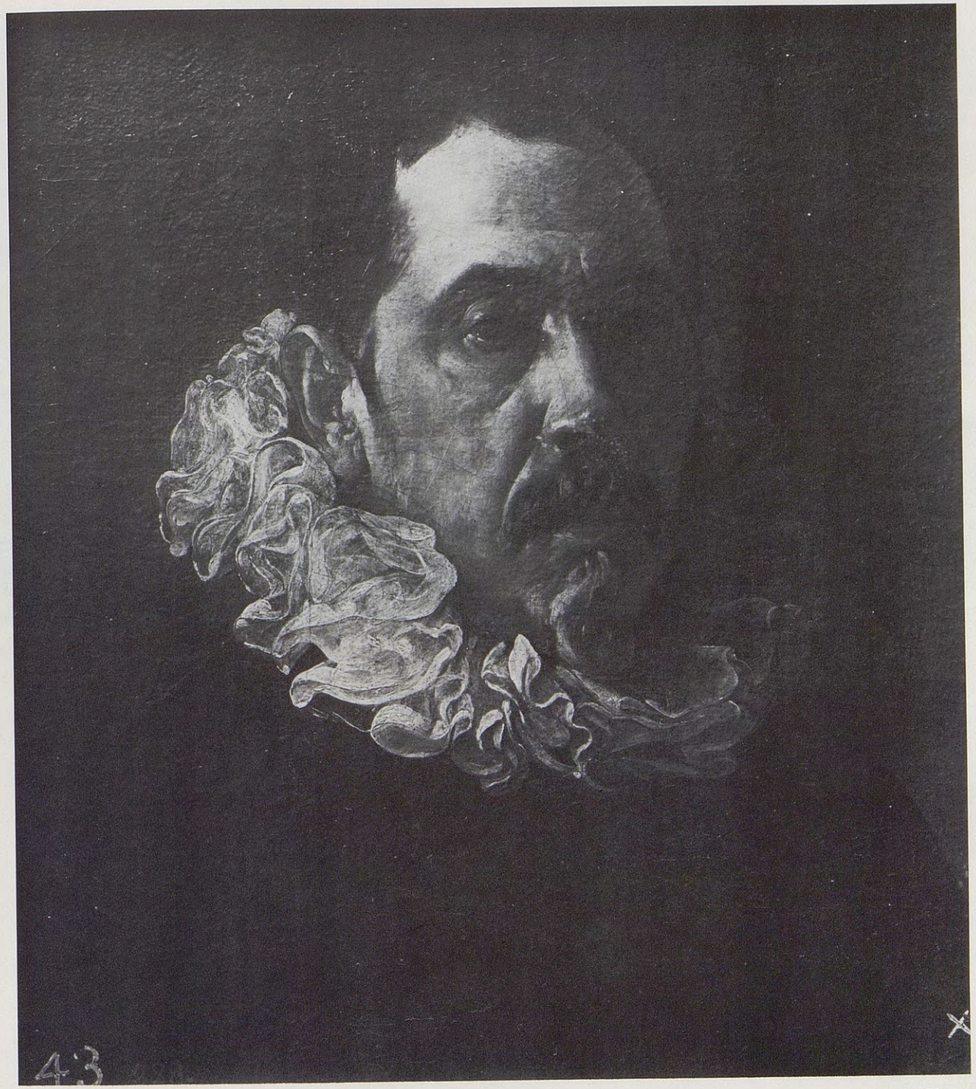
The painting still bears No. 43 painted in white in the lower left hand corner; it also bears a white-painted X in the opposite side, indicating that it was the property of Philip V.

The inventory of the same palace compiled in 1774 listed it again under No. 43 and in the same terms as in 1746, except that it was valued at 800 *reales* and that the painter was said to be '*el Terciano*', possibly meaning *el Tiziano*. This was rectified in the 1794 inventory where the portrait was once more attributed to Tintoretto, always under No. 43 and valued again at 800 *reales*. The reported size though was larger: 2 ft. high and 1½ ft. wide (about 0.56 × 0.42 m).

In 1818 it was still at the Palace of San Ildefonso, inventoried under the same number and as by Tintoretto.

The use of the *gorguera* or ruff by Spaniards was forbidden in January 1623; the prohibition was generally complied with at Madrid though not without infractions, particularly on the part of those who resided or held office in other lands.

Study, p. 18.
Height 0.40 m. Width 0.36 m.
La Granja: Palacio Real de San Ildefonso (inventories of 1746, 1774, 1794 and 1818).
Madrid: Prado, No. 1209.
Plate *83*.
C No. 223 — M No. 390 — L-R 1963 No. 549 — G No. 52.



83 *No. 23*

24. TWO YOUNG MEN AT TABLE

About 1622.

Very close to, probably identical with, an early painting by Velázquez described by Palomino in 1724 (p. 893): 'He painted another picture of two poor men eating at a humble little table, where there are different earthenware vessels, oranges, bread and other things, everything observed with rare thoroughness' *('Otra pintura hizo de dos pobres comiendo en una humilde mesilla, en que hay diferentes vasos de barro, naranjas, pan, y otras cosas, todo observado con diligencia extraña.')*

Acquired on 25 August 1768 from the collection of the Marquis of Ensenada by Charles III: 'A picture four feet wide and three high, with two figures, one sitting on a bench and the other leaning on a table, on which there are dishes and ordinary jugs; on top of one of these there is an orange. Author, Velázquez. 1,000 *reales*' *('Un quadro de quatro pies de ancho y tres de cayda con dos figuras una sentada sobre un banco, otra recostada sobre una mesa, en la que ay platos, y vasijas ordinarias, sobre una de estas una naranja, autor Velázquez. 1000')*. See F.J. Sánchez Cantón, *Pintores de Cámara*, Madrid, 1916, p. 83 (he gives a somewhat inaccurate transcription of the quoted text). The approximate metrical equivalent of the recorded size is: height 0.84 m; 1.12 m.

Listed, unnumbered, as coming from the Ensenada collection, in the 1772 inventory of the new Royal Palace at Madrid; its size was given as less than 1 *vara* in height and 1 *vara* and one third in width, that is, less than 0.835 m. in height and approximately 1.12 in width, the latter the same as in 1768. The painting was described as 'representing two half-length figures sitting at a table on which there are dishes and a jug' *('Una Pintura que significa una Mesa con su Bajilla y un cantaro; y dos medias figuras sentadas a ella')*. It was still at the Madrid Royal Palace in 1776 when Ponz referred to it as a work in the style of Velázquez (p. 526). It was not included in either the 1794 or the 1814 inventory of the Madrid Royal Palace.

Study, pp. 15, 16.
Height 0.645 m. Width 1.04 m.
Madrid: Marqués de la Ensenada.
Madrid: New Palacio Real (since 1768 till at least 1776).
London: Apsley House, Duke of Wellington.
London: Apsley House, The Wellington Museum, No. 1593.
Plate *84* (and colour plate).
C No. 85,85b, 85f — M No. 109 — L-R 1963 No. 105 — G No. 3.

84 *No. 24*

25. DON LUÍS DE GÓNGORA Y ARGOTE

1622.

Góngora, one of Spain's greatest poets, was born on 11 June 1561 at Córdoba, where he died on 23 March 1627. He was ordained a priest in his early fifties.

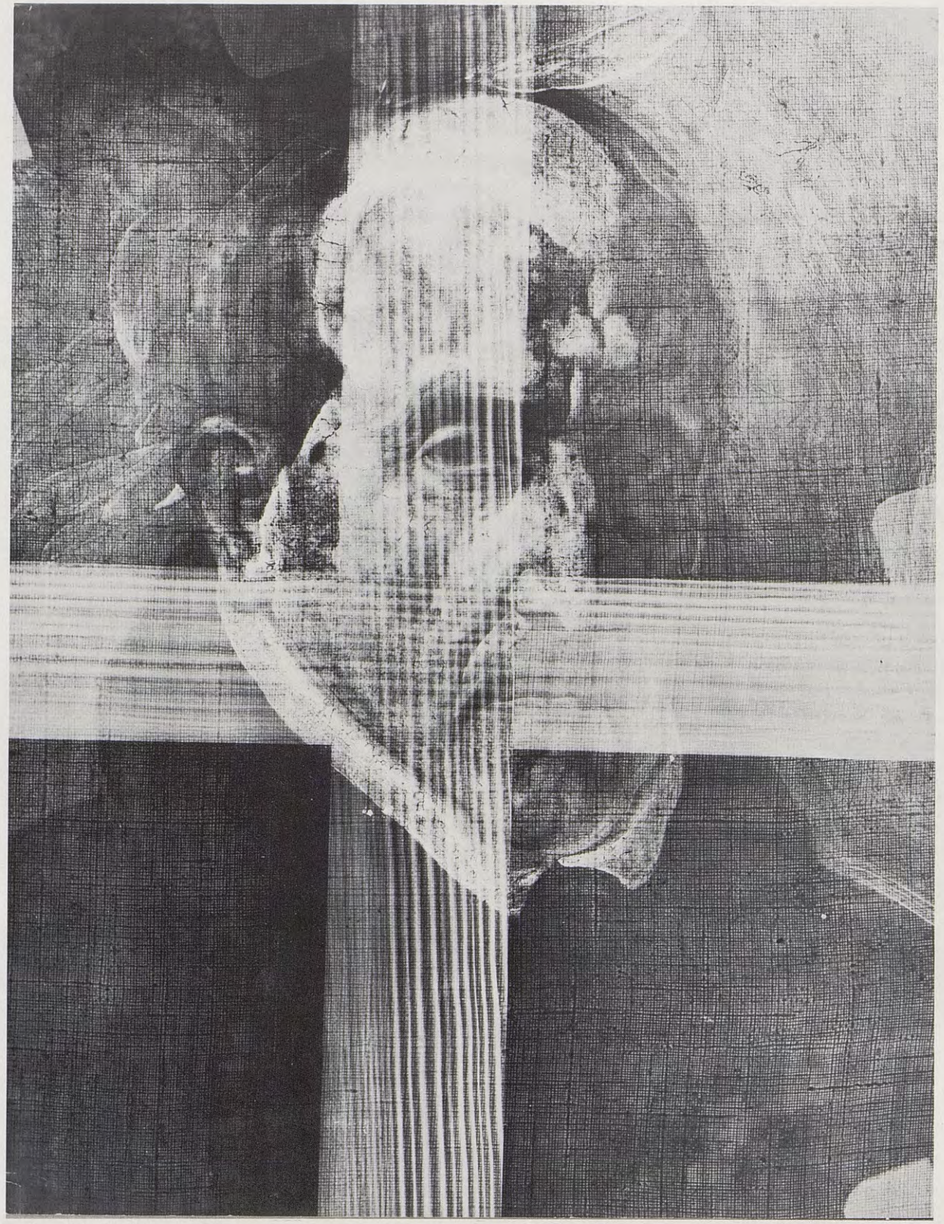
Painted by Velázquez in 1622 at Madrid at the request of Pacheco, according to the latter's account of his son-in-law's first stay at the Court (vol. I, p. 156). It originally depicted Góngora wearing a laurel wreath as Pacheco's portraits of poets usually do. See his *Libro de descripción de verdaderos retratos de illustres y memorables varones* (facsimile edition, published in Seville with no date in 1886, plates 20, 21, 22, 31, 35, 36 and 49). Later Velázquez painted over the laurel wreath, still visible in the radiograph of the painting (plate *85*).

Somewhat restored.

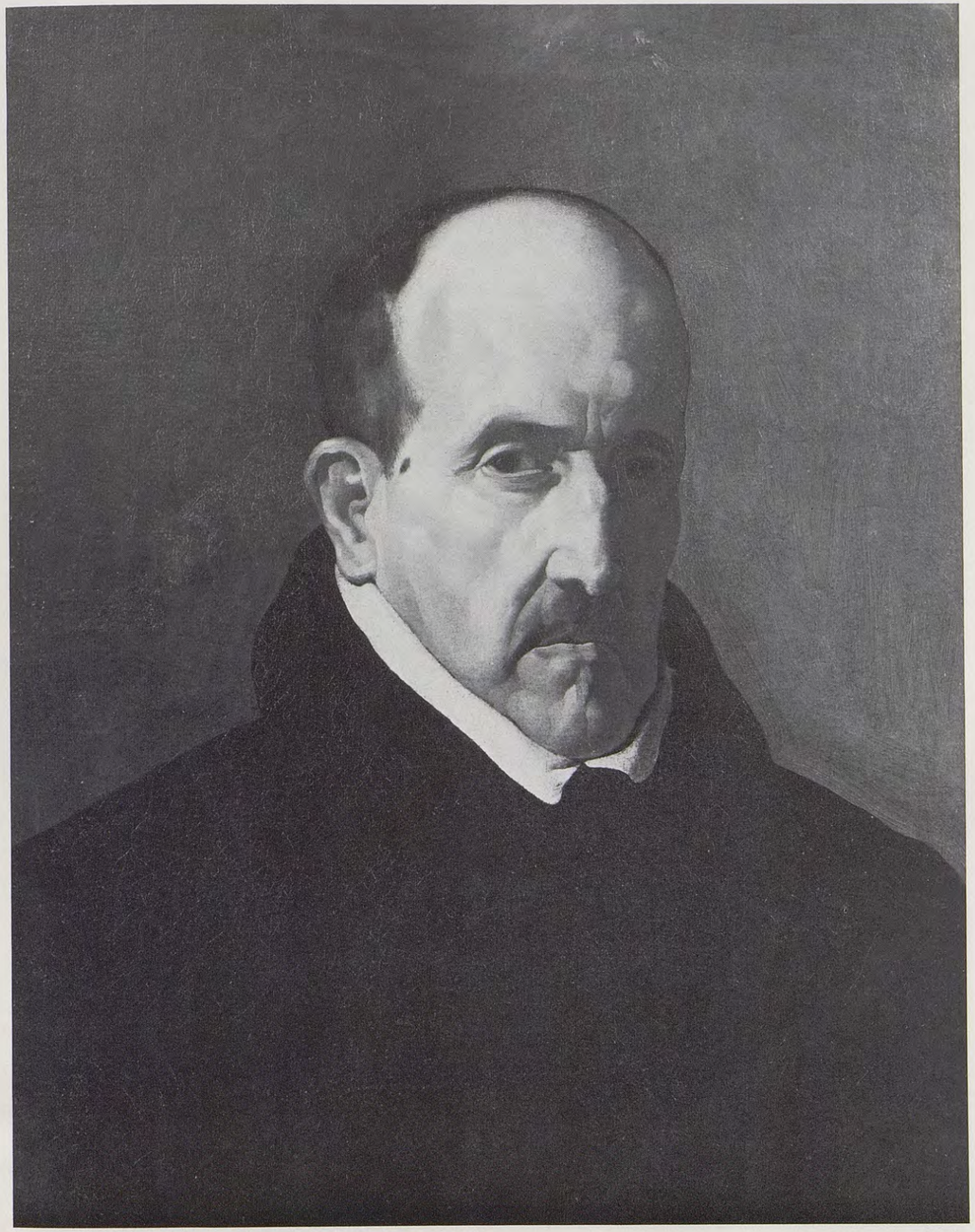
The portrait of Góngora painted at the request of Pacheco might have been the one listed, with no artist's name, among Velázquez possessions at the time of his death (No. 179 of the inventory then compiled). It might also have been the portrait of Góngora by Velázquez which later, in 1677, was in the collection of the seventh Marquis of Carpio at Madrid. After the Marquis' death this portrait was repeatedly listed under No. 107 as 'sold'; the buyer was a Nicolás Nepata who bought a sizeable number of paintings, including several by Velázquez, from the Carpio estate (inventories of 1 October 1692 and 14 May 1693, and undated memorandum obviously compiled about that time, Archives of the House of Alba, Madrid).

Two copies of this portrait, with which Velázquez first won recognition at Madrid, are known: one, rather dull, is at the Museo Lázaro Galdiano, Madrid; the other, of poorer quality, is at the Prado. See L-R 1963, Nos. 498–9.

Study, pp. 23, 29–30.
Height 0.51 m. Width 0.41 m.
Madrid: Marqués de la Vega Inclán.
London: Tomás Harris Ltd.
Boston: Museum of Fine Arts (since 1932), No. 32.79.
Plates *85*, *86*.
M No. 339 — L-R 1963 No. 496 — G No. 32.



85. Don Luis de Góngora, radiograph showing the original laurel wreath which Velázquez later painted out. Courtesy of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.



86 *No. 25*

26. PORTRAIT OF A CLERIC

1622–3.

Described by Mayer in 1936 as 'damaged'. In 1960, after cleaning and restoration, it was visibly rubbed. It has since been restored again and heavily varnished.

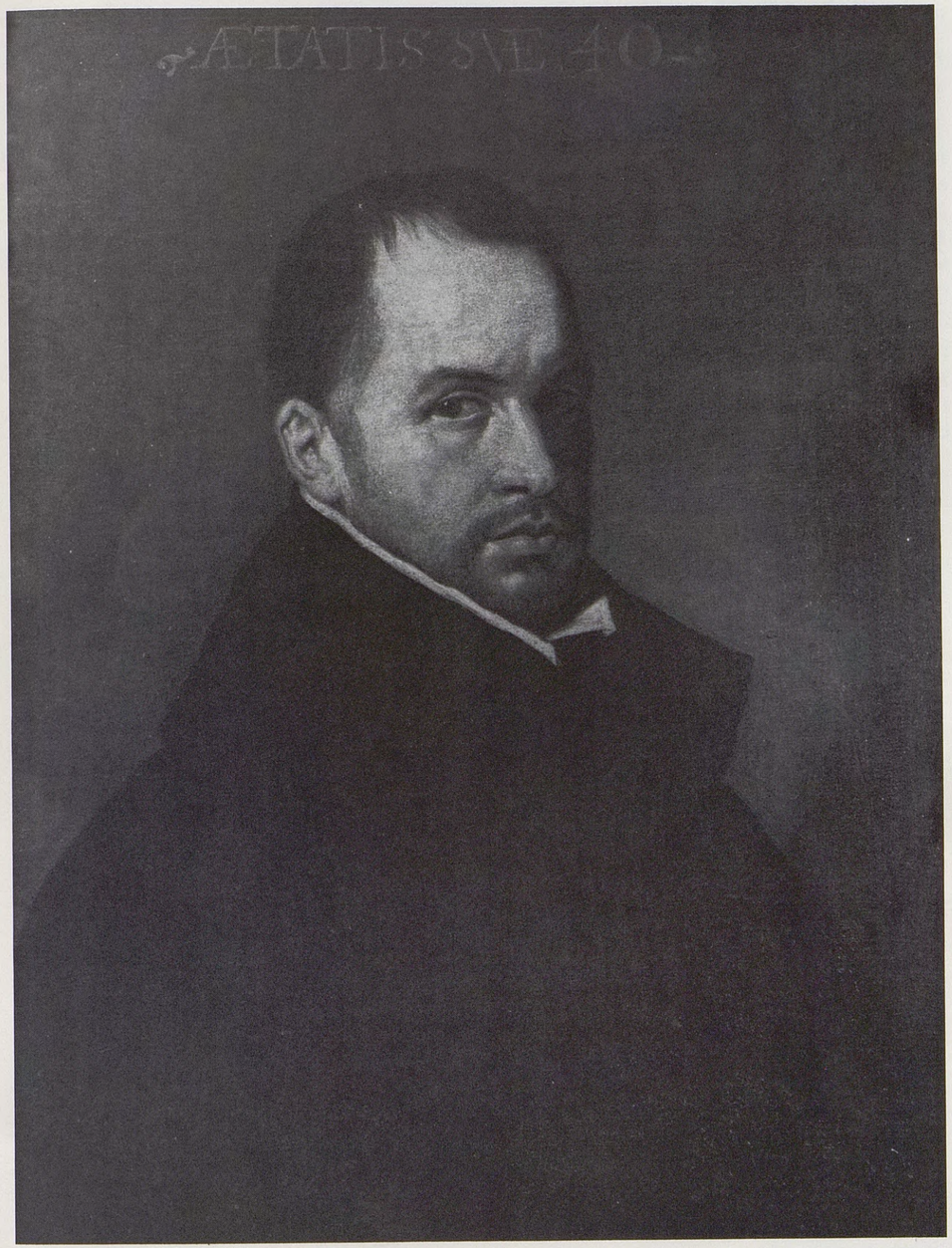
The sitter has been supposed to be Francisco de Rioja (1563–1659), a friend of Pacheco's and of Velázquez', librarian to the Count-Duke of Olivares and later to the King.

Inscribed at the top, AETATIS SUAE 40 — which, if the sitter were Rioja, would date the portrait to 1623, a date rather close to that suggested by the painting itself.

Its execution recalls the portrait of Góngora painted by Velázquez in Madrid in 1622 (*No. 25*).

See *La Ilustración Española y Americana*, 15 April 1912, and Mayer, *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, new series, vol. 32, 1921, p. 38.

Height 0.665 m. Width 0.51 m.
Madrid: Ricardo de Madrazo (1912); Mariano Moreno; Hortensia Moreno.
Madrid: Joaquín Payá; his heirs.
Plate *87*.
M No. 440 — L-R 1963 No. 483.



87 *No. 26*

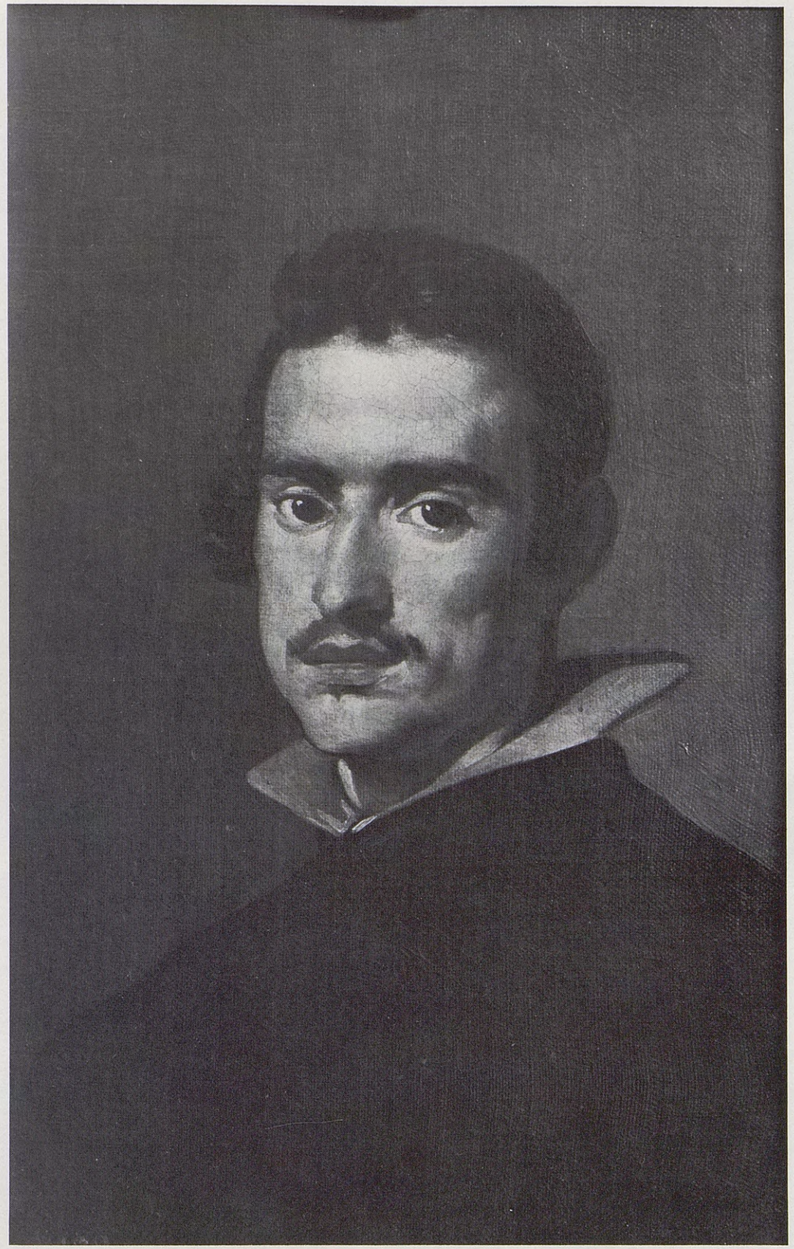
27. A YOUNG MAN

1623–4.

The '*golilla*', or stiff flat white collar, worn by the sitter was first used in January 1623 at Madrid. See Juan Sampere y Guarinos, *Historia del luxo y de las leyes suntuarias de España*, Madrid, 1788, vol. II, p. 120.

Beruete held that this painting was a copy (p. 65); his opinion prevailed at the Prado till the publication of the 1933 catalogue, where, following Allende-Salazar's views, it was listed as by Velázquez. Allende-Salazar (pp. 23, 274) called attention to Jacinto Octavio Picón's suggestion that this picture may be a self-portrait of Velázquez as a young man (*Velázquez*, 2nd, posthumous edition, Madrid, 1925, p. 71); this suggestion has been adopted by the Prado, which titles the painting *Self-portrait (?)*. There is, of course, no way of verifying whether or not the sitter is Velázquez himself.

Study, p. 36.
Height 0.56 m. Width 0.39 m.
Madrid: Prado, No. 1224.
Plate *88*.
C No. 222 or 223 — M No. 383 — L-R 1963 No. 565 — G No. 47.



88 *No. 27*

28. PHILIP IV

1623–4.

Philip IV, son of Philip III and Margarita of Austria, was born on 8 April 1605 at Valladolid; he ascended the throne on 31 March 1621, and died on 17 September 1665 at Madrid.

Cleaned and restored in 1971; an earlier restoration about the top of the hair was then removed, and the spot restored again; losses of pigment, mainly in the dress and background, were inpainted.

Painted sometime after August 1623, when Velázquez put on canvas the naturalistic image of Philip IV which he later discarded (*No. 36*), and before he painted the portrait of the same King for which he was paid on 4 December 1624 (*No. 29*). See José López-Rey, 'Velázquez' Philip IV', *ARTnews*, New York, Summer 1968, pp. 32–3 and 65.

By comparison with the image painted in August 1623 (plate *99*), Velázquez modified in this portrait the sitter's hairline and forehead, notably about the right temple, and reduced the bulbous appearance of the tip of the nose; he also made the collar much wider and different in shape.

This is the earliest of the Velázquez portraits of Philip IV which has come down to us in visible pigment, though not the first one that he painted as it was once thought (José López-Rey, 'Pincelada e imagen en Velázquez', *Varia velazqueña*, Madrid, 1960, vol. I, p. 204, and Enrique Lafuente Ferrari, 'Velázquez y Felipe IV', *Mundo Hispánico*, Madrid, February 1961, pp. 21 and 25).

Study, pp. 31, 34, 64.
Height 0.616 m. Width 0.482 m.
Rome: Cardinal Ferrari.
Rome: Cardinal Gaspari.
New York: Mrs. Herbert Straus (by 1937).
New York: Art Market.
France: Private collection.
Dallas, Texas: The Meadows Museum at Southern Methodist University (since 1967), No. 67.23.
Plate *89*.
M No. 183 — L-R 1963 No. 232 — G No. 36.

89 *No. 28*

29. PHILIP IV

1624.

Painted by Velázquez, according to a receipt written and signed by him on 4 December 1624, preserved at the Metropolitan Museum of Art: 'I, Diego Velázquez, painter to His Majesty, declare that I received from Señor Juan Cenoz 800 *reales*, in accordance with the payment order here acknowledged, and I received the said amount from the hand of Lope Lucio de Espinosa, resident of Burgos, and did receive it on account of the three portraits, of the King and the Count of Olivares and of Señor García Pérez, and in witness whereof I signed in Madrid on 4 December 1624' *('Digo yo Diego Velázquez, pintor de Su magd qe reciui de Sor Juan de Cenos ocho cientos reales en uirtud de la liurança destonotado y lo recibi por mano de Lopelucio despinosa Vecino de Vurgos los cuales recibi a cuenta de los tres retratos del rey y del Conde de oliuares y el del Sor garciperes y por ser uerdad lo firme en madrid 4 de Diciembre 1624. Diego Velasquez')*.

This receipt is written on the verso of a folded sheet of paper. On the recto, there is a heading: 'Diego Velázquez — Diego Velázquez' receipt for 800 reales. There is inside a receipt for another 200 *reales*' *('Do Velazquez — Carta de pago de 800 rls. de Diego Velázquez. esta adentro Carta de pago de otros 200 rls')*. Written also on the recto of the sheet, there is the payment order to which Velázquez refers in his receipt: 'My mistress Doña Antonia has asked me to write to you that 800 *reales* be paid, by her order, to the painter and that her Ladyship will give a voucher for your quittance, and in the meantime this will serve as such. Doña Antonia de Ipeñarrieta — To Juan de Cenoz' *('Mi Sa doña antonia me ha dicho que escriba a v. m. Como por su orden se le den al pintor ochozientos realles que su Sa dara rezibo de ellos para su descargo de v. m. y en el entretanto que no se le da sirbira esta. Doña Antonia de Ipeñarrieta. — A Juo de Cenoz')*.

Below this text, there is another signed by Doña Antonia de Galdós, mother of Doña Antonia de Ipeñarrieta: 'I received from Juan de Ceroz 100 *reales* which I gave to the painter on account of the portraits, and because the receipt which I had has been lost, I gave this to the said Cenoz in Madrid on 6 December 1624. D. Antonia de Galdós' *('Rui de Juo de Cenoz cien Rs que yo dí al pintor a qta de los retratos y porque se a perdido el reciuo q. yo tenia le dí este al dho. Cenoz en Madr. a 6 de deze de 1624. D. Antonia de Galdós')*

From the above it is not clear who had commissioned the three portraits, whether Doña Antonia de Galdós, her daughter Doña Antonia Ipeñarrieta y Galdós or the latter's husband, Don García Pérez de Araciel, who died precisely in 1624. Velázquez' portrait of García Pérez de Araciel has not come down to us. However, those of his widow and of her second husband, Diego del Corral, painted by Velázquez a few years later, are at the Prado (*Nos. 54* and *55* below). She probably was responsible for her family's patronage of young Velázquez.

As for the recorded payments, the one signed by Doña Antonia de Galdós is rather a reimbursement; the receipt for 200 *reales* is missing from the folded paper where it was enclosed. Consequently, it is hard to ascertain what was the total amount received by Velázquez for the three portraits. It appears rather clear though that the receipt of 4 December 1624 concerned the final payment.

José Ramón Mélida, who first published this portrait, admittedly limited himself to quoting the opinion of Aureliano de Beruete Sr., then the leading Velázquez expert. Beruete held — wrongly as he came to realize — that the sitter was not Philip IV and that the painting was a copy after a lost portrait of the Infante Don Fernando. Soon after, however, Mélida published the documents cited above; he had found them in the archives of the Corral and Narros families at Zaraúz. Doña Antonia de Ipeñarrieta's second husband belonged, as indicated above, to the Corral family (*Los Velázquez de la Casa de Villahermosa*, Madrid, 1905, and *Un recibo de Velázquez*, Madrid, 1906, reprints from *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos*).

In 1906, Beruete stated that this portrait of Philip IV, as well as that of Olivares (*No. 30*), 'came from Velázquez' studio' and 'can only be included among the replicas of the artist' (p. 21). Later Beruete

explained that this statement had been somewhat garbled in the English translation and that he actually had meant that 'both pictures are by Velázquez' hand', though probably executed after his own earlier originals (Letter to Mr. Williams, written in French at Toledo, Spain, on 23 October 1911, now in the files of the Altman Collection at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, cited in *The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Handbook of the Benjamin Altman Collection*, New York, 1915, pp. 44–5).

It is, of course, unlikely that the King would have sat for a portrait commissioned by a private individual. Velázquez, indeed, appears to have painted the King's head and collar after the portrait of 1623–4 (*No. 28*), and the rest of the figure after that of August 1623 which obviously he had not yet painted out (*No. 36*).

Allende-Salazar held it to be a work by Velázquez (pp. 24, 274), and so did Mayer, F.J. Sánchez Cantón (*Los retratos de los Reyes de España*, Barcelona, 1948, pp. 141–2), Kurt Gerstenberg (*Diego Velázquez*, Munich, 1957, pp. 42–3), Diego Angulo Iñíguez (*Ars Hispaniae*, vol. XV, *Pintura del siglo XVII*, Madrid, 1971, p. 170, and Gudiol. Elisabeth du Gué Trapier though wrote that the 'question arises as to whether or not this work is an old and excellent copy, replacing a lost portrait done from life', particularly since the King's head 'lacks the vigorous handling' of other portraits by Velázquez such as that of the Count-Duke of Olivares in the Hispanic Society of America (p. 97). This inconclusive remark came to naught when, in discussing the condition of the Hispanic Society portrait of Olivares, Trapier conceded that 'the skinned parts' of the head 'show the dark red priming at the side of the nose and in a few parts of the forehead. The remainder of the head and face have the same type and amount of damage' ('The cleaning of Velázquez' Count-Duke of Olivares', *Varia velazqueña*, Madrid, 1960, vol. I, pp. 320–2).

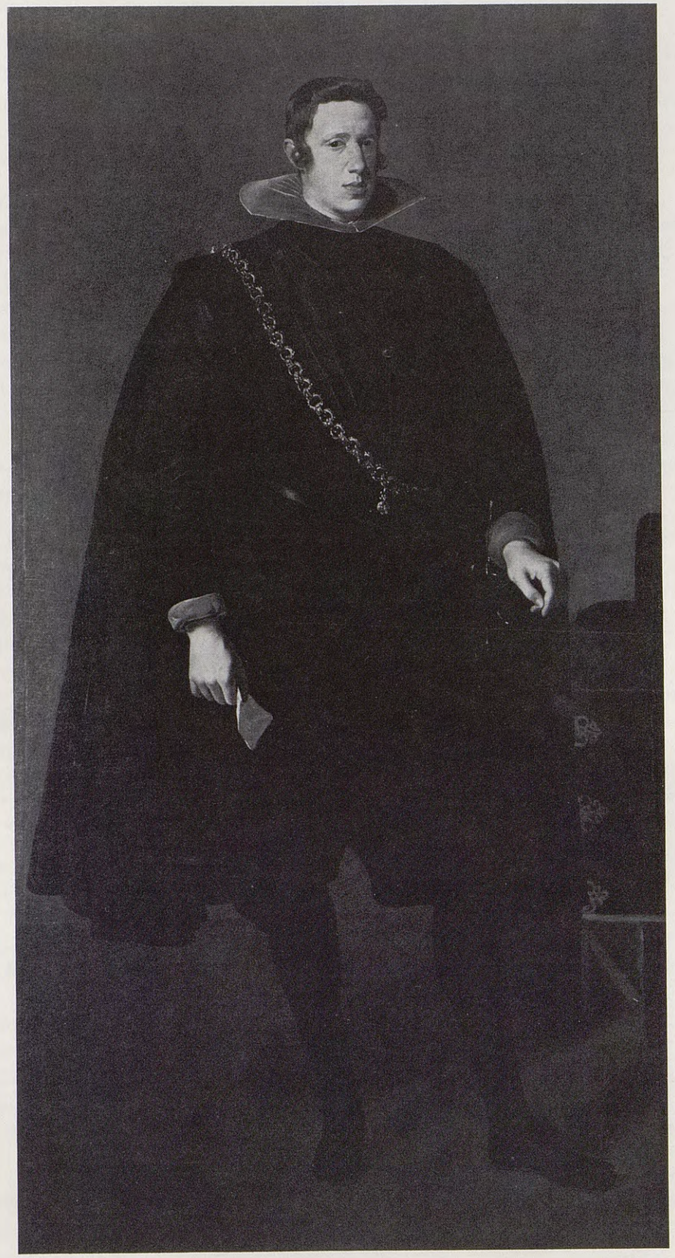
In 1973, the Metropolitan Museum of Art changed the label of this portrait from 'Velázquez' to 'Workshop of Velázquez'. No notice was taken of the restorations evident in the painting. Nor of the fact that Velázquez had painted it for a private individual and had signed a receipt aknowledging payment for it. Instead, it was assumed that the portrait 'had been made as a kind of royal present for some Habsburg'. It was likewise imagined that radiographs showed that the Velázquez' portrait of Philip IV hidden under another which he later painted on the same canvas, now at the Prado (*No. 36*), has 'the same gold chain' as the one under discussion — which is not so (see plate *99*). It was further supposed that the mentioned Prado portrait was repainted by Velázquez when Philip IV 'got the Order of the Golden Fleece', presumably after 1623 or 1624. This supposition ignored, of course, that the Spanish Habsburg Kings were, as such, masters of the Order of the Golden Fleece from the moment they ascended the throne. Moreover, Philip IV received the Golden Fleece when he was still a Prince, and Rodrigo de Villandrando portrayed him wearing it in 1619–20 (plate **16**). See: Carter B. Horsely, 'Metropolitan reattributes 300 paintings', *The New York Times*, 19 January 1973; Carter B. Horsely, 'Who really painted it?', and José López-Rey, 'The reattributed Velázquez: faulty connoisseurship', *ARTnews*, New York, March 1973, pp. 46–9 and 50–2 respectively.

The painting has apparently been cut down about 4 cm. on the right hand side, and strips have been added to top and bottom. It was cleaned in 1911 without removing old repaints. A radiograph made in 1959 shows restorations about the face, the eyes and the background; the left eye and socket have been entirely redone. The repainting of the background has tightened the figure's contour line in various places. *Pentimenti* are noticeable at the edge of the sitter's collar (plate *90*).

Study, pp. 31, 32, 34, 35–6.
Height 1.999 m. Width 1.028 m.
Zaraúz: Doña Antonia de Ipeñarrieta (since 1624).
Zaraúz: Corral Palace (recorded there as the property of Don Juan and Don Cristobal de Corral e Ipeñarrieta in 1668; remained there till the middle of the 19th century).
Madrid: Duques de Villahermosa, descendants of the Corral family (mid–1800's–1906).
Madrid: Duque de Luna (1906).

London: Agnew Gallery; Duveen Bros.
New York: Benjamin Altman (1911–3).
New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art (since 1913), No. 14.40.639.
Plates *90, 91*.
C No. 106 — M No. 199 — L-R 1963 No. 236 — G No. 35.

90. Philip IV, partial radiograph showing damages in the head and in the background, and *pentimenti* at the edge of the collar. Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum.



91 *No. 29*

30. COUNT-DUKE OF OLIVARES

1624.

Don Gaspar de Guzmán, Count of Olivares and Duke of San Lúcar la Mayor, was born at Rome on 6 January 1587, and died on 22 July 1645 at Toro, in Northern Spain. He was chief minister to Philip IV from the latter's ascension to the throne in 1621 till 1643.

In May 1591, when not yet five years old, he was appointed to the Order of Calatrava; the prescribed inquiry regarding his qualifications for admission was completed on 22 April 1592; the date of his investiture is not known. In 1624 he was appointed to the Order of Alcántara; the inquiry for admission in this Order was begun on 9 July and finished on 8 August of that year. Again the date of his investiture as a knight of Alcántara is unknown (I owe the preceding information to Doña Carmen Caamaño Díaz, of the Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid).It would seem that Olivares had been admitted in the Order of Calatrava, possibly after reaching his tenth birthday, and that he had received then the corresponding habit and insignia, but that he had never performed the act of 'profession' for otherwise he could not have received the habit of the Order of Alcántara, according to its regulations (*Difiniciones de la Orden y Cavallería de Alcántara con la historia y origen della*, Madrid, 1662, p. 195). As for his profession in the Order of Alcántara, it had to take place a full year after the knight had received the habit, but many knights put off complying with this regulation in spite of the fines in which they incurred for every year of delay (*ibidem*, pp. 216–7).

This portrait, in which Olivares is seen wearing the red cross of Calatrava, was painted on commission from Doña Antonia de Ipeñarrieta or her family, according to a receipt signed by Velázquez on 4 December 1624, in which he acknowledged payment of 800 *reales* on account of this and two more portraits, for which he had previously received at least another payment of 100 *reales*. The receipt is now in the archives of The Metropolitan Museum, New York City (see *No. 29*). It is likely, though by no means sure, that Velázquez executed this portrait after another of the same sitter. However, no other version of this portrait is known. Its execution could hardly be later than August 1624, when Olivares must have renounced the Order of Calatrava, whose red cross he is seen wearing. The above mentioned payment of 100 *reales* suggests that Velázquez was at work on this portrait before December 1624.

The pigment has 'sunk' in some areas. The painting was cleaned about 1911 and again in 1962, when it was restored, mainly about the sitter's left eye and hand, as well as the background.

When this portrait was first published, the sitter was misidentified as a brother of the Count-Duke of Olivares, and the painting regarded as from the school of Velázquez (José Ramón Mélida, 'Los Velázquez de la Casa de Villahermosa', reprint from *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos*, Madrid, 1905). The error was corrected on the evidence of Velázquez' receipt of 1624 which identifies the Count-Duke of Olivares as the sitter (José Ramón Mélida, 'Un recibo de Velázquez', reprint from *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos*, Madrid, 1906). Beruete (p. 21) stated that this portrait and that of Philip IV which bears *No. 29* in the present catalogue 'come from Velázquez's studio' and 'can only be included among the replicas of the artist'. Later, Beruete explained this statement — which had seemingly been somewhat garbled in the English translation — to mean that 'both pictures are by Velázquez' hand', though the master probably executed them after earlier originals by himself (letter to Mr. Williams, written in French at Toledo, Spain, on 23 October 1911, in the files of the Altman Collection at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York).

Allende-Salazar catalogued it as by Velázquez (pp. 25 and 274), and so did Lafuente (1943, No. 27; 1944, No. 29), and Mayer. Trapier questioned the attribution to Velázquez, arguing that the painting lacks 'the directness and simplicity of handling seen in the portrait of Olivares' at the Hispanic Society of America (p. 102) — a portrait whose poor state of conservation she later came to realize (see *No. 29*).

Study, pp. 31, 32, 35–6.
Height 2.012 m. Width 1.111 m.
Zaraúz: Antonia de Ipeñarrieta (1624).
Zaraúz: Corral Palace, Corral-Ipeñarrieta family (inventory of 1668).
Madrid: Duques de Villahermosa, descendants of the Corral family (mid–1800's–1906).
Madrid: Duque de Luna (1906).
London: Agnew Gallery (1912); Duveen Bros. *(Mayer mistakenly stated that this picture had been in the Altman Collection; the error originated with Allende-Salazar*, p. 25.*)*
London: Lord Cowdray.
London: Sotheby's Sale, 11 June 1947.
São Paolo: Museo de Arte (since 1948).
Plate *92* (and colour plate).
C No. 173 — M No. 316 — L-R 1963 No. 506 — G No. 38.

92 Photograph from Archivo Más, Barcelona. *No. 30*

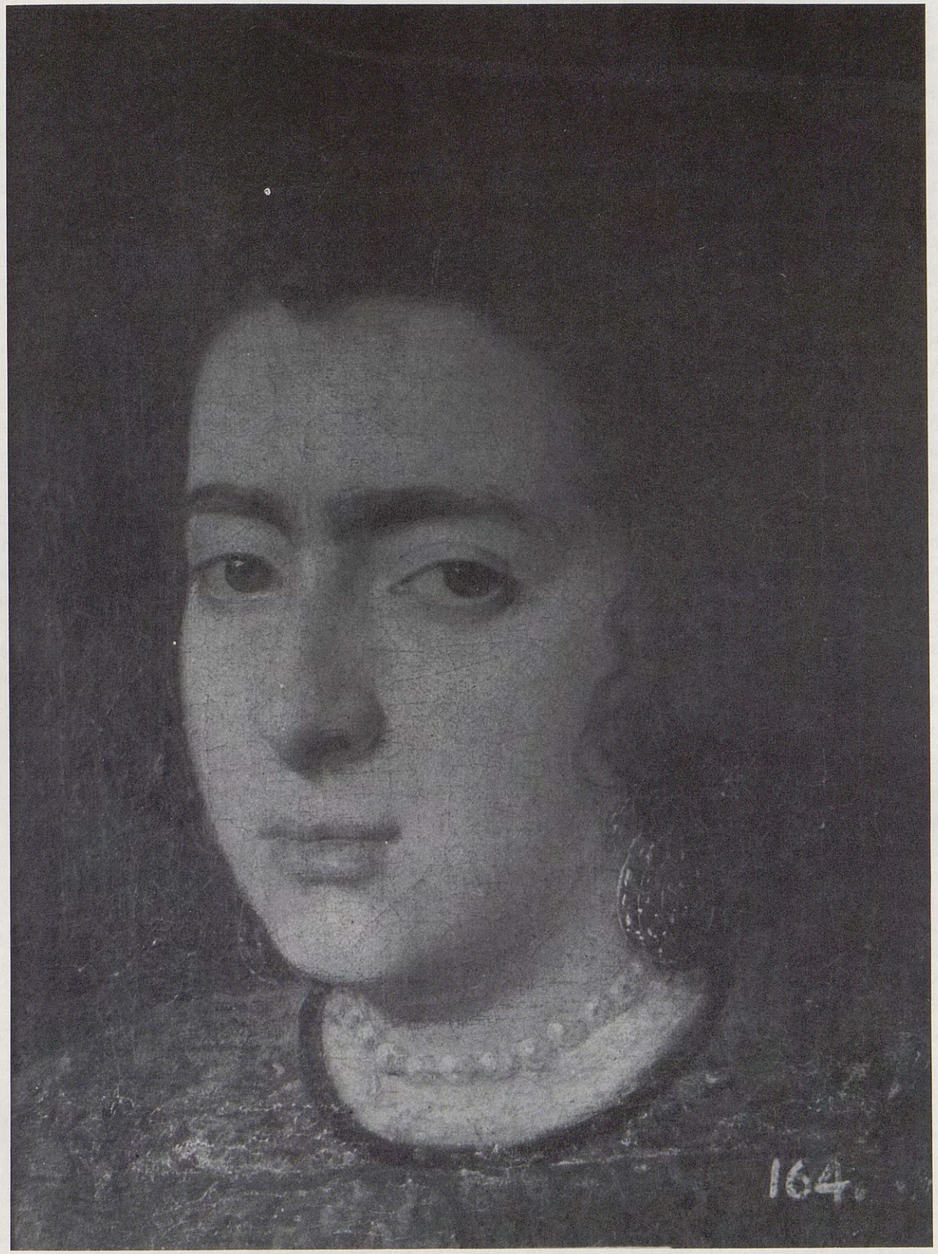
31. HEAD OF A LADY

About 1625.

Obviously, a fragment of a much larger painting. Restored.

Allende-Salazar held that Velázquez painted it about 1638 (p. 95). While the attribution is tenable, though not conclusive, the somewhat linear definition of the features and the way in which the ear-ring has been worked out would suggest an earlier date, about 1625, as Mayer indicated.

Height 0.32 m. Width 0.24 m.
Madrid: Palacio Real.
Plate *93*.
M No. 564 — L-R 1963 No. 592.



93 *No. 31*

32. COUNT-DUKE OF OLIVARES

Mid-1620's.

For the sitter's biographical data, see *No. 30*.

According to Elisabeth du Gué Trapier, who deciphered an inscription at the bottom of the canvas as *Año 1625*, this would be the date of the painting (*Notes Hispanic*, New York, 1944, vol. IV, p. 40). However, as I have pointed out elsewhere, the mentioned inscription — not entirely legible — is rather an old inventory number (*Velázquez' Work and World*, London, 1968, p. 43, note 1). Another inscription at the lower left hand corner, not by Velázquez' hand either, reads: *el Conde Duque*.

Olivares' face appears more squarish than in any other portrait of him by Velázquez. He wears the green cross of the Order of Alcántara, to which he was appointed in 1624.

Beruete referred to the 'bad state of preservation' of this painting but considered it an 'authentic' work by Velázquez (p. 69), as Allende-Salazar later did (pp. 29, 274). Mayer thought that it had been executed by Velázquez with the help of a studio assistant. Lafuente agreed with Beruete and Allende-Salazar (1943, No. 26; 1944, No. 31). Trapier held it to be an original portrait by Velázquez, the 'most amazing portion' of which 'is the powerful head' (pp. 85, 97, 102 and 105).

All the above quoted opinions were expressed before 1958, when the painting was cleaned and its unsatisfactory state of preservation was confirmed. As Elisabeth du Gué Trapier then acknowledged, the cleaning revealed that parts of the sitter's head were 'skinned' and showed 'the dark red priming at the side of the nose and in a few parts of the forehead'; it also disclosed the 'same type and amount of damage' in the 'remainder of the head' ('The cleaning of Velázquez's Count-Duke of Olivares', *Varia velazqueña*, Madrid, 1960, vol. I pp. 320–2). Yet the setting of the figure in aerial perspective, the fluid modelling of the sitter's bust, and what remained of the original warm flesh tones still made the attribution to Velázquez acceptable (L-R 1963, No. 507). The 1958 cleaning was followed by a restoration of the painting. With the passing of time the restorer's work has begun to tell. The condition of the painting and the lack of documentary data bearing on its commission, execution or early provenance make its attribution to Velázquez less than conclusive.[1]

Height 2.16 m. Width 1.295 m.
Madrid: Altamira Collection (?).
London: Colonel Hugh Baillie (since at least 1824 till 1858).
Lancashire: Charles Scarisbrick (till 1861).
London: Dorchester House, Captain R.S. Holford; Sir G.L. Holford.
London: Duveen Bros.
New York: Mrs. Collis P. Huntington (1909).
New York: The Hispanic Society of America (since 1910), No. A 104.
Plate *94*.
C No. 171 — M No. 318 — L-R 1963 No. 507 — G No. 41.

[1] Another version of this portrait (2.09 × 1.11 m.), acquired about 1835 from an unknown source for King Louis-Philippe, and now in a Madrid private collection, has sometimes been attributed to either Velázquez or his workshop. It rather appears to be an indifferent old copy, with some variations, of the portrait of Olivares at the Hispanic Society of America (L-R 1963, No. 508). It was sold at Sotheby's on 30 June 1965 for £50,000 (then about $140,000). It has since been cleaned and its attribution to Velázquez has become more unconvincing than ever as it was noted at the time of the exhibition *The Golden Age of Spanish Painting*, held at the London Royal Academy of Arts in 1976, in which it was included under No. 47. See, for instance, Enriqueta Harris, *The Burlington Magazine*, February 1976, p. 115. Gudiol believes that both this portrait of Olivares and the one at the Hispanic Society of America are Velázquez' 'autograph replicas of a lost version' (*Velázquez*, Barcelona, 1973, pp. 83–4 and 327, Nos. 41 and 42, with black-and-white and colour reproductions, on plates 60 and 62, of only the painting at Madrid).

94 *No. 32*

33. HEAD OF A STAG

1626–7.

Cut down, notably at the top and on the sides. Restorations are noticeable to the naked eye here and there, particularly in the background. It is somewhat darkened.

The inventory of the Madrid Alcázar dated 17 March 1637 includes 'another canvas, in oils, of a stag antlers, which was painted by Diego Velázquez, with a label which says: 'Killed by the King, our lord Philip IV in the year 1626' *('Otro lienço al olio de una Qüerna de Benado que la pintó Diego Belazquez con un retulo que dice le mato el Rey nuestro Señor Phelipe quarto el año de 1626')*.

The 1686 inventory of the same royal palace listed among the paintings in the '*Pasadizo de la Encarnación*': 'A painting representing a stag's head and antlers, original by Velázquez' hand, 1 *vara* and a quarter square, unframed' *('Una pintura con una caueza y hastas de Benado original de mano de Diego Velázquez de vara y quarta en cuadro sin marco')*. The metrical equivalent of the recorded size is approximately 1.04 m. square.

The 1700 inventory of the Alcázar repeated, under No. 709, the same entry word for word, adding that the painting had not been appraised because of its damaged condition *('maltratada')*. Indeed, the paintings inventoried at the '*Pasadizo de la Encarnación*' in both 1686 and 1700 were regarded as of little or no value on account of either their damaged condition or their intrinsic worthlessness, or both. Out of a total of 127 paintings, only 28 were appraised in 1700, most of them at just one doubloon or two; none at more than five.

The 1735 inventory of the paintings salvaged from the fire that gutted the Alcázar on Christmas Eve of the preceding year listed under No. 664: 'Another picture, 1 *vara* and a half wide and 1 *vara* and one third high, of a stag's head by Diego Velázquez' *('664. — Otro de vara y mª de ancho y vara y terzª de alto una caveza de un Benao de Diego Velázquez')*.[1] The metrical equivalent of the recorded size is approximately 1.12 m. in height and 1.25 m. in width.

In 1747, after the death of Philip V (1683–1746), another inventory of the paintings rescued from the 1734 fire was compiled, distinguishing those which were in the royal collection in 1700, when he became King of Spain from those which he acquired later. A new consecutive numeration was adopted for all entries, but each number was preceded by the word '*antiguo*' (old) or '*moderno*' (modern) to denote whether the painting had entered the royal collection before or during Philip V's reign. 'Old' number 854 corresponded to a painting, with no artist's name, representing 'two antlers of a stag', 1 *vara* and a half square (approximately 1.25 m^2); it was included among 51 paintings which were rolled up *('arrolladas')*, and the value placed on it was only 100 *reales*, the lowest estimate in the inventory.[2]

It is plain that the 1686 and 1700 inventories refer to the same *Head of a stag* by Velázquez and that this painting was seriously damaged by 1700. Since no other painting of the same subject by Velázquez' hand had at any other date been inventoried at the Madrid Alcázar, it must also be the one rescued from the 1734 fire, in spite of the differences in the recorded sizes.

If the *Two antlers of a stag* inventoried in 1747 with no painter's name was a different work, it must be assumed that Velázquez' *Head of a stag* had been mislaid after 1735 and that it eventually disappeared from the Spanish royal collections. If the 1747 inventory entry corresponded to Velázquez' work, that would have been its last mention in the Madrid royal inventories.[3] Thus, the cut-down painting we are concerned with might be the one which in the 17th-century was at the Madrid Alcázar.

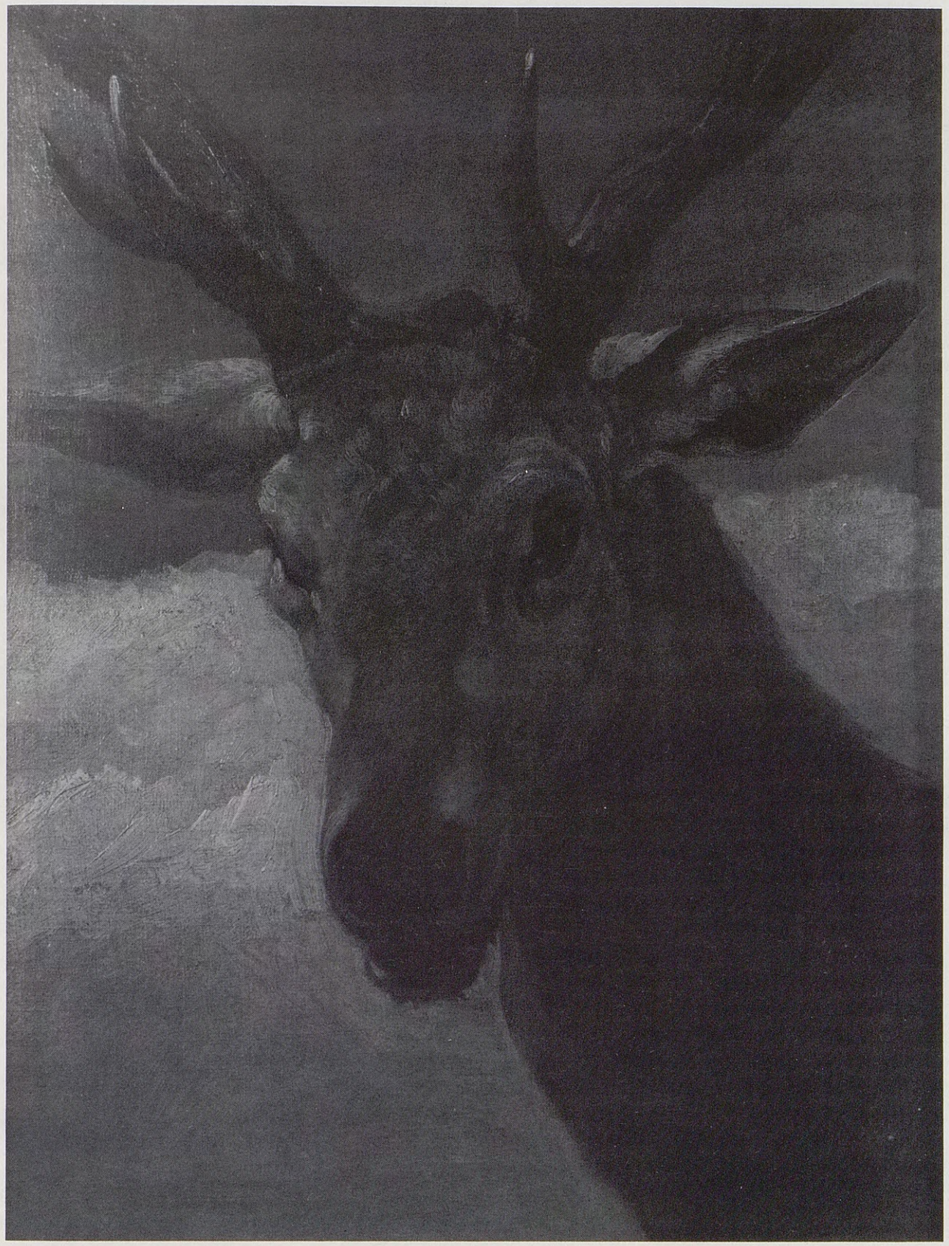
Study, p. 42.
Height 0.66 m. Width 0.52 m.
Madrid: Marqués de Casa-Torres (1910's–1954); his heirs.

Plate *95*.
M No. 147 — L-R 1963 No. 150 — G No. 54.

[1] Another copy of the 1735 inventory, also at the Archives of the Madrid Royal Palace, used the somewhat more correct spelling *Benado* instead of *Benao*.

[2] Two inventories of the paintings rescued from the 1734 fire were compiled in 1747, both with the same numeration, though only one of them distinguishes the paintings inherited in 1700 by Philip V from those later acquired by him. In both inventories the painting of 'two antlers of a stag' was described in exactly the same terms, as one of the same size, with the same valuation and as rolled up.

[3] In the royal palace of Riofrío, near Segovia, Spain, there is a painting, *Trophies of the chase*, representing an owl with widespread wings and the heads of a stag, a boar, a bear, a wolf and a fox (height 1.465 m; width, 1.25 m). This curious painting was described as including an eagle rather than an owl in 1845, before Isabel II of Spain bought it, together with other lesser paintings, from the Marquis of Salamanca for the unpretentious royal palace at Riofrío, where in 1886 it was inventoried, under No. 563, as by an 'anonymous' painter; its size was then recorded as 1.35 m. high and 1.64 m. wide.
Diego Angulo Iñiguez has suggested that the major part of this painting, which has strips added at the top and both sides, is Velázquez' *Head of a stag*, salvaged from the 1734 fire; this major part is 1.07 m. high by 1.25 m. wide ('La cuerna de venado, cuadro de Velázquez', *Reales Sitios*, Madrid, vol. 4, 1967, No. 12, pp. 13–25). Close examination shows that the owl has been added after the stag's antlers were painted, but there is no striking qualitative difference in the execution of the various animal heads. That of the stag is awkward; the antlers are studiedly highlighted at every turn and point, and they are overemphasized by the shadows that they cast on the background. Indeed, to my mind, the execution of this painting recalls neither Velázquez' hand nor his time. (*Velázquez...*, 1968, p. 51, note 1.)



95 *No. 33*

34. PORTRAIT OF MAN

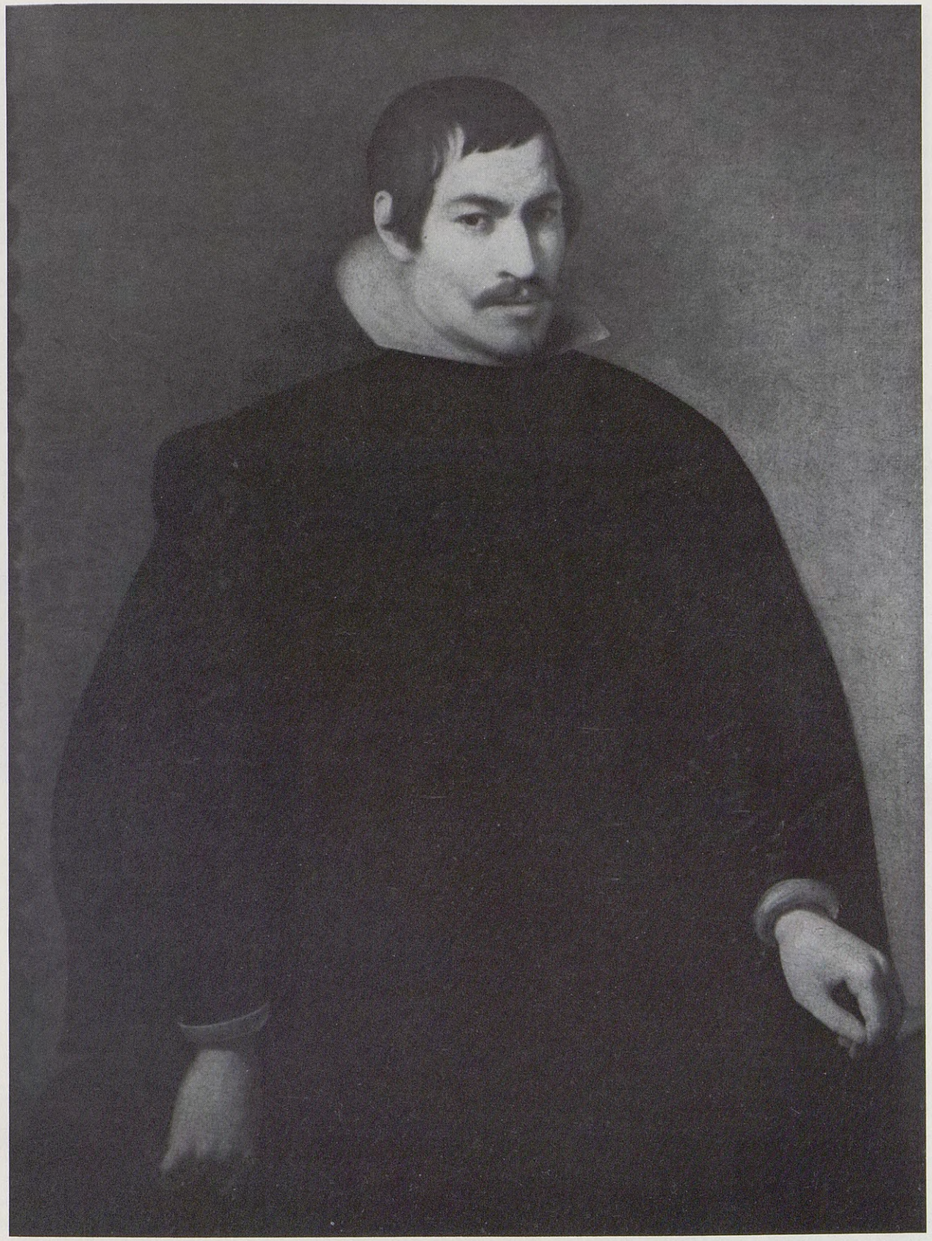
1626–8(?).

Rubbed and restored. Seems to have been cut down from full- to three-quarter length — which overemphasizes the sitter's girth.

Allende-Salazar (pp. 35, 36, 275) published it as 'a very characteristic work' painted by Velázquez in 1627–8. Herman Voss indicated the possibility that it may be a work by the Italian painter Carlo Ceressa (1609–79); he did not, however, support his suggestion by argument (*Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, 1932, pp. 38–56). Mayer found Voss's opinion groundless and, agreeing with Allende-Salazar, held this portrait to have been painted by Velázquez, not before 1627–28, possibly in 1630 during the early part of his first Italian journey. Lafuente, who did not mention the picture in 1943, regarded it the following year as one that should not be excluded from the catalogue of Velázquez *œuvre*, and listed it, under No. 39, as painted about 1629. F.J. Sánchez Cantón believed that it is a work by Velázquez (*Archivo Español de Arte*, 1944, p. 136).

The hands of the sitter, well modelled, recall the portrait of the Infante Don Carlos, of about 1628 (*No. 37*). Cleaning or X-ray examination of the painting may help to arrive at a firmer conclusion concerning its attribution to Velázquez.

Height 1.04 m. Width 0.79 m.
Milan: Art market.
Florence: Conte A. Contini-Bonacossi; his heirs.
New York: Art market.
Plate *96*.
M No. 393 — L-R 1963 No. 557 — G No. 49.



96 *No. 34*

35. CHRIST AFTER THE FLAGELLATION CONTEMPLATED BY THE CHRISTIAN SOUL

1626–8.

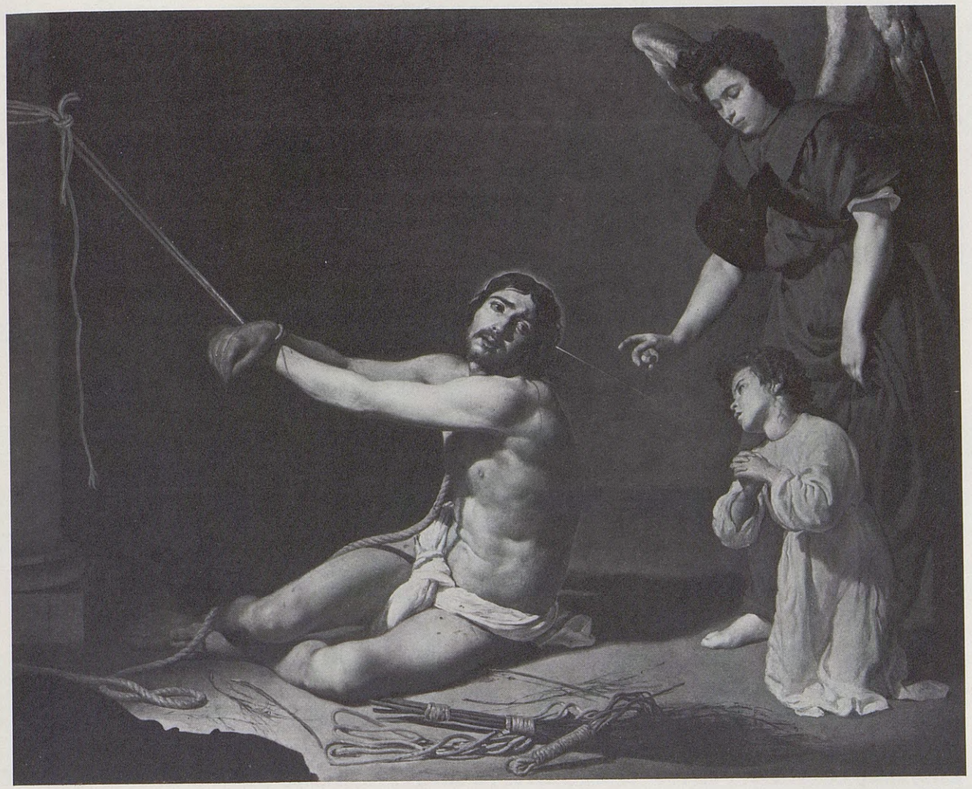
The background has suffered from wearing as well as from paint losses at many spots. The figures of Christ and the angel have been likewise damaged though not to any great extent. Cleaned and restored in 1962.

A charcoal drawing on yellowish paper, supposed to be a study for the figure of the angel, was lost in 1936 as a result of the bombing which in the course of the Spanish Civil War destroyed the building of the Instituto Jovellanos at Gijón, where it had been since 1812 (plate *97*). See L-R 1963, No. 631.

The drawing (21 cm. × 11 cm.) was inscribed in ink: *Velázquez*; the figure of the angel differed noticeably from that in the painting. José Moreno Villa, who studied the drawing directly, wrote that it was the only one at the Instituto Jovellanos whose attribution to Velázquez could reasonably be accepted (*Dibujos del Instituto de Gijón*, Madrid, 1926, p. 44).

Study, pp. 44, 49.
Height 1.65 m. Width 2.06 m.
Madrid: Bought in 1858 by the British diplomat John Savile Lumley (later Baron Savile), who presented it to the National Gallery in 1883.
London: National Gallery (since 1883), No. 1148.
Plates *97*, *98*.
C No. 10 — M No. 12 — L-R 1963 No. 12 — G No. 56.

97. Supposed study for the angel in *Christ and the Christian soul*, charcoal drawing on paper; it was destroyed by war at the Instituto Jovellanos, Gijón, in 1936.



98 *No. 35*

36 PHILIP IV

First painted in 1623. Redone about 1628.

Cut down on the right side. Superficially cleaned in 1974.

It has always been noticeable to the naked eye that the figure of the King originally painted by Velázquez on this canvas had undergone substantial changes, which were regarded as *pentimenti*. Radiographs made in 1960 revealed that actually there are two likenesses of the King on this canvas, the earlier one lying under the other (plate *99*), and that they differ in nearly every essential point.

The earlier image must be the portrait of Philip IV which, according to Pacheco, Velázquez completed on 30 August 1623 (vol. I, p. 156). As the radiographs show, the sitter was depicted with a somewhat flabby face, roundish at the chin, and a very short neck; as for his pose, it was almost identical with that in the portrait painted by Velázquez, though not from life, by December 1624 (*No. 29*).

Velázquez himself painted out that first portrait of the King, which as the radiographs show had been somewhat damaged. In the likeness that he substituted, Philip IV's face is not at all flabby, his chin is pointed rather than roundish, and his neck not short but elongated. No significant change is noticeable in either the hairline or the forehead, but the sideburns have been altered; the somewhat bulbous tip of the nose has remained unchanged. The flat stiff white collar has been widened a bit, not as much as in the portraits of 1623 or 1624 (*Nos. 28* and *29*). This type of collar, first used in January 1623, underwent variations, some of which Velázquez reflected in his portraits, at will, according to his artistic intent.

Velázquez modified markedly the pose of the King, particularly the position of hands and feet; the costume also underwent notable changes, including the cape which is gathered more closely in the redone portrait.

The fluid brushwork and subtle intermingling of light and shade suggest that Velázquez reworked the early portrait into the new one about 1628.

It was described as follows in the 1701 inventory of the Buen Retiro Palace, where it was paired with the portrait of Queen Isabel (*No. 53* below): 'Another picture, 2½ *varas* high and 1⅓ wide, Portrait of our Lord, Philip IV, young, by the hand of Velázquez in his first manner, not appraised since the sitter is a royal person' *('Otra de dos varas y media de alto y vara y tercia de ancho Retrato del Señor Don Phelipe Quarto mozo de la primera manera de mano de Velázquez con marco negro no se tasó por ser persona real')*. This description was repeated in the same terms, under No. 670, in the 1716 inventory of the same palace, where it still was paired with the mentioned full-length portrait of Queen Isabel. The metrical equivalent of the reported size is approximately 2.09 × 1.12 m.

In the inventory of the Buen Retiro Palace, begun on 19 July 1789 and left unfinished, for which a new numeration was adopted, the portrait was described, under No. 188, as by Velázquez 'in his second manner' *('188. — Otra Retrato del Señor Felipe 4º de la segunda manera. Autor Velazquez. De dos varas y media de alto, y vara y tercia de ancho')*.

There can be no clear-cut definition of what Velázquez' 'first' or 'second' manner generally meant at the time. It may be helpful though to recall that Anthony Raphael Mengs, whose views on art carried great weight in Spain from the 1760's to the close of the century, distinguished three styles in Velázquez' painting. The first was exemplified by *The waterseller* (*No. 16*); the second was represented by *Bacchus* and, more fully, by *The forge of Vulcan* (*Nos. 41* and *44*), and *The fable of Arachne* (*No. 107*) illustrated the master's third and final style. Meng's views on Velázquez' styles were embodied in a letter addressed to Don Antonio Ponz, who published it in vol. VI of his *Viaje de España* in 1776 (p. 574 of the 1947 edition); the letter was also included in *The Works of Anthony Raphael Mengs* (translated from the Italian), London, 1796, vol. II, p. 83.

Mariano Salvador Maella (1739–1819), a former protegee of Mengs, under whose supervision he had carried out important projects, was in charge of drawing up the July 1789 inventory; he might have thought, in the light of Meng's ideas, that the portrait of Philip IV came closer to *The forge of Vulcan* than to *The waterseller*, and that it should consequently be ascribed to Velázquez' second manner.

It might also be that by 1789 the image of Philip IV which Velázquez had painted on this canvas in 1623 — and which about five years later he painted out — was already showing through, and that this led to the conclusion that the one fully visible image, with which the inventory was concerned, corresponded to a later Velázquez' manner, that is, his second.

A new inventory was drawn up by the keeper of the Buen Retiro Palace, Don Pedro Gil de Bernabé, who completed it on 7 September 1789. Velázquez' *Philip IV* was described again under No. 188 and in the terms used by Maella. A later marginal note explained that the portrait had been taken to the Office of the Secretary of State at the Madrid Royal Palace by order of 3 April 1791.

In the 1794 inventory of the Buen Retiro all paintings were appraised, including those which were at the Office of the Secretary of State in the Madrid Royal Palace since 1791. Such was the case with No. 188, the portrait of Philip IV, and with No. 184, a portrait of the *Mayor of Zalamea*, now lost or unidentified, described also as by Velázquez (see L-R 1963, No. 432)[1]. The entry concerning the King's portrait read: '188. — Another picture by the same [Velázquez] in his second manner, portrait of our Lord Philip IV, 2½ *varas* high and 1⅓ wide, in a guilded frame. 2,000 *reales*' *('188. — Otra del mismo de la segunda manera Retrato del Señor Felipe IV de dos baras y media de alto y vara y tercia de ancho con marco dorado. 2000')*.

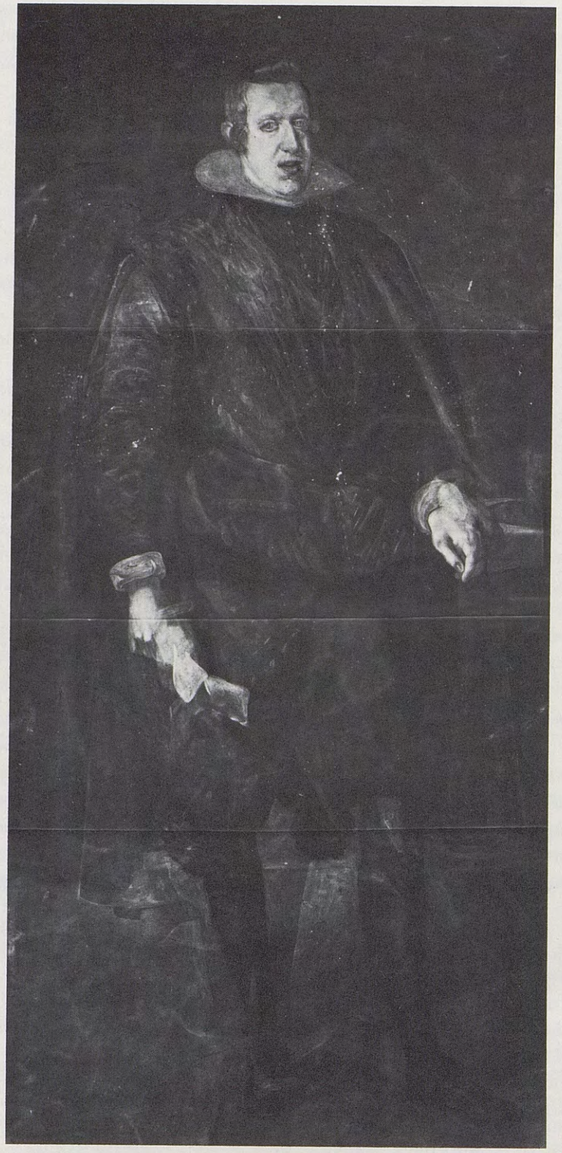
In 1814 the portrait of the so-called *Mayor of Zalamea* and that of Philip IV were inventoried together in a double entry as in the Office of the Secretary of State at the Madrid Royal Palace; the corresponding numbers though were applied the wrong way around: '184, 188. — Two pictures, 2½ high and 1¼ *varas* wide, the first is a portrait of Philip IV with a paper in his hand, wearing black and a flat stiff white collar, leaning on a table, and the second representing a man wearing black, with a short cloak, holding his hat in one hand and a memorandum in the other. By Velázquez' *('184, 188. — Dos de dos varas y media de alto por vara y quarto de ancho, el 1º Retrato de Felipe 4º con un papel en la mano vestido de negro y golilla apoyado en una mesa y el 2º un hombre vestido de negro con esclavina y sombrero en la mano y un memorial en la otra. Belazquez')*.

The metrical equivalent of the reported size is approximately 2.09 × 1.04 m. The width was less than in the earlier inventories but closer to the painting's present size.

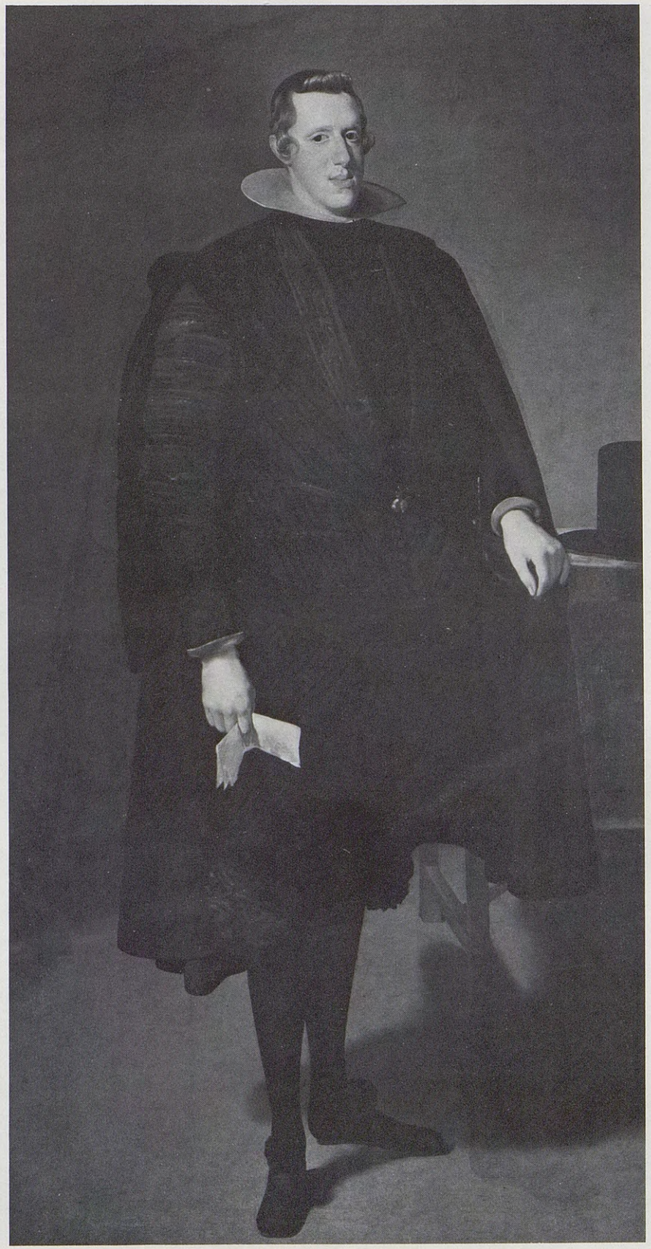
The description of the portrait of Philip IV clearly corresponds to the painting we are concerned with, even though it says that the King is leaning on the table, owing to the same visual error that has more recently led some writers to believe that the King's left hand is resting on the table rather than on the sword hilt. On 19 August 1816 the portraits of Philip IV and of the *Mayor of Zalamea* were sent from the Madrid Royal Palace to the Real Academia de San Fernando, from where that of the King went to the Prado in 1827.

Study, pp. 30, 31, 34, 36, 44–5, 58, 64, 66.
Height 1.98 m. Width 1.02 m.
Madrid: Palacio Real del Buen Retiro (inventories of 1701, 1716, July 1789, September 1789, and 1794).
Madrid: Palacio Real (on loan from the Buen Retiro Palace (1791–1816).
Madrid: Real Academia de San Fernando (1816–27).
Madrid: Prado (since 1827), No. 1182.
Plates *99, 100.*
C No. 105 — M No. 205 — L-R 1963 No. 241 — G No. 39.

[1] This painting is known from an etching made by Goya in 1778, sometimes referred to as the portrait of either *Ochoa* or *El Alcalde Ronquillo*. Also extant is a painting, slightly though significantly different in composition, sometimes held to be the portrait after which Goya executed his etching, though surely it is not by Velázquez. It belongs to Fabiola, Queen of the Belgians (L-R 1963 No. 432).



99. Philip IV, radiograph showing the portrait of the King originally painted by Velázquez on this canvas and which he later repainted introducing substantial changes.



100 *No. 36*

37. THE INFANTE DON CARLOS

1628.

The Infante Don Carlos, son of Philip III and Margarita of Austria, was born on 15 September 1607 at Madrid; he died on 30 July 1632.

Strips, roughly 5 cm. wide, have been added on either side of the original canvas.

In point of composition, particularly in what regards the unencumbered depiction of space, it seems to go beyond the portrait of Philip IV redone by Velázquez about 1628 (*No. 36* preceding).

Jesús Hernández Perera has suggested that the gold chain that the Infante is seen wearing might be one presented to him by his sister, the Infanta María, on his twenty-first birthday (*Archivo Español de Arte*, 1960, p. 255).

The painting still bears the No. 352 painted in red in the lower right corner. It corresponds to an entry included in each of the two inventories of paintings rescued from the Alcázar's fire of 1734 compiled in 1747. In both inventories, however, the sitter was misidentified: in one, as Philip IV, and in the other as Philip V (1683–1746). Both inventories described the painting as Velázquez' original, and gave its size as 2⅓ *varas* high and 1½ *varas* wide (about 1.95 × 1.25 m.). It was appraised at 1,500 *reales*.

The 1772 inventory of the new Madrid Royal Palace repeated, again under No. 352, the misidentification of the sitter, 'Philip IV, young', and described the portrait as by Velázquez and as of the same size as before. The same was the case with the inventories of the said palace compiled in 1794 and 1814. The catalogues of the Madrid Royal Academy of Fine Arts of 1817, 1821 and 1824 repeated the same misidentification, and so did the Prado catalogues published before 1872. Thoré, writing under the pen-name W. Bürger, established the true identity of the sitter in his catalogue of Velázquez' works appended to the French translation of William Stirling's *Velázquez* (Paris, 1865, p. 252, No. 12). An engraving executed by Elias Wideman about the middle of the 17th century proves the correctness of Thoré's identification, which no one has questioned.

Study, pp. 36, 44–5, 56, 58, 81, 107.

Height 2.09 m. Width 1.26 m.
Madrid: Alcázar (till 1734, when it was rescued from the fire that destroyed the building).
Madrid: in storage with the painting rescued from the 1734 fire (inventories of 1747).
Madrid: New Palacio Real (inventories of 1772, 1794 and 1814).
Madrid: Real Academia de San Fernando (1816–27).
Madrid: Prado (since 1827), No. 1188.
Plate *101*.
C No. 144 — M No. 294 — L-R 1963 No. 326 — G No. 44.

101 *No. 37*

38. PHILIP IV

About 1628.

Fragment of a portrait; the canvas was backed in 1923.

Allende-Salazar (pp. 38, 275) held it to be part of the portrait of Philip IV in armour, possibly equestrian, that Velázquez was working on in September 1628. Mayer argued that it was rather unlikely that Velázquez would have represented the King bareheaded in an equestrian portrait; he held that the head could not be 'later than 1626', though the ear was 'repainted later by the Master'. As for the rest of the figure, Mayer believed that the 'liquid brushwork of the armour and the sash cannot possibly be earlier than 1632'.

A radiograph made in 1960 shows that the head of the King originally painted by Velázquez on this canvas was partly scratched off, whether on purpose or by accident, and that it was notably different from the one that Velázquez himself painted over it (plate *102*). The round chin, short neck and curls of hair, as well as the collar, shown in the radiograph recall the portraits of Philip IV painted by Velázquez in 1634–4 (*Nos. 28* and *29*, plates *89* and *91*). That portrait of the King, of which this canvas is a fragment, must have been painted no later than 1625. Velázquez re-made the likeness of the King, particularly the lower half of the face, some years later, probably about 1628, when for whatever reason the painting was cut to its present size. At that time, he also painted the red scarf across the piece of armour.

According to the current Prado catalogue (1972), this portrait was at the Quinta del Duque del Arco, a royal property near Madrid, in 1794. The one entry in the corresponding inventory concerning a portrait of Philip IV somewhat similar in size to the one under discussion reads: '121. — Another picture, ¾ of a *vara* high and ⅔ wide, with a portrait of Philip IV; copy after Velázquez. Valued at 200 *reales*.' ('121. — Otro de tres quartas de alto y dos tercias de ancho, con un Retrato del Señor Felipe IV: copia de Velazquez. 200'). The metrical equivalent of the reported size is approximately 0.63 × 0.56 m.

Study, p. 34.
Height 0.57 m. Width 0.44 m.
El Pardo: Quinta del Duque del Arco (?).
Madrid: Prado, No. 1183.
Plates *102*, *103*.
C No. 122 — M No. 203 — L-R 1963 No. 239 — G No. 43.

102. Philip IV, radiograph showing Velázquez' earlier likeness of the King, partly scratched, and damaged background.

103 *No. 38*

39. THE BUFFOON CALABAZAS HOLDING A MINIATURE PORTRAIT AND A PINWHEEL

About 1628–9.

According to Moreno Villa (pp. 85–7), the services of Juan de Calabazas, or *Calabacillas*, at the Madrid Royal Alcázar are documented from 1630 till his death in October 1639; he was first in the service of the Cardinal-Infante Don Fernando and, from 1632 on, in that of the King.

The portrait has been variously dated — to 1627 by Mayer; to 1631 by Beruete (1909, pp. 64 and 91). I find it difficult to agree that Velázquez painted it in 1631 after his return from Italy. Indeed, in March of that year he painted the portrait of *Prince Baltasar Carlos with a dwarf* (*No. 51*), whose execution, including the figure of the dwarf, differs markedly from the Calabazas portrait. I rather think that this painting was painted at approximately the same time as *Bacchus* (*No. 41*), that is, about 1628–9. The nervous, somewhat tight modelling of the jester's face, highlighted on the nose and mouth, notably at the corners of the lips, recalls the god's visage. Though the earliest known documentary reference to Calabazas as a Court retainer is of 1630, he might have occasionally performed as a jester at the Court before being admitted into regular service.

The sitter's right eye was repainted by Mariano Salvador Maella (1739–1819) early in the 19th century, apparently to make more pleasing the likeness of the squint-eyed jester. The repaint was removed in 1965, when the painting was cleaned and minor damages, mainly in the background and the sitter's right hand, were restored.

Inventoried in 1701 at the Buen Retiro Palace: 'Another portrait of the same size and qualities, representing *Calabacillas* with a portrait in one hand and a letter in the other, valued at 20 doubloons' *('Otro del mismo tamaño y calidades de Calabacillas con un Retrato en la mano y un villete en la otra tasado en veinte doblones')*. The portrait referred to is that of the buffoon *Don Juan de Austria*, described in the preceding entry (folio 549); its size was 2½ *varas* high and 1⅓ *varas* wide (about 2.09×1.12 m). The 'qualities' refer to the author, Velázquez, and to the frame, black. The valuation was four fifths of the portrait of *Don Juan de Austria* (*No. 65*).

The 1701 inventory entry was repeated almost exactly, under No. 614, with no valuation, in the 1716 inventory of the same palace. On 19 July 1789 another inventory of the Buen Retiro was begun with a new numeration; it was though left unfinished when less than half of the 1387 pictures of the palace had been recorded. Included under No. 178 was a painting whose description did not correspond to any previously recorded in the Spanish royal collections or elsewhere: 'Another picture, portrait of the buffoon Velazquillo, 2 *varas* and half high and 1 *vara* and one third wide' *('178. — Otra Retrato de Velazquillo el Bufon. Con dos varas y media de alto, y vara y tercia de ancho')*. Soon after the compilation of this inventory was interrupted, the Keeper of the Buen Retiro, Don Pedro Gil de Bernabé, took it upon himself to draw up a thorough inventory, which he completed on 7 September 1789. The numeration of the incomplete inventory was retained; however, the new entries were checked not only against this inventory but also against those of either 1701 or 1716, or both. Still more important, the new entries were checked against the paintings themselves. As a result, entry 178 read: 'Another painting by Velázquez; Portrait of Velasquillo, the buffoon, which the old inventory says is of *Calabacillas*, holding a portrait and a pinwheel in his hands, 2 *varas* and a half high, and 1 *vara* and one third wide, in a gilted frame'. *('178. — Otra de Velázquez, Retrato de Velasquillo el Bufon, y el inventario antiguo dice ser de Calavacillas, con un Retrato en la mano y un reguilete, de dos caras y media de alto, y vara y tercia de ancho con marco dorado.')*

Apparently, the amanuensis to whom the 1701 inventory was dictated inadvertently substituted *villete* for its like-sounding *reguilete*, that is, letter for pinwheel. It is also obvious that in July 1789 a confusion concerning

the names of the portrait's painter and sitter led to applying the diminutive name Velasquillo to the latter and to the omission of the painter's name. Luckily, a few months later, Don Pedro Gil de Bernabé corrected the old and inaccurate description of the portrait, spelled out anew its painter's name, and called attention to the confusion concerning the identity of the sitter.

The 1794 inventory of the Buen Retiro shortened the text of many entries, including No. 178 which was made to read: 'Another painting by Velázquez: Portrait of Velasquillo, the buffoon, 2 *varas* and a half in height and 1 *vara* and one third in width, in a gilted frame. 2,000 *reales*' *('178. — Otra de Velázquez: Retrato de Velasquillo el bufon, de dos varas y media de alto y bara y tercia de ancho, con marco dorado. 3000')*.

The 1794 inventory of the Buen Retiro Palace included paintings which were no longer there. In view of this, Don Pedro Gil de Bernabé recorded by number all the paintings which were actually at the Palace on 5 May 1794. From this list, which was duly certified, we know that No. 178, Velázquez' portrait of *Calabazas holding a miniature portrait and a pinwheel*, was still there. In a memorandum, signed by the same Don Pedro on 24 May 1803, Velázquez' portrait of *Calabazas holding a miniature portrait and a pinwheel* is listed together with 17 other paintings whose restoration had been entrusted to Maella at an unspecified date. The portrait is documented as being back at the Buen Retiro Palace on 5 July 1808, when Napoleon's army had established their headquarters there. It was obviously looted by some member of the French army during the ensuing war years. In 1866, it was shown as the property of the Duke of Persigny (1808–72) at the *Exposition rétrospective* in Paris.

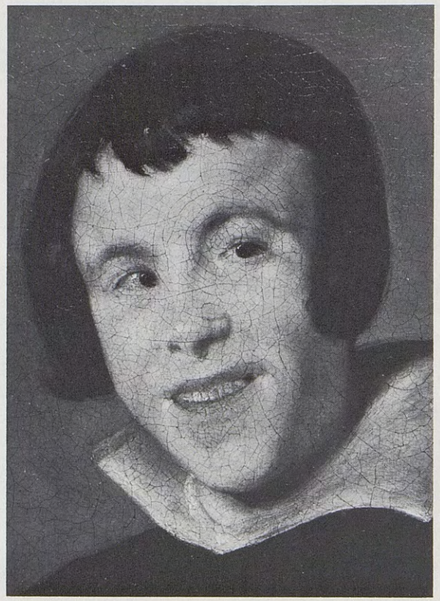
In 1967 I brought to light for the first time the royal inventory entries and related documents of the years 1789–1814 which refer to this portrait. I was thus able to clarify the errors which had resulted from the 18th-century amanuensis' unwitting substitution of the word *villete* for *reguilete*. For a full discussion of the matter, see José López-Rey, 'Velázquez's *Calabazas with a portrait and a pinwheel*', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, October 1967, pp. 219–26.

Study, pp. 55, 84, 85.

Height 1.755 m. Width 1.067 m.
Madrid: Palacio Real del Buen Retiro (inventories of 1701, 1716, 19 July 1789, 7 September 1789, 1794, and 1808; lists of 5 May 1794, 24 May 1803, and 5 July 1808).
Paris: Duke of Persigny (by 1866; sale 4 April 1872).
Paris: Maurice Cottier (1872 till at least 1888).
London: George Donaldson (1906).
Richmond: Sir Herbert Cook, Bart (since the 1910's).
Le Coin, La Haute, Jersey Island: Sir Francis Cook (by 1956); sale, London, Christie's, 19 March 1965, lot 104, to Agnew's for Gns. 170,000 (approximately, $499,800).
Cleveland: The Cleveland Museum of Art (since 1965, Leonard Hanna Jr. bequest), No. 65–15.
Plates *104, 105, 106, 107*.
C No. 75 — M No. 445 — L-R 1963 No. 423 — G No. 95.

104

105



106

Details of the portrait of *The buffoon Calabazas* before, during and after the 1965 cleaning and restoration. Courtesy of the Cleveland Museum of Art.

107

No. 39

40. DEMOCRITUS

1628–9.

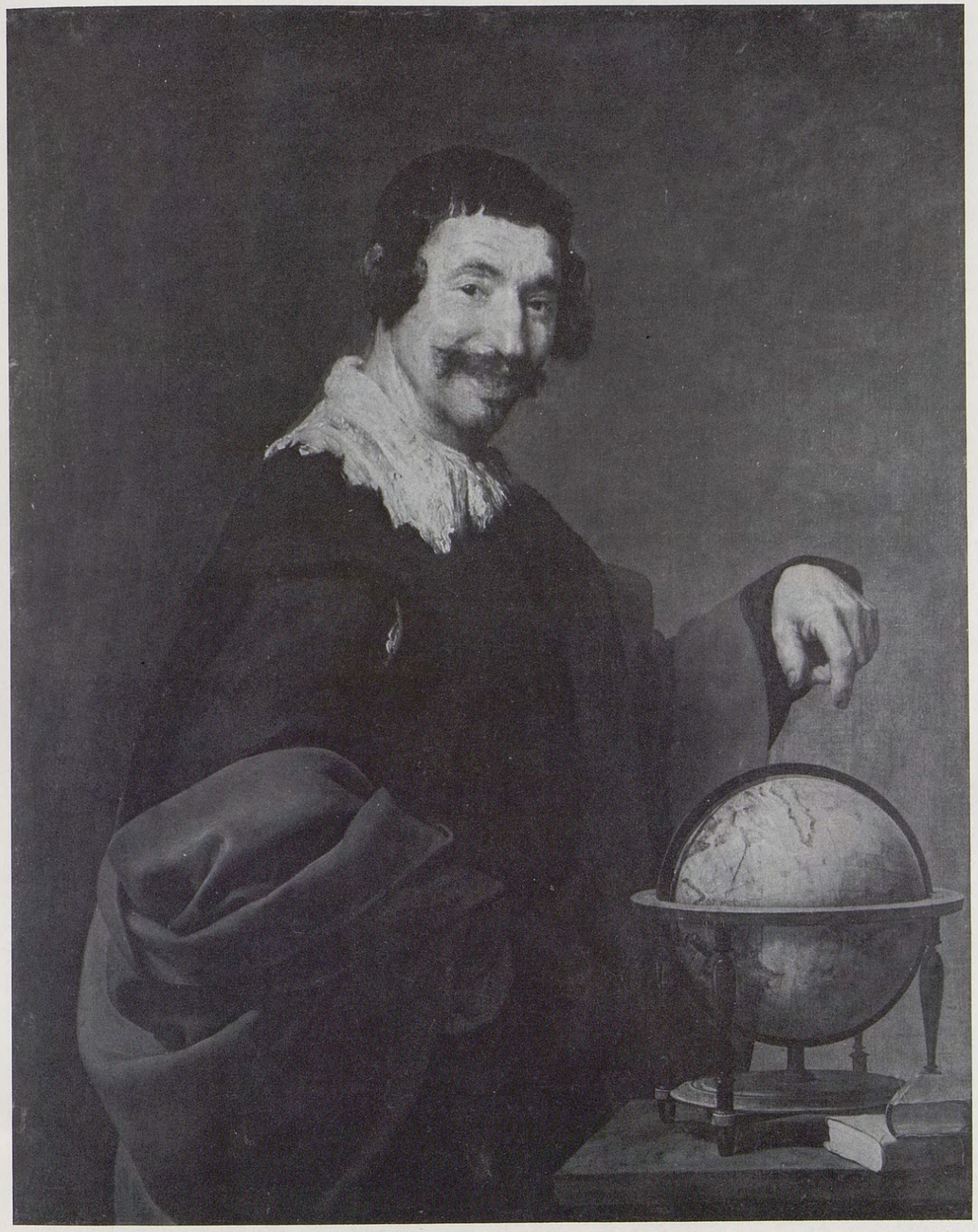
The repaints in the head and hand seem to be by Velázquez himself. When shown at the exhibition *Trésors de la peinture espagnole*, held at Paris in 1963 (catalogue No. 84), it had recently been a trifle overcleaned and heavily varnished.

The following picture was included under No. 214 in the sale of the collection of the Marquis of Carpio, held in 1692 at Madrid: 'A portrait, one *vara* in size, of a philosopher laughing, with a sphere, original by Diego Velázquez' (*'Un retrato de una bara de un filosofo estandose ryendo con vn glouo original de Diego Velázquez'*). It was not stated whether the one dimension given, 1 *vara* or about 0.835 m., applied to the width or the length. According to the document published by J. M. Pita Andrade, this and other pictures were given to Pedro Rodríguez, gardner to the Marquis and the Marchioness of Carpio, in payment of back salaries (*Archivo Español de Arte*, 1952, p. 236). Another document, undated but concerning the proceedings from the mentioned sale, states, possibly for bookkeeping requirements, that the painting 'was sold' to Pedro Rodríguez in 17,000 *maravedis*, the equivalent of 1,000 *reales*. Both documents are at present in the Archives of the House of Alba at Madrid; the one with no date is cited here for the first time.

A partial radiograph of Democritus' left hand and sphere shows, lying underneath, a shape not clearly identifiable; it might be a bowl or, as it has been suggested, a glass (*Bulletin du Laboratoire du Musée du Louvre*, 1964, No. 9, pp. 50-3). From what we know of Velázquez' ways of working, he might have made significant changes in the composition on this canvas before achieving his image of the philosopher for whom cheerfulness was the goal of life.

There is extant a picture representing the same cheerful man though holding a wineglass in his gloved left hand and wearing no cloak. It is, in my view, a 17th-century derivative painting. A copy of it is also extant. See L-R 1963, Nos. 440 and 441.

Study, pp. 42, 83, 147.
Height 1.01 m. Width 0.81 m.
Madrid: Marqués del Carpio (until 1692).
Madrid: Pedro Rodríguez (1692).
Rouen: Bureau des Finances (by 1789); Préfecture de la Seine-Inférieure.
Rouen: Musée des Beaux-Arts (since 1822).
Plate *108*.
M No. 67 and 448 — L-R 1963 No. 76 — G No. 51.



108 *No. 40*

41. BACCHUS

Probably begun in 1628; delivered to the King sometime between 9 February and 22 July 1629, when it was paid for.

In the 1637 inventory of the Royal Palace at Madrid, drawn up in Velázquez' days, it was described as follows: 'Bacchus. Another canvas, almost three *varas* in width, in a gilt and black frame, where there is Bacchus, seated on a barrel, crowning a drunkard; there are other figures keeping him company, on their knees, and another behind holding a cup in his hand, as well as one who is about to take off or put on his hat. It is by the hand of Diego Velázquez' *('Otro lienço de casi tres baras de largo con moldura dorada y negra en que esta Baco asentado sobre una pipa coronando a un borracho y ay otras figuras que le acompañan de rodillas y otra detras con una taça en la mano y otra que se va a quitar o poner el sombrero es de mano de Diego Belazquez')*. The entry is unnumbered; the painting was in the *Pieça en que duerme su Magestad en el quarto vajo de berano.*

In 1666, it was inventoried by Juan Bautista del Mazo, Velázquez' son-in-law, who described its subject as 'Bacchus crowning his fellows' *('Baco coronando sus cofrades')*; it was then in the *Galería del çierço*, where it remained throughout the 17th century. Mazo's description is repeated in the inventories of 1686 and 1700; in the latter the corresponding entry bears No. 178. Since 1666 the frame of the painting is recorded as black.

The picture lost its frame in the fire of the Madrid Royal Palace on Christmas Eve 1734, when many paintings were saved by cutting them out round the edges from their frames. In the inventory of the rescued paintings compiled the following year, it was recorded under No. 197 as 'Feast of the triumph of god Bacchus' *('El Combite del Triumpho del Dios Vaco'.)* In the early 1740's it was at the Palacio del Buen Retiro as 'Triumph of god Bacchus', and still numbered 197, according to an inventory belatedly compiled in 1748 *('Imbentario y Thasacion de las Pinturas que se entregaron a Don Bartholome Rusca y Don Santiago Bonabia para colocarlas en el Real Sitio del Buen Retiro donde existen')*; on 28 April 1746, it had been entrusted to the tapestry makers *('fabricantes de la Tapicería')* for the decoration of the chambers of the Infante Don Felipe *(Pinturas que se le entregaron a Don Bartolomé Rusca para componer el quarto del Señor Infante Don Felipe. 1746*; some of the entries in this list go back to 1740).

When the new Royal Palace was built at Madrid, the painting was sent there, where it was inventoried, always under No. 197, in 1772 as 'The triumph of Bacchus', and in 1794 and 1814 as 'The Coronation of Bacchus'.

In volume VI of his *Viaje de España*, published in 1776, Ponz described it as 'a sort of bacchanal' in which a fellow 'plays the role of Bacchus' (p. 525); later in volume XVIII, published posthumously in 1794, he referred to it as 'The triumph of Bacchus in burlesque' *('el Triunfo de Baco en ridiculo'*, p. 1587*)*. It was not until it was shown at the Prado that it became known as 'The topers' or '*Reunión de bebedores*', and later as '*Los borrachos*'.

As for the size of the painting, the 1636 inventory mentioned only its width (3 *varas* or about 2.50 m). In 1666, this was corrected to 2 *varas* and a half (about 2.08 m.), and the height was given as 1 *vara* and a half, approximately 1.25 m., which must have been an error since the painting, in which no enlargement is noticeable, is now 1.65 in height. The dimensions recorded in 1666 were routinely repeated in 1686 and 1700. They were, however, rectified in the inventory compiled after the 1734 fire, where the height is recorded as 2 *varas*, or about 1.67 m., and the width as 2 *varas* and two thirds, or about 2.23 m., which is the more remarkable since very probably the painting had been cut off all around the edges to remove it from the frame. The same dimensions were recorded in 1746 and 1748. The inventories of 1772 and 1794 record the same height for the painting, 2 *varas*, while the width is given as 2 *varas* and three quarter, that is approximately 1.67 m. × 2.30 m. — which coincides almost exactly with the painting's present size.

The painting was damaged in the 1734 fire. The composition darkened rather unevenly, and the vine-crowned man sitting in the foreground to the left was blurred into a brown shape that scarcely fulfills its repoussoir function. The *craquelure* is weblike in some areas.

The left side of Bacchus' face, particularly the eye, has been restored. Restorations of lesser importance are also noticeable in the radiograph (plate *109*). As can be seen in this, Velázquez made no significant change in the original composition. Indeed, the only notable change is in the figure of the drinker closest to the right edge, whose head Velázquez had first represented in a frontal rather than in a profile position.

Study, pp. XII, 42–4, 49, 53, 54, 85, 125.
Height 1.65 m. Width 2.27 m.
Madrid: Real Alcázar (inventories of 1637, 1666, 1686 and 1700).
Madrid: Casas Arzobispales (inventory of the paintings rescued from the fire which destroyed the Real Alcázar in 1734, compiled the following year).
Madrid: Palacio del Buen Retiro (list of 1746 and inventory of 1748).
Madrid: new Palacio Real (inventories of 1772, 1794 and 1814).
Madrid: Prado (since 1819), No. 1170.
Plates *109, 110* (and colour plate).
C No. 27 — M No. 51 — L-R 1963 No. 57 — G No. 53.

109. Bacchus, radiograph showing change made by Velázquez in the figure closest to the right edge of the canvas, as well as damages suffered by the painting.

110 *No. 41*

42. THE SUPPER AT EMMAUS

1628–29.

First published by Beruete (pp. 13–14).

There is an old copy in which the composition extends beyond the end of the table on the right and shows more of Christ's mantle (L-R 1963 No. 20). This does not necessarily imply that such was Velázquez' original composition since, particularly after his time, copies of his and other 17th-century masters were occasionally made to conform to a different sense of spatial composition.

Study, pp. 44, 100, 125.
Height 1.23 m. Width 1.326 m.
Seville: José Cañaveral.
Seville: María del Valle González (Viuda de Garzón).
Zurich: Manuel de Soto (1904–1906).
Paris: Wildenstein & Co.
New York: Benjamin Altman.
New York: Metropolitan Museum, Altman Collection (since 1913), No. 14.40.631.
Plate *III*.
M No. 15 — L-R 1963 No. 19 — G No. 29.

III *No. 42*

43. JOSEPH'S BLOODY COAT BROUGHT TO JACOB

Painted at Rome in 1630 (Palomino, p. 903).

Cut down on both sides. Somewhat abraded.

Included, together with *The forge of Vulcan (No. 44)*, among 18 works by various painters for which Velázquez had received several payments at unspecified times, according to a statement of account made in 1634 by Don Jerónimo de Villanueva, Protonotary of Aragón and Secretary to the Count-Duke of Olivares.

As Elías Tormo pointed out, it was at the Buen Retiro Palace by 1637 when Manuel Gallegos praised it in a poem describing that palace (*Pintura, escultura y arquitectura: Estudios dispersos*, Madrid, 1949, p. 156). It was transferred to the Monastery of the Escorial sometime between 1657 and 1667. In fact, Father Francisco de los Santos did not mention it in the first edition of *Descripción breve del Monasterio de S. Lorenzo el Real de El Escorial* (Madrid, 1657), but fully described it in the second edition of the same book (Madrid, 1667, fols. 80r–81r.), and so did Father Andrés Ximénez in *Descripción del Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo del Escorial* (Madrid, 1764, pp. 100–1). Both authors gave the measurements of the painting as 2½ *varas* high and 'almost' 4 *varas* wide (approximately 2.09 × 'almost' 3.34 m.). The substantial difference between these measurements and the present size of the painting confirms that the original composition has been cut down on both sides, as it is plain to the naked eye. Further confirmation of this is provided by De los Santos' description of a large purple curtain, with the ends gathered up, 'under' which Jacob was sitting. Hardly anything of that curtain is now visible — which results in a distortion of the perspective setting, as it is apparent from what looks like an old and damaged copy of the original. The painting showing the full composition is known to me only from a photograph; I do not know its measurements (plate *112*).

According to De los Santos, Velázquez had once explained that he had chosen to represent Joseph's brothers, rather than plain shepherds, bringing Joseph's coat to Jacob, and that one of them was Reuben, who had dissuaded his brethren from actually killing Joseph, and another Simeon. De los Santos remarked that Velázquez went likewise beyond the Biblical narrative in depicting not only Joseph's bloody coat but also his blood-stained shirt. He commented that Velázquez probably took these liberties to emphasize the drama of the story.

The painting was removed in 1809 from the Escorial to Madrid, from where King Joseph Bonaparte sent it, together with other paintings, to Paris for the *Musée Napoléon*. It was returned to Madrid in 1815 and placed on show there at the Royal Academy of Fine Arts. By 1820 it was back at the Monastery of the Escorial.

Study, pp. 48, 49, 50, 52, 53, 86, 124.
Height 2.17 m. Width 2.85 m.
Madrid: Palacio del Buen Retiro (by 1637).
El Escorial: Monasterio de San Lorenzo (from sometime after 1657 till 1809).
Paris: Musée Napoléon or Royal (1809–15).
Madrid: Real Academia de San Fernando (No. 97 of its 1817 catalogue).
El Escorial: Monasterio (since about 1820).
Plates *112, 113*.
C No. 3 — M No. 1 — L-R 1963 No. 1 — G No. 57.

112. *Joseph bloody coat brought to Jacob* (apparently, copy after Velázquez' original), Present wereabouts unknown.

113

No. 43

44. THE FORGE OF VULCAN

Painted at Rome in 1630 (Palomino, p. 903).

Velázquez received payment for it in 1634 or before (See *No. 43* preceding).

Strips of a coarser canvas have been stitched on both sides of the original (roughly 22 cm. at the viewer's left and 10 at his right).

Bought for Philip IV in 1634 by Don Jerónimo de Villanueva, Protonotary of Aragon and Secretary to the Count-Duke of Olivares.

Inventoried in 1701 at the Palacio del Buen Retiro: 'A painting, three *varas* in width and two and a half in height depicting the Forge of Vulcan, when Apollo advised him of his wife's adultery, original by Velázquez; in a black frame, appraised in one hundred and sixty doubloons' (*'Una pintura de tres varas de largo y dos y media de alto con la Fragua de Bulcano quando Apolo le dio quenta del adulterio de su muger original de Velázquez con marco negro tasada en ziento y sesenta doblones'*). This entry is repeated almost word for word in the inventory of the same Palace compiled in 1716, in which the entries were numbered and monetary appraisals were omitted. The number then given to the painting, 570, is repeated in all subsequent inventories and can still be seen distinctly on the canvas' lower left, painted in white. The metrical equivalent of the recorded size is approximately 2.09 m. in height and 2.50 m. in width.

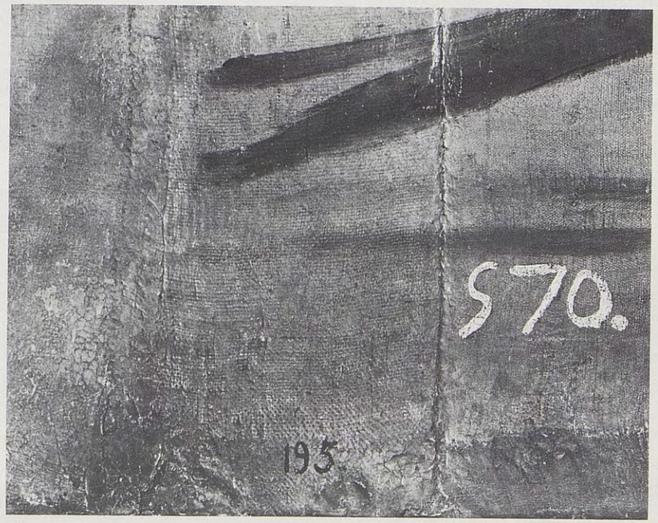
In 1772 and 1794 it was inventoried at the new Madrid Royal Palace; in both instances, the recorded height was the same as before, while the width was increased to 3 *varas* and a half, that is, about 2.92 m. — which coincides with its present width. The difference between the Buen Retiro and the Madrid Palace inventories in what regards the painting's width, about 42 cm., suggests that the additions mentioned above were made at the time when the painting was transferred to the Madrid Palace. The white-painted Buen Retiro number, 570, appears in what, before the additions were made, obviously was the lower left corner of the canvas.

Study, pp. 48, 49, 50, 52, 53, 54, 71, 72, 86, 88, 125.
Height 2.23 m. Width 2.90 m.
Madrid: Palacio del Buen Retiro (inventories of 1701 and 1716).
Madrid: New Palacio Real (inventories of 1772 and 1794).
Madrid: Prado (since 1819), No. 1171.
Plates *114, 115, 116, 117* (and colour plate)
C No. 35 — M No. 61 — L-R 1963 No. 28 — G No. 59.

114

115

Radiograph and detail of the head of Apollo.



116

Detail showing the white-painted inventory number, 570, on the original canvas (the black-painted number 195 on the added strip of coarser canvas corresponds to the 1843 Prado catalogue).

117

No. 44

45. STUDY FOR THE HEAD OF APOLLO IN THE FORGE OF VULCAN

Painted at Rome in 1630.

See A. L. Mayer, *Burlington Magazine*, vol. 50, 1927, pp. 332 ff., and *A study by Velázquez for the Apollo*, Paris, *Les Beaux-Arts*, n.d. See also Lafuente, 1943, No. 37.

Radiographs of *The forge of Vulcan* made in 1960 show that Velázquez modified somewhat the contour of Apollo's head; the outline of the god's face and neck, as first brushed in, corresponds more closely with this study (plates *114* and *118*).

Other differences between the study and the final work are visible to the naked eye in the lighting of Apollo's head and laurel wreath, as well as in the number and arrangement of the laurel leaves and in the curls and tresses of the god's hair — of umber hues in the study and golden yellow in the final composition.

The grain of the original canvas — now relined — seems to be the same as that of *The forge of Vulcan*.

On the back, glued on the stretcher, there is a piece of canvas and, pasted on it, a paper with the following note, obviously written by the unidentified British collector who acquired the painting in 1840: [S]ketch of Bacchanal Head by Velázquez / Bought of Signor Isola at Genoa 1840 — and / is original sketch for a figure in a large painting / at Madrid — I prefer this to all my pictures but one.'

Study, pp. 53–4.
Height 0.36 m. Width 0.25 m.
Genoa: Signor Isola (bought from him in 1840 by a British collector).
London: Sotheby's sale, 21 May 1935.
New York: Private collection.
Plate *118*.
M No. 62 — L-R 1963 No. 69 — G No. 60.

118 *No. 45*

46. VILLA MEDICI IN ROME (with the statue of the sleeping Ariadne)

1630.

Abraded in several spots.

Both this painting and the following (*No. 47*) can reasonably be dated in the summer of 1630, when Velázquez spent two months in the Villa de' Medici, where 'there were outstanding antique statues to copy,' in Pacheco's words (vol. I, p. 160). This was the date given to both pictures till Valerian von Loga questioned it (*Die Malerei in Spanien*, Berlin, 1923, p. 294). Soon after, Allende-Salazar, agreeing with von Loga, held that Velázquez had painted both pictures during his second Italian journey, in 1650–51 (pp. 131–2, 282). Nearly all later writers held this opinion, which, as it happened, was based on an understanding of the development of Velázquez's style which documentary evidence has more recently proved to be unacceptable. The light brushwork, with impasto used for luminous accents of form, noticeable in these two pictures, is not at all inconsistent with the works known to have been executed by Velázquez during his first Italian journey, certainly not with the landscape in the much larger composition *Joseph's bloody coat* (*No. 43*). Moreover, the transparent brushing-in of the figures recalls *The surrender of Breda* (*No. 73*), finished by 1634–35, more than any other of the Master's works. Kurt Gerstenberg has convincingly argued in favour of dating both paintings in 1630 (*Diego Velázquez*, Munich, 1957, p. 66).

The two pictures might have been among the 'four little landscapes' acquired from Velázquez for the King by the Protonotary of Aragón, Don Jerónimo de Villanueva, by 1634. (See Cruzada, p. 72). It should be noted though that they were not included in the inventory of the Madrid Alcázar completed on 17 March 1637.

It is likely that they were the 'garden' and the 'landscape', both 'by the hand of Velázquez' inventoried at the Madrid Alcázar in 1666. The 'garden' was described as measuring ⅔ of a *vara* in height and ½ of a *vara* in width; (approximately, 0.56 × 0.42 m.); the 'landscape' was ⅔ of a *vara* high and ⅓ of a *vara* wide (approximately, 0.56 × 0.28 m.): '*Un jardín de mano de Diego Belazquez de dos tercias de alto y media bara de ancho en diez ducados de plata*' and '*Un pais de dos tercias de alto y tercia de ancho de mano de Diego Belazquez en veinte ducados*'. Obviously, the 'landscape', valued at 20 ducats, was regarded as of a much higher quality than the 'garden', appraised at 10 ducats. Both paintings were described in the same terms, though with no valuation, in the 1686 inventory of the Madrid Alcázar.

The two were again inventoried in 1700 at the Madrid Alcázar, where, as before, they were located at the '*pasillo junto al cubillo que da a la Audiencia*'. Their description was the same; each was valued at 50 doubloons. The entries were numbered, 149 that corresponding to the 'landscape' and 154 the other.

The inventory of paintings rescued from the fire which in 1734 destroyed the Alcázar, compiled soon after the disaster, included under No. 400 'two canvases with board backing, in black frames, half a *vara* square, representing two ruins, original landscapes by Velázquez' (*'400. — Dos lienzos forrados en tabla con marcos negros de media vara en cuadro de dos Ruynas Payses originales de Velázquez'*). The metrical equivalent of the reported size is approximately 0.42 m. square.

Two extant copies of the inventory of the rescued paintings drawn up later, in 1747, describe more fully both paintings. Under No. 209, we find 'Another painting of a landscape with a ruin, where there are a statue and two figures, original by Velázquez, half a *vara* square, appraised at 360 *reales*' (*'antigº 209. — Otra de un Pahis con una ruina donde hay una Estatua y dos figuras orixinal de Belazquez de media vara en cuadro en trescientos sesenta'*). 'Antiguo', old, signified that the painting was in the royal collection by 1700. This entry must refer to the picture we are now concerned with, in which the statue of Ariadne and the two foreground figures are rather prominent while the figure in the middle distance is less noticeable. The two 1747 entries numbered 209 are practically identical except that in the one corresponding to what obviously is an earlier draft the valuation was added on the margin and the abbreviation '*antigº*' was not prefixed to the number.

The painting was inventoried in 1772 under the same number and as of the same size, together with *No. 47*, at the Buen Retiro Palace; its subject was then said to be a spot or entrance in a garden at Rome *('209 y 478. — Dos iguales que contienen dos sitios, o entradas de jardines de Roma, de media vara en quadro originales de Velázquez')*.

In the Buen Retiro inventory of September 1789, it was listed under No. 713 as of the same size and described as 'a sketch by Velázquez with a garden's perspective, in an old frame'. A later note on the margin indicated that it had been transferred to the Office of the Secretary of State — at the Madrid Royal Palace — in compliance with an order of 3 April 1791 *('713. — Otro bosquejo de Velázquez con una perspectiva de Jardín, de media vara en quadro con marco viejo'*. On the margin: *'En la Secretaría de Estado con orden de 3 de abril de 91')*. The painting still bears the white-painted Buen Retiro inventory number 713 in the lower right corner.

It was included under the same number and in like terms, though valued at 200 *reales*, in the 1794 inventory of the Buen Retiro. However, according to a list drawn up a little later, on 5 May 1794, it was not there. Evidently it remained at the Office of the Secretary of State, where in 1814 it was inventoried together with its companion piece: '710. 713. — Two pictures, half a *vara* square, the first one represents the entrance to a garden with two figures, and the second a sort of arbour with three figures. School of Velázquez' *('710. 713 — Dos, de media vara en cuadro el 1º la entrada de un jardín con dos Figuras y el 2º especie de Cenador con tres figuras. Escuela de Velázquez'.)*

The difference in the measurements reported before and after the 1734 fire — when the painting was described as square rather than oblong — might be due to damages suffered by the painting. However since the painting was rescued with its frame, and this probably was the 'old frame' that it still had in 1789, it is likely that the discrepancy was due to the less than accurate nature of eye measurements.

Study, p. 48.
Height 0.44 m. Width 0.38 m.
Madrid: Alcázar (inventories of 1666, 1686 and 1700).
Madrid: rescued from the Alcázar fire of 1734 (inventories of 1735 and 1747).
Madrid: Palacio del Buen Retiro (inventories of 1772, September 1789, and 1794, though not there since 1791).
Madrid: Palacio Real, Office of the Secretary of State (since 1791; inventory of 1814).
Madrid: Prado (since 1819), No. 1211.
Plate *119*.
C No. 243 — M No. 155 — L-R 1963 No. 158 — G No. 61.

119 *No. 46*

47. VILLA MEDICI IN ROME (with two men standing by a statue and another statue in a niche)

1630.

Abraded.

See *No. 46* above. The following data completes the information concerning the provenance of this painting:

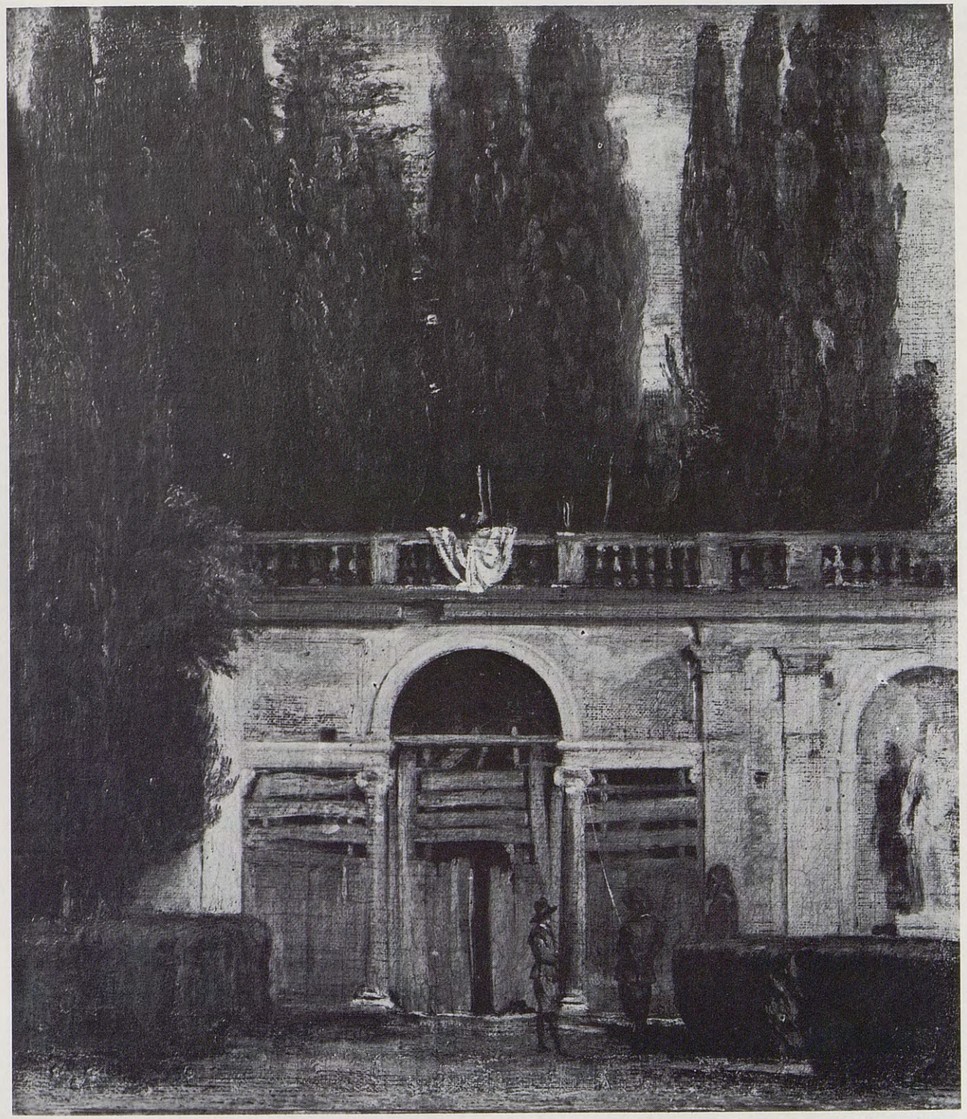
1747: Inventory of the paintings rescued from the Alcázar fire of 1747 (earlier draft): '481 — Another painting of a ruin with some trees, half a *vara* square, original by Velázquez'. On the margin: 'It was appraised at 150 *reales*' (*'481 — Otro de una Ruina con algunos Arboles de media vara en quadro original de Belazquez'*. On the margin: '*se tasó en 150 reales*'). The metrical equivalent of half a *vara* is approximately 0.418 m. Second extant copy of the 1747 inventory of rescued paintings: 'Old. 477. — Another painting of a ruin with some trees, half a vara square, original by Velázquez, valued at 150 *reales*' (*'antigº 477. — Otra de una Ruina con algunos arboles, de media vara en quadro orixinal de Belazquez, en ciento cincuenta'.*) As already explained 'old' means that the painting was in the royal collection by 1700. The valuation is roughly forty per cent of that for the companion piece (*No. 46*).

1772: Inventory of the Buen Retiro. The painting is numbered 478 and it is grouped together with its companion piece in one entry (see *No. 46* above).

September 1789: Inventory of the Buen Retiro: '710. — Another painting, by Juan Bautista del Mazo, a perspective of a gallery and garden, half a vara square, in a gilded frame'. On the margin: 'At the Office of the Secretary of State by order of 3 April 1791' (*'710. — Otra de Juan Bautista del Mazo con una Prespectiba de Galeria y Jardin, de media vara en quadro, con marco dorado'. On the margin: 'En la Secretaria de Estado con orden de 3 de Abril de 91'*). The attribution to Mazo would be one more indication that the painting was not regarded as of the same quality as *No. 46*. Contrary to the other *Villa Medici* painting, it had not retained the old frame, which was black.

1794: Inventory of the Buen Retiro: No. 710, same description as in 1789, also as by Mazo. Valued at 200 *reales*, the same as the other *Villa Medici* painting there ascribed to Velázquez (*No. 46*).

Study, p. 48.
Height 0.48 m. Width 0.42 m.
Madrid: Alcázar (inventories of 1666, 1686 and 1700).
Madrid: rescued from the Alcázar fire of 1734 (inventories of 1735 and 1747).
Madrid: Palacio del Buen Retiro (inventories of 1772, September 1789 and 1794, though not there since 1791).
Madrid: Palacio Real, Office of the Secretary of State (since 1791; inventory of 1814).
Madrid: Prado (since 1819), No. 1210.
Plate *120*.
C No. 42 — M No. 154 — L-R 1963 No. 157 — G No. 62.



120 *No. 47*

48. THE INFANTA DOÑA MARÍA, QUEEN OF HUNGARY

1630 (?)

The Infanta Doña María, daughter of Philip III and Queen Margarita, was born at El Escorial on 18 August 1606, and died on 13 May 1646 at Linz. In 1623 the Prince of Wales, later Charles I, went to Madrid to arrange his marriage with her, a project that failed. Later, on 1 June 1626, she was betrothed to Ferdinand III, King of Hungary; since then she was often referred to as the Queen of Hungary at the Spanish Court; the marriage though did not take place (by proxy) till 25 April 1629. In December of the same year she set out for Vienna to join her husband; the leisurely journey included a four-months stop at Naples, from August to December 1630.

During her stay at Naples, Velázquez painted 'a fine portrait' of her 'to bring to His Majesty', Philip IV, at Madrid *('un lindo retrato ...para traerlo a Su Majestad')*, according to Pacheco, who must have learned it from Velázquez himself (vol. I, p. 161).

Enriqueta Harris and John Elliott have recently published documentary data to the effect that on 23 October 1628 the Count-Duke of Olivares accepted a recommendation submitted to him two days earlier that portraits of Philip IV, Queen Isabel, the Infantes Don Carlos and Don Fernando, and the Infanta Doña María should be sent to the King of Hungary. ('Velázquez and the Queen of Hungary', *Burlington Magazine*, January 1976, pp. 24–6). In approving the recommendation, Olivares directed that 'Velázquez the painter shall be urged to finish the portraits as soon as possible' *('se dará prisa a Velázquez el Pintor para que acave los retratos quanto antes')*. There is, however, no evidence that Velázquez then began, or had already begun as Harris and Elliott suggest, any of the five royal portraits. Nor is there any documentary indication that the commission had been partly or totally completed before August 1629, when he left for Italy.

From the inventory of the Madrid Alcázar begun by Mazo in 1666 and left unfinished, we know that Velázquez had painted two half-length portraits of royal persons from the 'House of Austria' (folio 23). The inventories of the same palace drawn up in 1686 (folio 33) and 1700 (No. 382) indicate that one of the sitters was the Infante-Cardinal Don Fernando. However, there is nothing to suggest that either this portrait or that of the unnamed royal sitter was painted by Velázquez in compliance with the order of 23 October 1628. Neither portrait has been identified among Velázquez' extant works.

As for portraits of the Infanta Doña María, one was inventoried as by Velázquez in his time, in 1652, at the collection of the Duke of Sanlúcar and Marquis of Leganés (Manuel Gómez Moreno, *Varia velazqueña*, vol. I, p. 691). Another, '*retrato de la Señora Infanta Reina de Ungría*', was in Velázquez' workshop at the time of his death; it was inventoried with no artist's name as belonging to Philip IV (Cruzada, p. 275).

The only extant likeness of the Infanta Doña María undisputedly by Velázquez' hand is the head-and-shoulders portrait, apparently part of a larger composition, now at the Prado. Unfortunately, near to nothing is known about its provenance, except that it was at the Prado by 1872, when Pedro de Madrazo pointed out that there was no mention of it in the inventories of the old Alcázar at Madrid (*Catálogo descriptivo é histórico del Museo del Prado de Madrid*, Madrid, 1872, p. 613, No. 1072).

Pedro de Beroqui stated that this portrait was inventoried at the Buen Retiro Palace, under No. 397, in 1794 and 1808 *(Adiciones y correcciones al catálogo del Museo del Prado, Parte segunda, Escuelas españolas*, Valladolid, 1915, pp. 15–6). Entry 397 of the inventories of the Buen Retiro Palace compiled in July 1789, September of the same year, 1794, and 1814 does, in fact, refer to a portrait by Velázquez in his 'first manner'. It is, however, a larger picture (approximately 1.05 × 0.73 m.), representing just 'a woman'. The 1814 inventory of the Buen Retiro lists the paintings which *existed* there in 1808, with no mention of those which had been taken elsewhere. According to the inventory of the 1814 Madrid Royal Palace, the portrait was there at the Office of the Secretary of State; it had, indeed, been there since 3 April 1791. The Madrid Royal Palace inventory described it, with no artist name, as a portrait of 'a lady, apparently a nun, holding a book'. This *Portrait of a lady* was at the Prado under Velázquez' name in 1872 though Pedro de Madrazo, the

museum's director, questioned the attribution (*op. cit.*, pp. 623–4, No. 1089); the painting is no longer ascribed to Velázquez.

According to the current Prado catalogue, Velázquez' portrait of the Infanta Doña María was at the Quinta del Duque del Arco, a royal estate near Madrid, in 1794. However, I have found no entry concerning any portrait of the Infanta Doña María by either Velázquez or any other painter in the inventory of the said royal estate dated 25 February 1794 (*Ymbentario y Tasación general de los Muebles pertenecientes al Real Oficio de Furriera de Madrid (Reales Palacios) Retiro, Sitios y Casas de Campo, cuyos Muebles quedaron por fallecimiento del Sr. Rey Don Carlos III. que en paz descanse*, vol. II, pp. 572–629). The only entry which might conceivably refer to the painting in question is No. 50; it describes a portrait of a woman, approximately 0.66 × 0.44 m., with no painter's name. More substantial data would be needed to earnestly suggest that this entry may refer to Velázquez portrait of Infanta María.

The dating of this head-and-shoulders portrait has been a matter of disagreement. It has generally been identified with the one known to have been painted by Velázquez at Naples in 1630, even by those who, like myself, have pointed out that it certainly offers a contrast between the sitter's firmly drawn face and the fluid execution of her hair. Indeed, what is visible of the Infanta's brown and grey dress recalls Velázquez' brushwork from 1630 and immediately after.

There are extant two full-length portraits which obviously derive from the likeness of the Infanta Doña María at the Prado. The two are almost identical, though one seems to have been cut down on the right and the other on the left side. The first (2 × 1.06 m.) still bears the white-painted number, 471, under which it was inventoried at the Buen Retiro Palace in 1789, 1794 and 1814, as a 'portrait of a Queen' by Velázquez; the metrical equivalent of its size, as then recorded, is approximately 2.09 × 1.25 m. (East Berlin, Staatliche Museen; L-R 1963, No. 381). The Infanta's head is plainly a copy after the Prado portrait, the main difference being that the head and ruff look rather wooden, totally lacking Velázquez' fluid touch (Fig. 121). This must have been evident to the compilers of the 1794 Buen Retiro inventory who valued this full-length portrait, described then as by Velázquez, at just 300 *reales*, while they appraised Velázquez' portrait of *Queen Isabel, standing* at twenty times as much, 6,000 *reales* (*No. 53*).

I know the other full-length portrait of Infanta Doña María only from a photograph; the execution of the hair and ruff seems to have a linear quality; the same appears to be the case with the dress, which contrasts with the broad design in Velázquez' head-and-shoulders portrait (Fig. 122). This painting was acquired in 1945 from an undisclosed source by the National Gallery of Prague. Pavel Stěpánek, who published it as a portrait of an unknown lady by an anonimous Spanish painter, let me know soon after that he had identified the sitter as the Infanta Doña María ('La pintura española en la Galería Nacional de Praga', *Ibero-Americana Pragensia*, 1969, pp. 181-202; letter to the author, dated 21 July 1972). The painting is 2.01 m. in height and 1.18 m. in width.

It might be that, as Gudiol has supposed, Velázquez' portrait of the Infanta Doña María, now at the Prado, was used as a model for workshop copies to be sent to foreign courts. We know for a fact that, as stated above, one such copy hang at the Buen Retiro Palace.

The data concerning either the portrait commissioned to Velázquez on 23 October 1628 or the one which he did paint in December 1630 can hardly be regarded as conclusive for the dating of this head-and-shoulders portrait. I am inclined to the later date, mainly on account of the broad and fluid brushwork of the dress.

Study, pp. 8, 47, 49.
Height 0.58 m. Width 0.44 m.
Madrid: Prado, No. 1187.
Plate *123*.
C No. 244 — M No. 507 — L-R 1963 No. 379 — G No. 46.

121. Velázquez' workshop, *The Infanta Doña María* (2 × 1.06 m.), East Berlin, Staatliche Museum, Gemäldegalerie. Courtesy of the Museum.

122. After Velázquez, *The Infanta Doña María* (2.01 × 1.18 m.), Prague, National Gallery. Courtesy of the Gallery.

123 *No. 48*

49. A WOMAN AS A SIBYL (?)

1630–1.

Thinly painted. Rubbing and repaints are noticeable in several areas. The painting has lately darkened.

There is no documentary nor any other kind of evidence to support the identification of the sitter as Doña Juana Pacheco, Velázquez' wife, which dates back to 1746. José Mussó y Valiente held it to be a portrait of an unknown woman, 'not idealized, judging from her appearance' but 'transformed' into a sibyl (*Colección litográfica de los cuadros del Rey, N. S.*, Madrid, 1826, vol. II, commentary to plate LXVI). Pedro de Madrazo insisted on identifying the sitter as Velázquez' wife, though remarking that there was no reason to either agree or disagree with the suggestion that her 'ethnic dress' and the tablet which she is holding transform her into a sibyl (*Catálogo descriptivo é histórico de los cuadros del Museo del Prado de Madrid*, Madrid, 1872, p. 622, No. 1086). The painting of this black-haired woman holding a tablet has sometimes been said to represent the 'sibyl motive', the same as *No. 108* — which probably rather represents Arachne.

Painted in white in the lower left corner, there is the number 116, and a fleur-de-lis in the directly opposite corner. The latter signified that the painting had been acquired by Queen Isabel Farnese, wife of Philip V, out of her own pocket, as the inventory of the Royal Palace of San Ildefonso at La Granja, drawn up in January 1746, explained. One of the entries in this inventory is the earliest known reference to the painting we are concerned with. It described it as 'original by the hand of Velázquez, representing his wife with a tablet in her hand' (*'116. — Otra original en lienzo, de mano de Belazquez, que representa su misma Mujer, con una tabla en la mano. tiene dos tercias, y un dedo de alto; media vara y tres de ancho. Marco dorado liso con targetas en las esquinas'*). The metrical equivalent of the reported size is approximately 0.575 m. in height and 0.430 m. in width.

In 1774 and 1794, it was again inventoried, under No. 116, at the same palace in almost identical terms, except for the size. The metrical equivalent of the reported measurements are: 1774, 0.70 × 0.56 m.; 1794, 0.77 × 0.49 m.

It was not included in the 1813 inventory of the Royal Palace at La Granja, and in 1814 it was listed among the paintings no longer there. The inventories of the same palace compiled in 1818 and 1846 also omitted it.

Study, p. 54.
Height 0.62 m. Width 0.50 m.
La Granja: Palacio Real de San Ildefonso (inventories of 1746, 1774, 1794 and 1814; in the latter as no longer there).
Madrid: Prado (since the 1830's), No. 1197.
Plate *124*.
C No. 261 — M No. 557 — L-R 1963 No. 590 — G No. 84.

124 *No. 49*

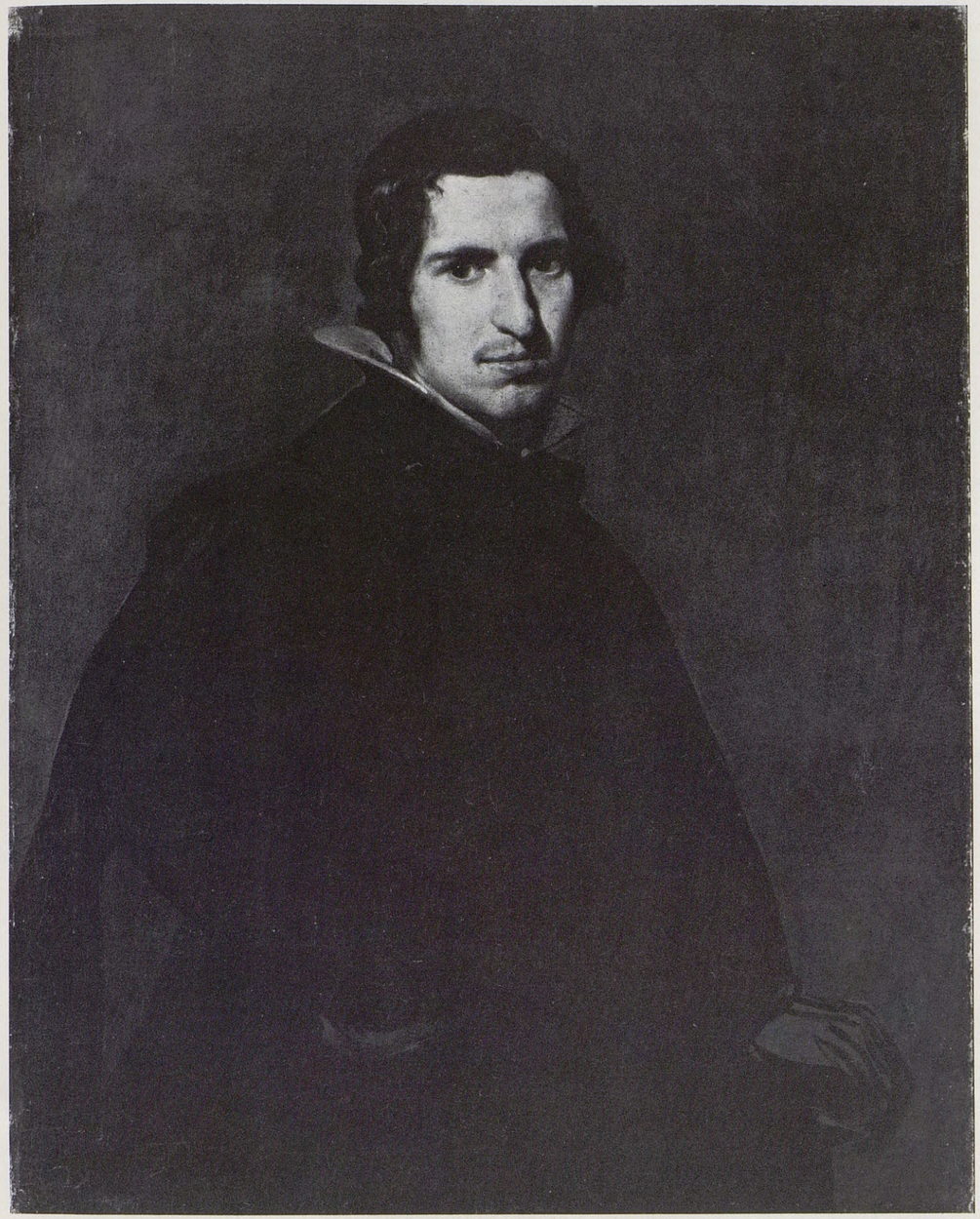
50. PORTRAIT OF A YOUNG MAN

1630–1.

The sitter's hands are just sketched in, yet the painting appears finished in Velázquez' terms since he used sketchy passages now and then, notably from 1630 on, to emphasize the very quiddity of painting.

Bought at Madrid in 1694 by the Minister Wieser for the Prince Elector Johann Wilhelm.

Study, p. 96.
Height 0.892 m. Width 0.695 m.
Düsseldorf: Gallery of the Prince Elector.
Munich: Hofgartengalerie (1806–36).
Munich: Staatsgemäldesammlungen (since 1836), No. 518.
Plate *125*.
C No. 229bb — M No. 388 — L-R 1963 No. 566 — G. No. 50.



125 *No. 50*

51. PRINCE BALTASAR CARLOS WITH A DWARF

1631.

Finished in March 1631, according to an inscription in yellow on the curtain at the right, which gives the age of the Prince as one year and four months *(Aetatis AN.. MENS 4)*.
Prince Baltasar Carlos, son of Philip IV and Isabel of Bourbon, was born on 17 December 1629 at Madrid; he died on 9 December 1646 at Saragossa.
The traditional identification of the dwarf with Francisco Lezcano, also known as *Niño de Vallecas* (see *No. 99*), was adhered to by Moreno Villa, who expressed the view that this portrait had been painted in 1634, the year when Lezcano entered the service of the Prince (pp. 107–9). Since the painting was undeniably executed early in 1631, the dwarf cannot possibly be Francisco Lezcano.

José Camón Aznar has pointed out that the dwarf's costume, which includes a necklace, is that of a girl (*Velázquez*, Madrid, 1964, I, p. 437).

Study, pp. 50, 54, 55, 57, 80, 107, 150.
Height 1.36 m. Width 1.04 m.
Castle Howard: Earl of Carlisle (acquired in Italy about the middle of the 18th century).
Boston: Museum of Fine Arts (since 1901), No. 01.104.
Plate *126*.
C No. 149 — M No. 269 — L-R No. 302 — G No. 70.

126 *No. 51*

52. PHILIP IV

Possibly painted over an extended period of time in 1631–2.

The sitter holds a paper with the inscription: *Señor — Diego Velázquez Pintor de V. Mg.*, which, as Beruete pointed out (p. 39), is in the form of the opening words of a petition addressed to the King.

The picture was cut down at some time to 1.95 × 1.10 m., the present size of the original canvas, which has not been relined; at an unknown date it was enlarged by additions on all sides to 1.995 × 1.130 m.

It was somewhat overcleaned in 1936 though not every trace of the old discoloured varnish could be removed from the crannies of paint on the sitter's face and dress. Some *pentimenti* became a bit too obvious, while others, such as the one by the sitter's left foot, were reduced. The painting was re-hung at the National Gallery in July 1936, and it immediately originated the longest controversy which up to then had taken place over the cleaning and restoration of any painting in the Gallery. Some critics claimed that a Velázquez' masterpiece had been 'ruined', which is not really the case ('Cleaning or scarifying?' editorial in *The Connoisseur*, London, February, 1937, pp. 94–5). An account of the cleaning and restoration of the painting and of the ensuing controversy can be found in *An Exhibition of Cleaned Pictures (1936–47)*, London, The National Gallery, 1947, pp. xvii-xviii and 66–8 (No. 62). For a good photographic reproduction of the painting published before 1936, see the corresponding, unnumbered, plate in *Diego Velázquez, Cinquante planches d'après ses œuvres les plus célèbres*, Paris, Goupil et C^ie^, 1906.

Beruete regarded it as a work entirely by Velázquez' hand even though 'the first impression' that it produces 'is not very favourable' (p. 40). Allende-Salazar suggested that Velázquez had painted it with the help of a pupil, probably Pareja (pp. 48 and 206). According to Mayer, 'in spite of the signature, certain weaknesses are noticeable; for instance in the painting of the hilt of the sword, which is somewhat superficial, and the wooden stiffness of the legs'. As I see it, the painting was executed entirely by Velázquez' hand and the inconsistencies now conspicuous — including the rather upsetting dull white of the sitter's stockings — are mainly due to the 1936 cleaning and restoration mentioned above.

It has been suggested, by Gudiol among others, that this portrait may have been the companion piece to *Queen Isabel, standing* (*No. 53*). However, it is documented that the portrait of Philip IV in black, now at the Prado (*No. 36*), is the one which was paired with that of *Queen Isabel, standing* up to 1791.

Nothing is known with certainty concerning the provenance of this portrait prior to January 1810, when it was given by Joseph Bonaparte to General Jean-Joseph Paul-Augustin Desolle (1767–1828) at Madrid. After Desolle's death in France his daughter sold it to Mr. Woodburn, who in turn sold it to William Beckford, who died in 1844. Gregorio de Andrés' suggestion that this portrait may be identified with a full-length of Philip IV ascribed to Velázquez which in 1764 was in the Library of El Escorial admittedly depends only on hearsay testimony recorded in 1814 ('Los cinco retratos reales de la Biblioteca de El Escorial,' *Archivo Español de Arte*, 1967, pp. 360–3; see also Andrés Ximénez, *Descripción del Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo del Escorial*, Madrid, 1764, p. 206).

Study, pp. 50, 57, 64, 80.
Height 1.995 m. Width 1.130 m.
Madrid: General Desolle (1810); he took it to France and kept it in his possession till his death in 1828; it was then bought by William Beckford.
London: Duke of Hamilton (1844–82); sale, 18 August 1882, lot 1142, for 6,000 guineas.
London: National Gallery (since 1882), No. 1129.
Plate *127*.
C No. 117 — M No. 216 — L-R 1963 No. 245 — G No. 71.

127 *No. 52*

53. QUEEN ISABEL, STANDING

Painted by Velázquez in 1631–2 over another portrait of the Queen, also by his hand, of the late 1620's.

Isabel of Bourbon, daughter of Henry IV of France and Maria de Medici, was born on 22 November 1602. Her marriage to Philip IV of Spain took place on 18 October 1615, when he was still a Prince. She died on 6 October 1644.

The sitter's dress is slightly rubbed in a few spots.

In 1936, Mayer catalogued this painting as a studio work, 'perhaps sketched in and corrected by Velázquez himself', and called attention to the *pentimenti* in the sitter's dress and in the curtain, finding the execution of the latter 'somewhat reminiscent of the drapery' of *Bachus* (*No. 41*).

In 1950 the heavy coats of varnish and grime which had for long covered the painting were removed, and the white-painted inventory number 671 and a capital P in red paint became visible near the lower left corner of the canvas. Radiographs then made available by Mr. Frank T. Sabin revealed that, beneath this portrait, lay hidden another of the same sitter, quite similar in pose, as well as in the design of the dress, to a portrait of the same Queen from Velázquez' workshop (plate *129*, Copenhagen Statens Museum for Kunst; on loan at the Kronborg Castle, Elsinore, Helsingor, since 1953).[1] See: 'Queen Isabella de Bourbon, a "lost" portrait by Velázquez located' by the Editor of *The Connoisseur*, London, August 1951, pp. 3–5 (with reproductions of radiographs), and Halldor Soehner, 'Un nuevo Velázquez', *Clavileño*, Madrid, September-October 1951, pp. 33–6 (also with reproductions of radiographs).

In the late 1950's Mr. Michael Harvard cleaned the painting thoroughly; he subjected it to infra-red examination, which led to the discovery of number 187 in the lower right corner of the portrait. He properly identified this number as corresponding to an entry in the 1794 inventory of the Buen Retiro Palace, and further related it to an unumbered entry for the same painting in the 1701 inventory of the same royal palace. The results of Mr. Harvard's research were embodied by Mr. Theodore Crombie in an article, in which he suggested that this portrait of Queen Isabel had probably been paired at one time with that of *Philip IV in brown and silver*, which does not seem to have been the case (see *Nos. 36* and *52*). Mr. Crombie also suggested that the red-painted *P* may indicate that the Queen's portrait had belonged to the Orleans Collection ('Isabella of Bourbon by Velázquez: A recorded portrait in the Spanish Royal Collections, with some notes on related portraits of Philip IV', *The Connoisseur*, London, June 1958, pp. 238–44, with reproductions of radiographs).[2]

Further research has yielded more data on the matter, and made it possible to fully ascertain the provenance of the painting.

The 1701 inventory of the Buen Retiro Palace, whose entries are all unnumbered, described the painting as follows (folios 555–6): 'Another picture of the same size and qualities. Portrait of Queen Isabel of Bourbon' *(Otra pintura del mismo tamaño y calidades Retrato de la Señora Reyna doña Isabel de Borbon')*. The qualities referred to are those of a 'portrait of Philip IV, young' described in the immediately preceding entry as 'by the hand of Velázquez in his first manner', in a black frame, and measuring, in metrical terms, approximately 2.09 × 1.12 m. (See *No. 36*). Neither portrait was appraised since the sitters were royal persons.

Both portraits were described in almost the same words in the inventory of the Buen Retiro drawn up in 1716, whose entries were all numbered. The portrait of the Queen was listed under No. 671 — which, as indicated above, is still visible in the lower left corner of the canvas.

By 1764 the new Madrid Royal Palace, built on the site of the old Alcázar destroyed by fire thirty years earlier, was habitable. Paintings rescued from the 1734 fire, as well as others taken from various royal residences were used to decorate its chambers. This created some confusion. To straighten things out, in

1772, an inventory was drawn up of the paintings then at the Madrid Royal Palace, and another of those actually at the Buen Retiro where paintings rescued from the 1734 fire still remained. In the latter, a section with several subdivisions included those paintings which had been taken at unspecified times to the Madrid Royal Palace, from where they had been returned to the Buen Retiro. The keeper of this Palace took the precaution of marking these paintings with a capital *P*, short for Palace, which, together with their old white-painted inventory numbers, would identify them as belonging to the old Buen Retiro collection. This is the significance of the red-painted *P* in the lower left corner of the Queen's portrait.

Some of the paintings returned to the Buen Retiro were in a damaged condition, and were rolled up to be either restored or stored away. Those in good condition were hung in the Palace's chambers; a list was compiled of their numbers and subjects. The portrait of Queen Isabel, described as that of 'the first wife of Philip IV, 3 *varas* high and 1½ *varas* wide, resting a hand on a chair' was numbered 271 instead of 671, obviously by an amanuensis' error (*'271. — Un retrato de la Mujer primera de Phelipe IIII de tres varas de alto, y vara y media de ancho, y tiene una mano sobre una silla'*). That the number 271 is due to an error is made plain by the fact that in the 1716 Buen Retiro inventory it corresponds to a painting of *Tantalus* by Ribera (now lost). Nor is this the only such error in the same list, where a portrait of Charles V by an unidentified painter is recorded under No. 513 instead of 553 (for all the preceding, see pp. 121–33 of the inventory).

On 19 July 1789 another inventory of the Buen Retiro Palace was begun by the Court painter Mariano Salvador Maella (see *No. 36* above). It was, however, left unfinished when less than half of the paintings, for which a new numeration was adopted, had been recorded. The portrait we are concerned with was described under No. 187 as that of 'a Queen' by Velázquez, in good condition, measuring 2 ⅓ *varas* in height and 1 ⅓ *varas* in width, or approximately 1.95 × 1.12 m. (*'187. — Otra Retrato de una Reyna. Autor Velázquez, Dos varas y una tercia de alto y una vara y una tercia de ancho'*). On the margin: *'Util'*). As indicated above, the number 187 is perfectly legible with the help of infra-red light in the bottom right corner of the painting.

Soon after, Don Pedro Gil de Bernabé, keeper of the Buen Retiro Palace, took upon himself to compile a new inventory, which he completed on 7 September 1789; he retained Maella's numeration. The portrait of Queen Isabel was again described under No. 187: 'Another picture by Velázquez in his second manner. Portrait of a Queen, 2 ⅓ *varas* high and 1 ⅓ *varas* wide, in a gilded frame' (*'187. — Otra de Velázquez de la segunda manera. Retrato de una Reyna de dos varas y tercia de alto, y vara y tercia de ancho con marco dorado'*). For the significance of Velázquez' 'second manner' at that time, see *No. 36* preceding.

Obviously Don Pedro Gil de Bernabé, who was not a painter, thought that since the portraits of the Queen and the King were companion pieces, and Maella had ascribed the latter to Velázquez' second manner that of the Queen should also be so described. However, in the Buen Retiro inventory of 1794, for which Maella was again mainly responsible, the reference to Velázquez' second manner was kept for the portrait of Philip IV but not for that of the Queen, whose entry read: '187. — Another picture by Velázquez. Portrait of a Queen, 2 ⅓ *varas* high and 1 ⅓ *varas* wide, in a gilded frame. 6,000 *reales*'. (*'187. — Otra de Velázquez. Retrato de una Reyna de dos varas y tercia de alto, y vara y tercia de ancho con marco dorado. 6000'*). Evidently, the Queen's portrait was regarded as of a much higher quality than the King's for it was appraised at three times as much as the latter (valued at 2,000 *reales*). Indeed, the Queen's portrait was appraised at exactly the same value as the hunting portraits of Philip IV and Prince Baltasar Carlos, inventoried that very year, 1794, at the Madrid Royal Palace. It may be said, in passing, that the portrait of Queen Isabel fits rather well Meng's idea of Velázquez' 'second manner', as Don Pedro Gil de Bernabé thought.

The 1794 inventory of the Buen Retiro was finished on 25 february. On 5 May of the same year, a list with the numbers of the paintings still actually there was drawn up; it included No. 187. On 5 July 1808, at the

time of Napoleon's invasion of Spain, it was again recorded there, in the *Pieza de besamanos* (check list of the paintings at the Palace of Buen Retiro, headquarters of the French army). This is the latest document attesting to the presence of Velázquez' portrait of *Queen Isabel, standing* in Spain for though it was again included under No. 187 in the inventory of the Buen Retiro dated 11 February 1814, this inventory simply listed the paintings that 'existed' there in 1808 with no indication of those which had disappeared during the French occupation.

The portrait appeared next in King Louis Philippe's Spanish Museum at the Louvre (No. 295). It may have been one of the paintings looted by the French army men at Madrid or one of those bought by Baron Taylor in Spain for Louis Philippe in 1835–7.

Study, pp. 50, 55, 56, 107.
Height 2.03 m. Width 1.14 m.
Madrid: Palacio Real del Buen Retiro (inventories of 1701, 1716, 19 July 1789, 7 September 1789, and 1794, as well as check lists of 5 May 1794 and 5 July 1808).
Paris: Louvre, King Louis-Philippe's Spanish Museum, No. 295.
London, Christie's, Louis Philippe sale, 1853, lot 249, sold for £300.
London: H. Farrer.
London: Henry Huth (after 1863); Edward Huth (till 1950).
London: Frank T. Sabin (early 1950's).
London: Michael Harvard (late 1950's).
Switzerland: W. Schlepfer (mid–1960's till 1978).
Switzerland: Private Collection (since 1978).
Plate *130* (and colour plate).
C No. 232 — M No. 471 — L-R 1963 No. 339 — G No. 72.

[1] This portrait is an old copy, mainly executed in dull grey hues which prevail in the dress, the pearl necklace and the fan; the belt and the buttons are of a dull brown. It was acquired by Urik Frederik Gyldenløve in Lorraine in 1662–3. See L-R 1963, No. 340. An almost identical workshop copy was in 1963 in a London private collection (2.14 × 1.175 m; L-R 1963, No. 341). The Stirling Maxwell Collection at Pollok House, Glasgow, has an old half length copy of the same portrait (1.162 × 0.978 m).

[2] In a later article Crombie assumed that this portrait of Queen Isabel by Velázquez had been rescued fron the fire that destroyed the Madrid Alcázar on Christmas Eve of 1734 ('La Reina Isabel de Borbón, por Velázquez', *Archivo Español de Arte*, 1961, pp. 47–51).
The first inventory of the paintings rescued from this fire, compiled early in 1735, listed under No. 354 two portraits, one of Philip IV and another of Queen Isabel, 'copies after Velázquez', measuring 2⅓ × 1½ *varas* (about 1.95 × 1.25 m). On 20 February 1747 a thorough inventory, with a new numeration, was compiled of the salvaged paintings, including those which in 1740 and 1746 had been transferred to the Buen Retiro. The portrait of Queen Isabel, 2⅓ × 1½ *varas*, 'copy after Velázquez' was numbered 343. The paintings in this inventory were not appraised till September 1748, when the valuations — 1,500 *reales* for the Queen's portrait — were noted on the margin of each entry (see fols. 219 and 358–9). In another copy of the 1747 inventory, the valuations were entered at the end of the entries, and the abbreviation *Antig*ª (old) or *Moderno* (modern) preceded the entry numbers to denote whether they referred to works acquired for the royal collection before or after Charles II's death (1 November 1700). The portrait of Queen Isabel was recorded again, under 'old' number 343 as of the same size and with the same valuation though omitting the word 'copy', thus describing it as a Velázquez' work (*'de Velázquez'* instead of *'copia de Velázquez'*). This is the one text on which Mr. Crombie bases his above mentioned assumption — untenable in view of what follows.
In 1772 an inventory was compiled of the paintings then at the Buen Retiro, including those which came from the destroyed Alcázar and retained their 1747 inventory numbers. On pages 55–6, it described, precisely under No. 343, Velázquez' portrait of 'a Queen with a kerchief in her left hand and resting the right on a chair', measuring 2½ × 1½ *varas* or about 2.09 × 1.25 m., with no valuation. Obviously, the portrait of Queen Isabel rescued from the 1734 fire and inventoried under No. 343 in 1747 was different from the one we are concerned with, in which the sitter holds a fan rather than a kerchief in her left hand. Moreover, as explained above (p. 316), the portrait we are concerned with was included elsewhere in the 1772 inventory as belonging to the old Buen Retiro collection.
There is extant a portrait of Queen Isabel holding a kerchief in her left hand (2.10 × 1.11 m), possibly after Velázquez but surely not by him (L-R 1963, No. 345); it formerly was catalogued at the Prado as by an anonymous painter (1910 catalogue, No. 1281). In 1920 it was transferred to the Royal Palace of Pedralbes, Barcelona, and later to the Museos Municipales there, where it has not been regularly on show, as the Director, Dr. Juan Ainaud, has obligingly let me know (plate *128*).

128. Unknown painter, *Queen Isabel, standing* (2.10 × 1.11 m.), Barcelona, Museos Municipales. Courtesy of the Museums.

129. Velázquez' workshop, *Queen Isabel, standing* (2.18 × 1.275 m; originally, 1.99 × 1.09 m.), Copenhagen Statens Museum for Kunst (on loan at the Kronborg Castle, Elsinore, Helsingor). Courtesy of the Museum.

130 *No. 53*

54. DOÑA ANTONIA DE IPEÑARRIETA Y GALDÓS WITH ONE OF HER SONS

1631–2.

Doña Antonia de Ipeñarrieta was born sometime between 1599 and 1603, or perhaps as late as 1608. Her first husband was Don García Pérez de Araciel, who died in 1624 (see *No. 29*). In 1627 she married Don Diego del Corral (see *No. 55*). It is not possible to decide with certainty, as some scholars have tried to do, which of her six children is the boy represented with her in this portrait.

Several scratches have been repainted; the child's right eye has been restored.

It had been suggested, by Mayer among others, that the figure of the boy is a later addition by a hand other than Velázquez'. This assumption was disproved by radiographs made in 1960. The radiographs also revealed that Velázquez made some changes in the figure of the child who, at one point in the process of composition, held the rose in his left hand much higher (plate *131*).

Study, pp. 55, 56.
Height 2.15 m. Width 1.1 m.
Zarauz: Palacio de Corral (from at least 1668, when it was inventoried there, till approximately 1850).
Madrid: Duques de Villahermosa, descendants of the Corral family (since about 1850 till 1905).
Madrid: Prado (since 1905), No. 1196.
Plates *131, 132*.
C No. 259 — M No. 548 — L-R 1963 No. 580 — G No. 69.

131. Doña Antonia de Ipeñarrieta with her son, partial radiograph.

132 *No. 54*

55. DON DIEGO DEL CORRAL Y ARELLANO

1631–2.

The sitter was born *c.* 1570, and died on 20 May 1632; he was the second husband of Doña Antonia de Ipeñarrieta, whose portrait, identical in size, Velázquez also painted at the same time, apparently as a companion piece (*No. 54*).

Study, pp. 56, 58.
Height 2.15 m. Width 1.1 m.
Zarauz: Corral Palace (since at least 1668, when it was inventoried there, till approximately 1850).
Madrid: Duques de Villahermosa, descendants of the Corral family (since about 1850 till 1905).
Madrid: Prado (since 1905), No. 1195.
Plate *133* (and colour plate).
C No. 159 — M No. 335 — L-R No. 494 — G No. 68.

133 *No. 55*

56. HAND OF AN ECCLESIASTIC

1630's.

This fragment, obviously from a three-quarter or a full-length portrait, can only be tentatively dated. The brushwork recalls some Velázquez' works of the early 1630's, such as the portrait of Don Juan Mateos, of about 1632 (*No. 58*), but this is not enough to arrive at a firm conclusion.

The painting has a heavy coat of yellowish varnish, but the brushwork can be seen reasonably well under strong light.

The hand, in a black sleeve with white lace, is holding a paper with the inscription: *Ill^mo Señor, Diego Velázquez.*

Lafuente (1943, No. 79) held it to be 'a fragment saved from a picture damaged by fire', and he suggested that it might be part of the portrait of Cardinal Borja, then recently acquired by the Metropolitan Museum of Art and now at the Museo de Arte, Ponce, Puerto Rico (L-R 1963, No. 466). This suggestion did not take into account, among other things, that in this fragment, which shows little more than the sitter's right hand and Velázquez' signature, the sleeve is black, while in the cut-down portrait of Cardinal Borja, which shows the sitter's left hand, the sleeve is red. See José López-Rey, *The Art Bulletin*, 1946, pp. 270–4.

In 1959, a head-and-shoulders fragment of a portrait of Archbishop Fernando de Valdés y Llanos (d. 1639) was exhibited as a genuine work by Velázquez at the London National Gallery, which bought it in 1967; it measures 0.698 × 0.584 m; it appears to have been extensively restored (plate *136*). See L-R 1963, No. 476. Since 1960 various assumptions have been made to support the belief that this head-and-shoulders fragment and the hand fragment with Velázquez' signature we are concerned with are either remains from the same painting or remains from two Velázquez' portraits of the same sitter.

These assumptions have been expounded with full bibliographical references in the London National Gallery's catalogue, *The Spanish School*, published in 1970 (pp. 133–7). They may be summarized as follows: It was first assumed that both the hand and the head-and-shoulders fragments were parts of a full-length portrait of Archbishop Valdés by Velázquez, which, before being dismembered, had been copied in the picture now in the Count of Toreno collection at Madrid (plate *135*). That assumption took no cognizance of the fact that the sitter is clearly younger in the 'copy' than in the supposed original. In view of this, a new supposition was advanced, according to which Velázquez would have painted two portraits of the Archbishop: the earlier would have been a full-length to which the hand fragment had belonged; the other, done as an independent bust-length portrait, would be the one now at the London National Gallery. It was, however, realized that this supposition did not take into consideration that the head-and-shoulders portrait with a piece of curtain for background is all too clearly a fragment of a larger composition. As a new alternative it was then suggested that both the hand and the head-and-shoulders fragments belonged to a copy which Velázquez was commissioned to make, after the Archbishop's death, based on the full-length portrait by an unknown painter in the Toreno collection, or another version of it, except for 'the mouth and moustache', for which Velázquez would have depended on a death mask. The difficulties with this manysided assumption hardly need explaining. There is no documentary indication that Velázquez received such commission. Nor is he known to have ever made a copy after a portrait by another painter. Even as a matter of fiction, it would seem implausible to fancy Velázquez making a copy after the mediocre portrait at the Toreno collection and signing his name to it — he who seldom signed his paintings. Acknowledgedly, one of the aims of this assumption was to explain the weaknesses of the head-and-shoulders fragment. For instance, it was expected that the awkward passage where the sitter's white beard overlaps the point of his white collar would 'become perfectly intelligible' as Velázquez' 'transcription of the same passage' in the full-length portrait by an unkown painter, 'where the beard is grey (not white) in colour and smaller, leaving most of the collar visible' The awkward passage remains, of course, unintelligible in Velázquez' terms.

Both the hand and the head-and-shoulders fragments hung on the same wall at the exhibition *Velázquez y lo velazqueño* held at Madrid in 1960–1 (catalogue Nos. 62 and 63). It could then be seen that their brushwork is rather different.

Nothing is known about the provenance of the hand fragment prior to 1848, when Queen Isabel II bought it from the Marquis of Salamanca.

See p. 161, note 91.
Height 0.27 m. Width 0.24 m.
Madrid: Don José de Salamanca, Marqués de Salamanca.
Madrid: Palacio Real (since 1848).
Plate *136*.
M No. 424 — L-R 1963 No. 480 — G No. 90.

134 *No. 56*

El Yl.mo S.D.
Fern.do de Valdes Prefidente d Caſtilla y Arzobiſpo
d Granada, Fundador de la
Colegiata, y Eſtudios de la
Villa de Cangas de Tineo,
Thio de los S.res Condes
de Toreno

135. Unknown painter, *Archbishop Fernando de Valdés*, Madrid, Conde de Toreno collection.

136. Unknown painter, *Archbishop Fernando de Valdés*, London, National Gallery. Courtesy of the Gallery.

57. DON PEDRO DE BARBERANA Y APARREGUI

1631–3.

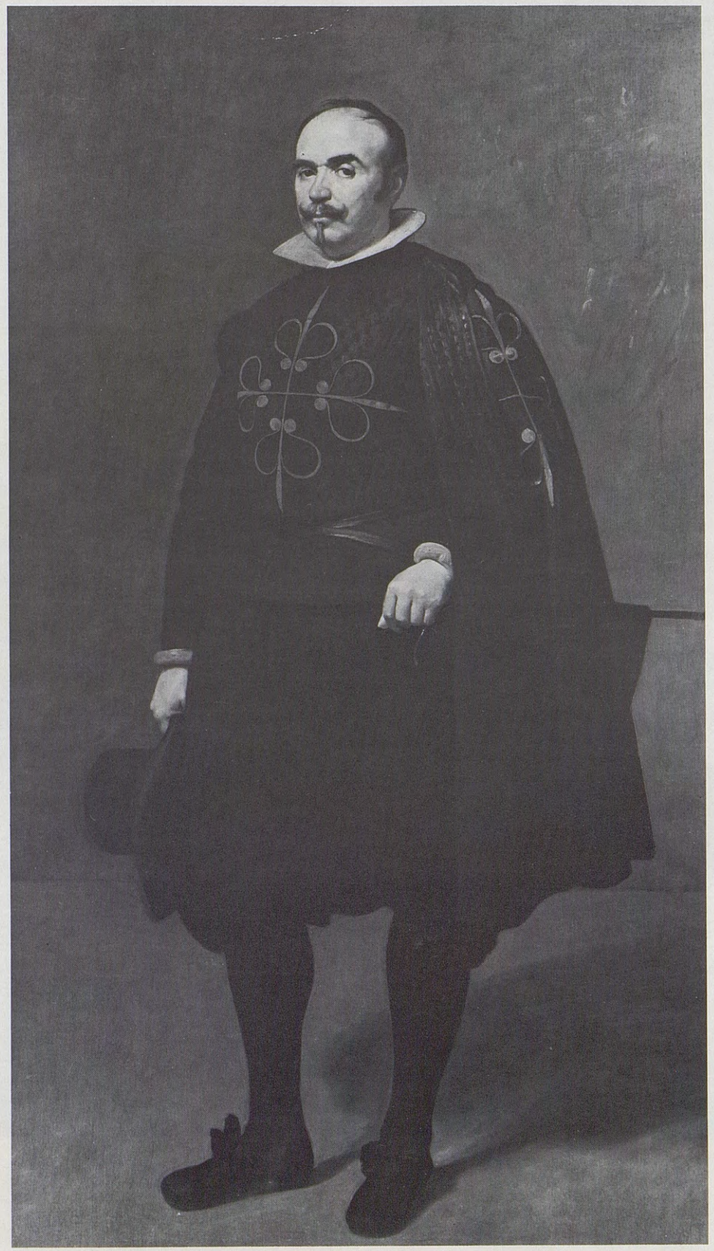
The sitter, born in 1579, was made a knight of Calatrava on 14 October 1630; he died in 1649.

First published as Velázquez' portrait of an unidentified knight of Calatrava, datable on stylistic grounds to 1631–3 (José López-Rey, 'An unpublished Velázquez: A Knight of Calatrava', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, Paris, July-August 1972, pp. 61–70). The identification of the sitter was made by Gudiol (*Velázquez*, Barcelona, 1973, No. 87). I was then able to find out that Barberana was made a knight of Calatrava on 14 October 1630; while Velázquez was in Italy from where he did not return to Spain till January 1631 (review of Gudiol's *Velázquez, La Chronique des Arts*, Paris, January 1974, pp. 30–1).

For data concerning Don Pedro de Barberana's admission in the Order of Calatrava, I am indebted to Doña Consuelo Gutiérrez del Arroyo, head of the Section of Military Orders at the Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid.

The fluid contour of the sitter's figure, luminous round the head, as well as the nuances of light upon black which make vivid the texture of the sitter's costume, bring to mind other portraits painted by Velázquez in the early 1630's such as those of Doña Antonia de Ipeñarrieta and Don Diego del Corral (*Nos. 54* and *55*). Though Corral and Barberana do not resemble each other as individuals, Velázquez has made their portraits akin as paintings. Both sitters, firmly shaped, stand with casual aplomb, while their faces are made unquiet by broad strokes and highlights. There is an obvious similarity, achieved by light and shade, in the configuration of either sitter's forehead, temple and eye sockets, as well as in the highlight on the bridge of the nose. A similarity of the same kind is noticeable in *The surrender of Breda*, where Velázquez evolved the image of a Spanish officer from this portrait of Barberana (plate **21**).

Study, pp. 56, 72, 96, 98–9.
Height 1.982 m. Width 1.118 m.
New York: Private collection.
Plate *137* (and colour plate).
G. No. 87.



137 *No. 57*

58. DON JUAN MATEOS

About 1632.

For the identification of the sitter, see Justi, vol. I, p. 411. Don Juan Mateos, born about 1575, was Master of the Hunt to Philip IV.

Study; pp. 58, 96, 99.
Height 1.08 m. Width 0.895 m.
Modena: Galleria Ducale (first as Rubens, then as Titian and, after 1685, as Velázquez).
Sold to Dresden, 1746, as by Rubens (see Dresden Catalogue, vol. I, 1929, p. 343).
Dresden: Staatliche Gemäldesammlung, No. 697.
Plate *138*.
C No. 225 — M No. 345 — L-R 1963 No. 504 — G No. 85.

138 *No. 58*

59. CHRIST ON THE CROSS

About 1632.

Allende-Salazar dated it to 1628 (pp. 37, 275), but Manuel Gómez-Moreno's suggestion that it was painted about 1632 is more convincing (*Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones*, 1916, p. 177).

By 1826, when it was for sale at Paris, this painting had considerably darkened, a condition which has since been aggravated, particularly during the last twenty years or so, owing to its unmitigated exposure to pollution at the Prado.

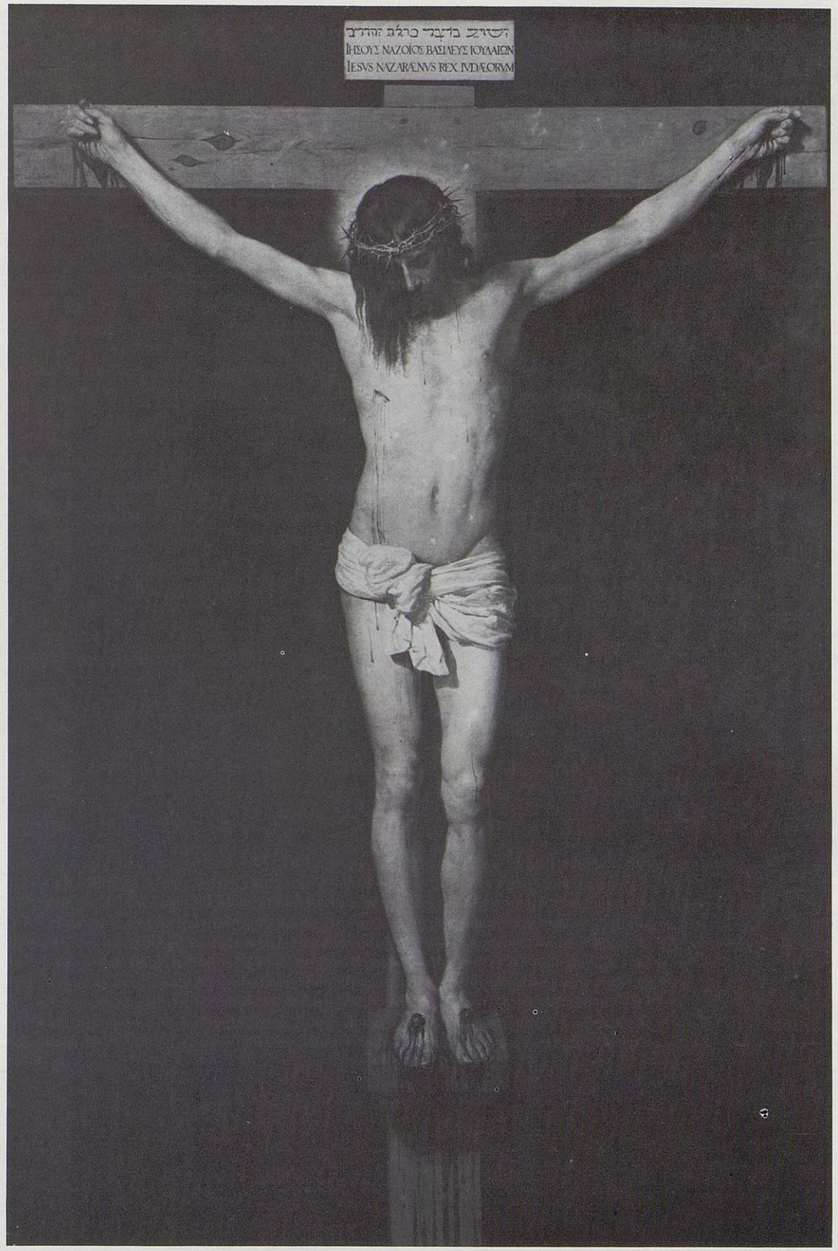
Early in the 19th century, when the painting was at Boadilla del Monte (see below), it had a strip of canvas added at the bottom; painted on it, were the human skull and bones,[1] as well as the serpent, frequently found in depictions of the Crucifixion. See Pedro de Madrazo, *Catálogo descriptivo e histórico del Museo del Prado de Madrid*, Madrid, 1872, pp. 683–4.

According to Pedro de Beroqui, about 1804 it was still in the church of San Plácido, which belonged to a convent of Benedictine Nuns at Madrid. The nuns refused to sell it for 20,000 francs to Frédéric Quilliet then; it was soon after acquired by Manuel Godoy (*El Museo del Prado*, Madrid, n.d. [1933], vol. I [the only one published], pp. 127–9).

From Godoy, it passed into the possession of his wife, the Countess of Chinchon; she took it to Paris and offered it for sale from 1826 to 1828. After her death on 28 November 1828, the painting was inherited by her brother-in-law, the Duke of San Fernando, who presented it to Fernando VII. The King, in turn, gave it to the Prado Museum.

Study, pp. 49, 125.
Height 2.48 m. Width 1.69 m.
Madrid: Church of San Plácido (still there about 1804).
Madrid: Manuel Godoy.
Boadilla del Monte: Condesa de Chinchón (1814–6).
Paris: Condesa de Chinchón (1826–8).
Madrid: Prado (since 1829), No. 1167.
Plate *139*.
C No. 12 — M No. 13 — L-R 1963 No. 14 — G No. 98.

[1] A derivative painting of the same subject, though showing Christ alive, is also at the Prado. It is much smaller in size (1 × 0.57 m.), and bears an inscription, *Do. Velázquez fa. 1631*. The position of Christ's head and arms is markedly different from Velázquez' original, and yet the modelling of the torso, notably the left side, is much the same in both pictures. The knots in the transverse board of the cross are also identical in both works. In the smaller one, there is a human skull at the foot of the cross, and a landscape, perfunctorily executed, in the background; as for the body of Christ, painted in whitish hues, it betrays a sense of colour alien to Velázquez. To my mind, the attribution of this *Christ on the Cross* to Velázquez is untenable on the evidence provided by the painting itself, in spite of the inscription mentioned above and of the fact that a painting of the same subject and almost of the same size was listed, with no artist's name, in the inventory of Velázquez' possessions drawn up at the time of his death (L-R 1963, *No. 15*). For the attribution of this picture to Velázquez, see Roque Pidal y Bernaldo de Quirós, *El Cristo del Sacramento pintado por Velázquez*, Madrid, 1951; Kurt Gerstenberg, *Diego Velázquez*, Munich and Berlin, 1957, pp. 86–9; the current Prado catalogue, No. 2903, and Gudiol, No. 67.



139 *No. 59*

60. PRINCE BALTASAR CARLOS

1632.

The painting was cleaned some thirty years ago, and the gold tassels and golden fringe, later additions to curtain and cushion, were removed.

It is possible, though by no means sure, that this portrait of Prince Baltasar Carlos is the one described in the Buen Retiro Palace inventories of 1701 (fol. 556) and 1716 (No. 672) as 2 *varas* high and 1½ wide (about 1.67 × 1.25 m.), in a black frame. The inventories of the same palace of July and September 1789, as well as those of 1794 and 1814, described it as in a gilded frame and smaller: '*dos varas menos media quarta de alto, y vara y tercia de ancho*', that is, approximately 1.555 × 1.11 m. According to a note in the inventory of September 1789, the portrait had been transferred to the Office of the Secretary of State at the Madrid Royal Palace on 3 April 1791.

Study, pp. 55, 107.
Height 1.18 m. Width 0.955 m.
Seville: Bought by Frank Hall Standish in the 1830's.
Paris: Louvre, King Louis-Philippe's Spanish Museum (Standish bequest, No. 156, since 1842).
London: King Louis-Philippe Sale, Standish Collection, 27–8 May 1853, lot 222 bought for Lord Hertford for £1,680).
London: Hertford House, 1853–97; Wallace Collection (since 1897), No. 12.
Plates *140* (and colour plate).
C No. 135 — M No. 270 — L-R 1963 No. 303 — G No. 70.

140 *No. 60*

61. PHILIP IV

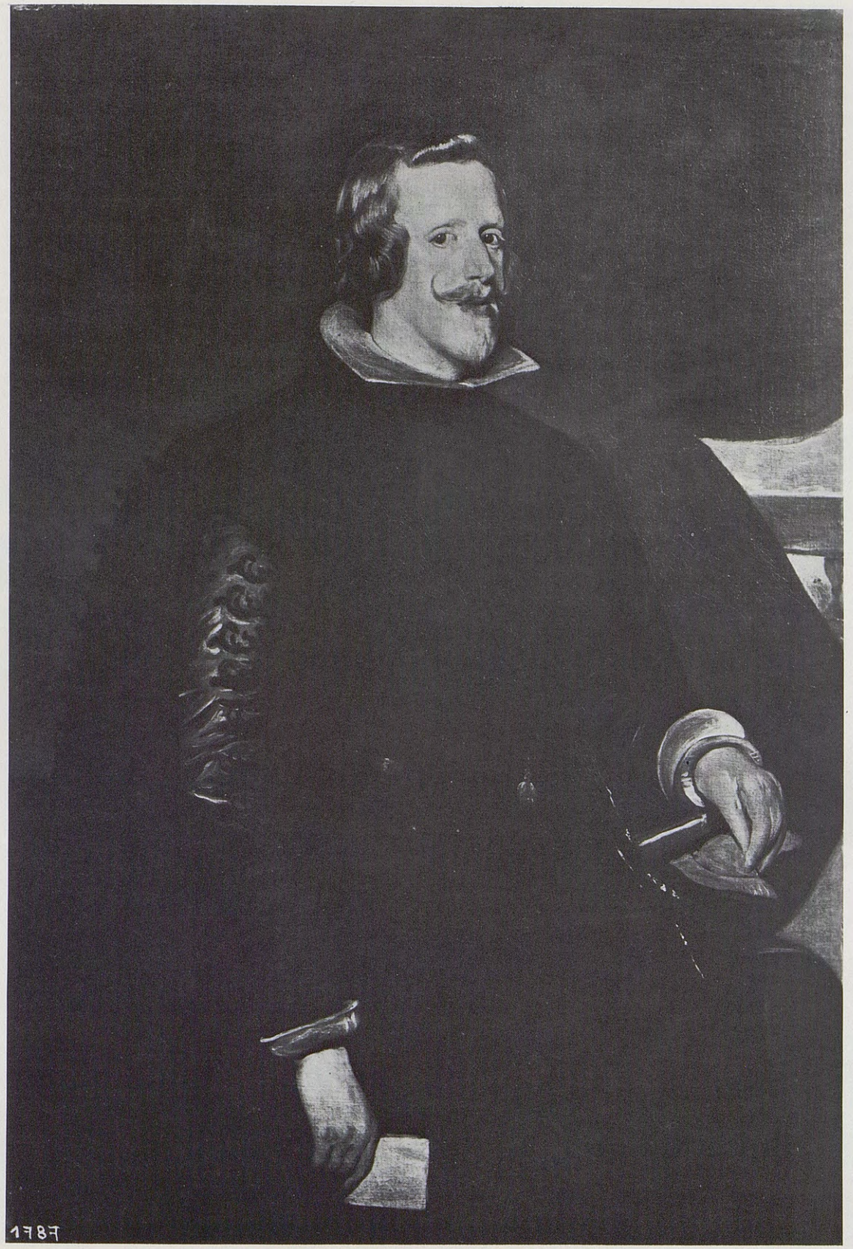
1632.

This portrait, now nearly three-quarter length, has obviously been substantially cut down; as a result, the setting of the figure in space has been distorted. The original composition was probably full-length.

The somewhat perfunctory execution indicates that Velázquez entrusted much of the work to an assistant.

It seems very likely that this and the portrait of Queen Isabel, here catalogued under *No. 62*, were the portraits of the sovereigns that, according to a document of 24 September 1632, Velázquez was to send to Germany.

Height 1.275 m. Width 0.865 m.
Vienna: Kunsthistorisches Museum, No. 314.
Plate *141*.
C No. 121 — M No. 220 — L-R 1963 No. 246 — G No. 92.



141 *No. 61*

62. QUEEN ISABEL

1632.

As the catalogue of the Vienna Museum points out, this portrait, now three-quarter length, has obviously been much cut down. It may, indeed, have originally been full-length.

Except for the head of the Queen, there are dull and inconsistent passages nearly everywhere in the painting — which suggests that Velázquez executed it with the assistance of pupils.

It seems to have been sent by Velázquez to the Court of Vienna, together with *No. 61*, as a present from Philip IV.

Study, pp. 55, 124.
Height 1.32 m. Width 1.065 m.
Vienna: Kunsthistorisches Museum, No. 731.
Plate *142*.
M No. 482 — L-R 1963 No. 346 — G No. 93.

142 *No. 62*

63. PHILIP IV AS A HUNTER

About 1632–3.

Pentimenti are plainly visible along both legs; the one along the left must have been made when the figure was no more than sketched in since it affects the whole stance of the sitter. Later, Velázquez changed the hunting cap from the sitter's left hand — where its original outline is still noticeable — to his head. A comparison with the workshop copy (2 × 1.20 m.) on loan from the Louvre at the Musée Goya, Castres, Tarn, is helpful in this regard (Plate *143*).

In the inventory of the Torre de la Parada compiled in 1701 there was an entry concerning 'three portraits of royal persons, Philip IV, the Cardinal Infante and Prince Baltasar' with no artist's name; they were not appraised *('Ytem tres Retratos de personas Reales la una de el Señor Phelipe quarto el Ynfante Cardenal y el Principe Balthasar no se tasan')*. On the margin, a note by another hand explained: 'Extant, in the said 3rd room, Nos. 31, 32 and 35' *('Existen en la misma pieza 3ª a los numeros 31, 32 and 35')*. Actually, the corresponding numbers were 32, 33 and 35, under which the portraits were inventoried in 1747 at the Torre de la Parada, when, it would seem, the mentioned marginal note was inserted in the earlier inventory, whose entries were unnumbered.

Number 33 of the 1747 inventory was a 'picture 2¼ *varas* high and 1½ *varas* wide (about 1.88 × 1.25 m.), in a gilded frame, representing Philip IV with a harquebus and a dog' *('33. — Otra de dos varas y quarta de alto y vara y media de ancho con marco dorado que representa Phelipe quarto con un arcabuz y perro')*. A supplementary list, which was made part of the inventory (fol. 145), explained that this included 15 paintings presumed to belong to the Torre de la Parada's old collection even though they did not appear in the 1701 inventory, possibly because of differences between the descriptions then provided and those in the freshly drawn up inventory.

In the 1772 inventory of the new Royal Palace, at Madrid, the 'portrait of Philip IV as a hunter' 'by Velázquez' from the Torre de la Parada was included under No. 1009, with the same size as in 1747 *('1009. — Un Retrato del Señor Phelipe quarto de Caza, de dos varas y quarta de alto y vara y media de ancho, original de Velazquez')*. On the margin: '*Yd*', ibid. for Torre de la Parada.[1]

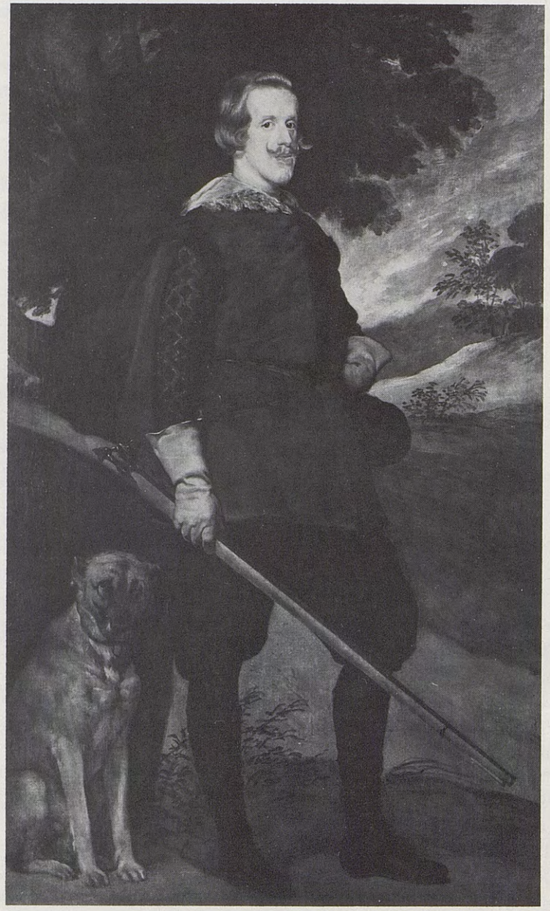
The 1794 inventory of the same palace listed twice Velázquez' portrait of Philipe IV as a hunter under the same number, 1009. Once in the dressing room *('pieza de bestir')*, grouped together in a double entry with the hunting portrait of Prince Baltasar Carlos, whose inventory number was mistakenly given as 1010 (see *No. 77* below). It was again listed under No. 1009 in the appartment of the Prince *('Quarto del Principe')*. Very likely one of these two entries had been misnumbered 1009, and it rather concerned the portrait of the Cardinal Infante Don Fernando as a hunter (see *No. 64* below).

In 1814 it was again described under No. 1009 in the Madrid Royal Palace, the dressing room, as by Velázquez, its size was given as 2½ *varas* high and 1 *vara* wide (about 2.09 × 0.835 m.). Obviously, there was an error in the recorded width.

Study, pp. 57, 58, 78, 79, 80, 81.
Height 1.89 m. Width 1.25 m.
El Pardo: Torre de la Parada (inventories of 1700 and 1747).
Madrid: New Palacio Real (inventories of 1772, 1794 and 1814).
Madrid: Prado (by 1828), No. 1184.
Plate *144*.
C No. 108 — M No. 222 — L-R 1963 No. 250 — G No. 100.

[1] An unnumbered entry of the 1686 inventory of the Madrid Alcázar described 'two portraits of our Lord the King, Philip IV, and his brother, the Cardinal Infante, in hunting costumes, with guns and dogs, 2½ *varas* high and 1 *vara* wide, in black frames, by the hand of Velázquez' (folio 44). The metrical equivalent of the reported size is 2.09 × 0.835 m. The entry was repeated word for word, under No. 540, in the 1700 inventory of the Alcázar.

Both portraits were rescued from the Alcázar's fire of 1734. The list of the salvaged paintings compiled in 1735 included the two in a single entry, No. 1192, describing them as smaller but of about the same proportions, approximately 1.67 high and less than 0.835 wide. These measurements were repeated in the two inventories of the salvaged paintings compiled in 1747, in which the portrait of Philip IV was described as from the 'school of Velázquez'. That of Cardinal Infante Don Fernando was inventoried under No. 1192 at the Buen Retiro in 1748 as 'Mazo's original' and as of exactly the same size as in 1735. Since the inventories of the salvaged paintings are generally reasonably accurate in regard to sizes, it may be that these two portraits were cut out of their frames at the time of the fire and were consequently reduced in size. Both are now lost or unidentified.



143. Velázquez' workshop, *Philip IV as a hunter* (2 × 1.20 m), Castres, Tarn, Musée Goya. Courtesy of the Musées Nationaux.

144 *No. 63*

64. THE CARDINAL INFANTE DON FERNANDO AS A HUNTER

About 1632–3.

The infante Don Fernando, son of Philip III and Margarita of Austria, was born on 16 May 1609; he was made a Cardinal on 29 July 1619, and was Governor of Flanders from 1634 until his death on 9 November 1641.

Inventoried at the Torre de la Parada with no painter's name in 1701 (See preceding *No. 63*). Included in the inventory of the same royal residence compiled in 1747: '32. — Another picture, 2¼ *varas* high and 1½ *varas* wide, in a gilded frame, representing the Cardinal Infante as a hunter'. On the margin: 'Not appraised since portraits of royal persons were not appraised in the previous inventory' *('32. — Otra de dos varas y quarto de alto y vara y media de ancho con su marco dorado que representa el Ynfante Cardenal de Cazador'*. On the margin: '*No se tassó por no estarlo en el Ymbentario anterior los de Personas Reales')*. The metrical equivalent of the reported size is approximately 1.88 × 1.25 m.

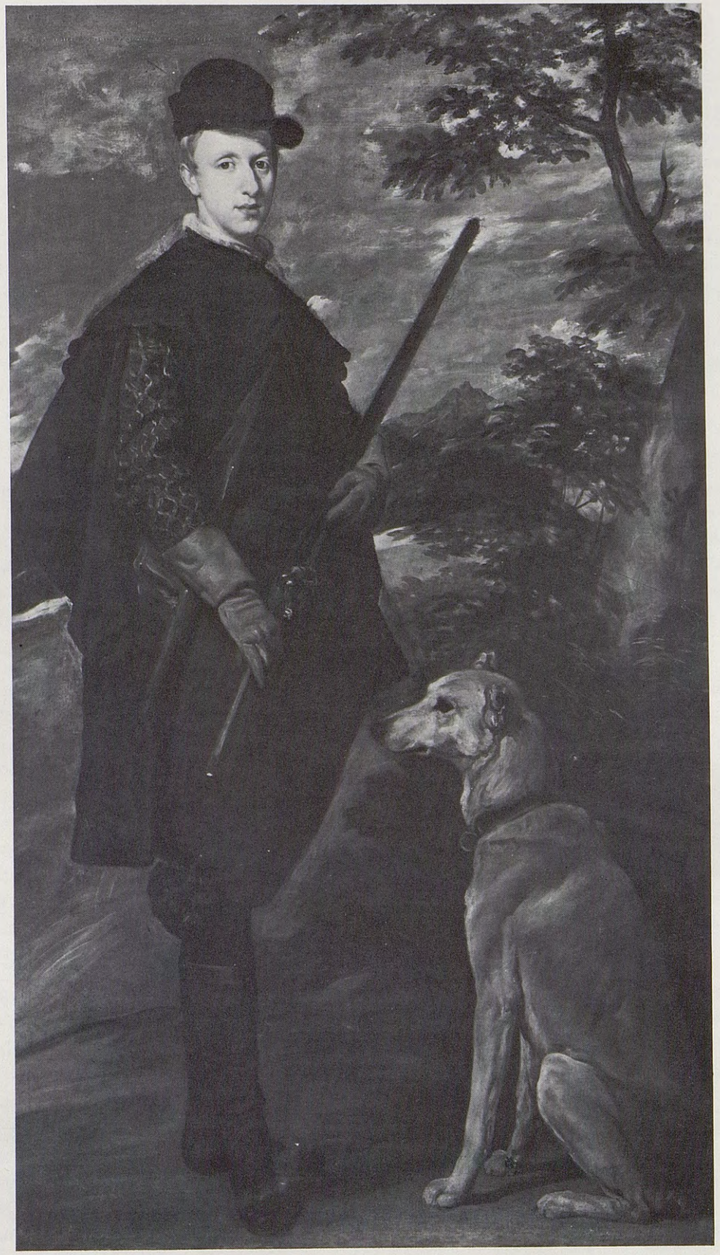
In 1772 it was at the new Royal Palace, Madrid, in the same room as Velázquez' portrait of Philip IV as a hunter *('Quarto del Ynfante Don Xavier')*; it was described as somewhat larger than the latter: 2⅔ *varas* high and 1⅔ *varas* wide (about 2.09 × 1.25 m.). A marginal note indicated that it came from the Torre de la Parada. Its inventory number was 1010, which the painting still bears in the lower right hand corner: '*1010. — Otro Retrato del Señor Ynfante Don Fernando de caza de dos varas y terzia de alto, y una menos de ancho, original de Velázquez*'. On the margin '*Torre*'. The metrical equivalent of the reported size is approximately 1.95 × 1.12 m. However, as recorded in a supplementary list to the inventory, the height was 2½ *varas* or about 2.09 m.

In the 1794 inventory of the Madrid Royal Palace, the portrait of Don Fernando as a hunter was not mentioned and its inventory number, 1010, was given by obvious mistake to the portrait of Prince Baltasar Carlos as a hunter listed in the dressing room *('pieza de bestir')*, together with that of Philip IV, also as a hunter, numbered 1009. Both portraits were said to be of the same size: about 2.09 × 1.25 m. See *No. 77* below.

However, we find in the same inventory and again under No. 1009 Velázquez 'portrait of Philip IV as a hunter', 2¼ high and 1⅓ wide (about 1.88 × 1.25), at the chamber of the Prince's appartment *('Quarto del Principe Nuestro Señor, Camera')*. Since the hunting portraits of the Cardinal Infante Don Fernando and Prince Baltasar Carlos still bear their Madrid Royal Palace inventory numbers, 1009 and 1010 respectively, it seems rather plain that there was a mix-up concerning both the inventory numbers and the identity of the sitters for these portraits.

The 1814 inventory of the Madrid Royal Palace did not undo the error, and so the hunting portrait of Don Fernando went to the Prado where it was shown for years as the portrait of Philip IV though, as the Museum's catalogue of 1828 cautiously noted, there were some who thought that the sitter was not the King but rather his brother, the Cardinal Infante Don Fernando.

Study, pp. 58, 78, 79, 80, 81, 107.
Height 1.91 m. Width 1.09 m.
El Pardo: Torre de la Parada (inventories of 1701 and 1747).
Madrid: New Palacio Real (inventories of 1772, 1794 and 1814).
Madrid: Prado (since 1819, first misidentified as a portrait of Philip IV), No. 1186.
Plate *145*.
C No. 145 — M No. 303 — L-R 1963 No. 331 — G No. 100.



145 *No. 64*

65. THE BUFFOON DON JUAN DE AUSTRIA

1632–3.

Juan de Austria was the sitter's true name, according to Moreno Villa (pp. 67–72), who suggested that it was probably given to him by either the King or another person of the royal family since the Spanish sovereigns of the House of Austria, as the Bourbons did later, would sometimes give their names to children to whom they were godfathers or who had simply grown up in the Royal Palace. There is a bill in the Madrid Royal Archives which lists in great detail the pieces of clothing materials acquired for Don Juan of Austria in 1632. Moreno Villa, who published the document, reasonably concluded that the costume itemized in the bill is the same as the one worn by the sitter in the portrait now under discussion. The occasional services of the buffoon Don Juan de Austria at the Court are documented from 1624 till 1654.

As in *Joseph's bloody coat*, of 1630 (*No. 43*), Velázquez has used the lines of the tiled floor to accent the perspective that leads towards the open wall in the background: the buffoon's uncouth face brings to mind Velázquez' brushwork and sense of wit as seen in his portrayal of Vulcan, also of 1630 (*No. 44*). The arrangement of the musket, pieces of armour, and cannon balls at the sitter's feet recalls by its emphatic diagonals the disposition of objects on the ground in the two mentioned compositions of 1630.

Inventoried at the Buen Retiro Palace in 1701 (folio 549): 'Another portrait of another buffoon, called Don Juan de Austria, with various pieces of armour at his feet, by the hand of Velázquez, in a black frame, 2½ *varas* high and 1⅓ *varas* wide, valued at 25 doubloons' (*'Otro Retrato de dos varas y media de alto y vara y tercia de ancho de otro Bufon llamado Don Juan de Austria con varios arneses y marco negro de mano de Velázquez tasado en veinte y cinco doblones'*). The 1716 inventory of the Buen Retiro Palace repeats under No. 611 the same description of the painting with no appraisal. The metrical equivalent of the recorded size is approximately 2.09 × 1.12 m.

The portrait was transferred to the new Royal Palace at Madrid, where the identity of the sitter sank into oblivion while a higher and higher social status was attributed to him. Thus, in 1772 the portrait was inventoried, together with that of Pablo de Valladolid: '609 and 611. — Two full-length portraits, one which, as some pieces of armour indicate, seems to be of an artillery man; the other, of a buffoon; 2 *varas* and a half in height, and 1 *vara* less in width . Both originals by Velázquez'. On the margin: 'From the Buen Retiro' (*'609 y 611. — Dos Retratos de cuerpo entero, el uno que segun los arneses parece Artillero; y el otro de un bufon, de dos varas y media de alto, y una menos de ancho, originales de Velázquez'*. On the margin: '*Retiro*'). In 1794 these two portraits were inventoried together again at the same palace in roughly the same terms, except that the 'artillery man' was made a 'Spanish general' while Pablo de Valladolid remained 'a buffoon' with no name; both pictures were described as 2½ *varas* high and 1½ *varas* wide, that is, approximately 2.09 × 1.25 m. The valuation for the two of them was 12,000 *reales*.

On 19 August 1816, when Ferdinand VII sent the portrait, together with other paintings from the Madrid Royal Palace to the Royal Academy of Fine Arts, the sitter was promoted to aristocratic rank; he was indeed identified in the corresponding list as the 'Marquis of Pescara', and it was with this identification that the portrait was shown at the Academy (catalogues of 1817, 1821 and 1824). Yet, Juan Agustin Ceán Bermúdez, editor of the 1824 catalogue, apparently had misgivings about the bizarre identification and described the painting as a 'full-length portrait of an old general, said to be the Marquis of Pescara' (*Catálogo de las pinturas y esculturas que se encuentran en la Real Academia de San Fernando*, Madrid, 1824, p. 18, No. 10). Such curious changes in the identification of a sitter, from buffoon to general and then to aristocrat, doubtless responded to changes in the fabric of Spanish society rather than to ironical intent. Titian's portrait of *Fernando de Ávalos, Marquis of Vasto and of Pescara (1502–46) addressing his troops* was transferred from the Madrid Royal Palace to the Prado in 1828 (Prado No. 417).

The misidentification of the sitter as a person of aristocratic rank is less surprising in the light of four full-length portraits of Ferdinand VII (1784–1833) painted by Goya in 1814–5, now at the Prado (Nos. 724 and 735), the Museum of Santander and the Museum of Saragossa. In these portraits Ferdinand VII, who did not sit for any of them, has a buffoonish appearance.

Study, pp. 52, 84, 85, 86, 88.
Height 2.10 m. Width 1.33 m.
Madrid: Palacio Real del Buen Retiro (inventories of 1701 and 1716).
Madrid: New Palacio Real (inventories of 1772 and 1794).
Madrid: Real Academia de San Fernando (1816–27).
Madrid: Prado (since 1827), No. 1200.
Plate *146* (and colour plate)
C No. 72 — M No. 453 — L-R No. 422 — G No. 112.

146 *No. 65*

66. COUNT-DUKE OF OLIVARES, EQUESTRIAN

1634.

For the sitter's biographical data, see *No. 30.*

In the lower left corner there is a folded-out piece of blank paper.

This equestrian group was obviously imitated, though not just copied, by Jusepe Leonardo (1601–1652/3) in his large composition, *The taking of Breisach* (plate **36**), finished by April 1635, when it already hung in the Great Hall of the Buen Retiro Palace. Consequently, this equestrian portrait of Olivares must have been at least sketched in, and more probably completed, before Jusepe Leonardo began his mentioned derivative painting — which points to a date closer to 1634 than to 1635.

Cruzada (pp. 117ff.), and other writers after him, suggested that the scenes of battle seen in the middle distance and in the background referred to the defeat of the French by the Spaniards at Fuenterrabía in the autumn of 1638 — a victory which was credited to Olivares' leadership even though he had not moved from Madrid, and for which Philip IV rewarded him with a great many honours. However, since Jusepe Leonardo's derivative painting shows that this equestrian portrait must have been painted years before the battle of Fuenterrabía, when no resounding military victory had specifically been attributed to Olivares, it would seem that Velázquez portrayed him as the maker of the King's military successes rather than as a victorious commander in a particular battlefield. It was in this vein that, in what can be regarded as a picture within a picture, Maino represented Olivares crowning Philip IV in *The recapture of Bahia*, where Don Fadrique de Toledo, actually the victorious field commander, was also portrayed (plate **17**). Maino's painting was praised over all the others representing Philip IV's military victories which in 1635 decorated the walls of the Great Hall of the Buen Retiro Palace, as a collection of poems then published in book form makes clear *Elogios al Palacio Real del Buen Retiro ... Recogidos por Don Diego de Covarrubias i Leiva ... Dedicados al Conde-Duke de Olivares)*.

The portrait remained in the Olivares family till the 18th century, when it was acquired by the Marquis de la Ensenada, at the sale of whose collection Charles III bought it for 12,000 *reales de vellón* on 26 January 1769 (Sánchez Cantón, *Los pintores de Cámara de los Reyes de España*, Madrid, 1916, p. 82). In 1772, it was inventoried, unnumbered, at the new Madrid Royal Palace; its recorded size was 4 *varas* high and *3 varas* wide (approximately, 3.34 × 2.50 m). For the inventories of 1794 and 1814, see No. 71.[1]

Study, pp. 67, 68, 128.
Height 3.13 m. Width 2.42 m.
Madrid: Count-Duke of Olivares; his heirs.
Madrid: Marqués de la Ensenada.
Madrid: New Palacio Real (since 1769; inventories of 1772, 1794 and 1814).
Madrid: Prado (since 1819), No. 1181.
Plate *147* (and colour plate).
C No. 166 — M No. 309 — L-R 1963 No. 211 — G No. 73.

[1] The Metropolitan Museum of Art has a smaller version of this portrait in which the horse is white rather than chestnut (1.25 × 1.015 m). The position of Olivares' head and body is the same as in Velázquez' original, while the horse is obviously a copy after Velázquez' *White horse (No. 67)*. A prodigality of highlights, alien to Velázquez and characteristic of Mazo, betrays the latter's hand (plate **41**). Indeed, the smaller portrait agrees in every respect, including its size, with one inventoried in 1651, when both Velázquez and Mazo were active, as belonging to the sixth Marquis of Eliche, who owned various paintings by Velázquez, including *Venus at her mirror*. The mentioned inventory entry reads: 'A painting on canvas of the portrait of the Count-Duke, in armour, with a baton in his hand, on a white horse, copy after Velázquez by the hand of Juan Bautista Mazo, one vara and a half square more or less' *('Una pintura en lienço del retrato del Conde Duque armado con un bastón en la mano en un cavallo blanco copia de Velázquez de la mano de Juan Bautista Maço de bara y media en cuadro poco más o menos')*. See L-R 1963, No. 216; the quoted inventory entry was first published by J. M. Pita Andrade, *Archivo Español de Arte*, vol. 25, 1952, p. 230. The metrical equivalent of the reported size is about 1.25 m. square 'more or less'.

147 *No. 66*

67. A WHITE HORSE

About 1634–5.

It has suffered from repainting, cleaning and restoration; yet the live design which builds the shape of the horse into space makes the attribution to Velázquez acceptable. There is an obvious *pentimento* in the horse's right hind-leg.

The painting was in the store rooms of the Madrid Royal Palace in 1959, when the Marqués of Lozoya, then Fine Arts Counsellor for the Spanish Royal Patrimony, undertook to study it. At that time the painting represented St. James on a white horse, and it showed rather marked differences in point of execution. The Marqués de Lozoya, having reached the conclusion that the horse was by Velázquez and the rest of the painting by a dauber, decided that the work of the latter should be removed. This was done early in the summer of 1959, and it then became plain that the horse was similar in design to that in Velázquez' portrait of Olivares at the Prado (*No. 66*), and even more to that of the same sitter at the New York Metropolitan Museum, a smaller picture (1.25 m. × 1.015 m., plate **41**), whose ascription to Juan Bautista del Mazo, based on stylistic considerations, is supported by documentary data (see *No. 66* above).

Once the figure of St. James was removed, that of another rider appeared, just sketched in by a few black strokes. This seemed not to have been done by the same painter who had painted the horse, though it was done by a better hand than the one that finally daubed the figure of St. James. The Marqués de Lozoya concluded that this painting is the 'large canvas with a white horse, with no figure' which Velázquez had in his workshop at the time of his death (*'Otro lienço grande, con vn cavallo blanco, sin figura'*). See: Marqués de Lozoya, 'El caballo blanco de Velázquez', *Varia velazqueña*, Madrid, 1960, vol. I, pp. 323–7.

Actually there were three large canvases of horses in Velázquez' workshop at the time of his death, the mentioned *White horse*, probably the one we are concerned with, and two more now lost, representing a chestnut and a grey horse. Sánchez Cantón, who published the corresponding inventory, where they are numbered 578, 579, and 580 respectively, held that the three must have been painted by Velázquez.

The inventory of the Madrid Royal Alcázar of 1637 included three paintings of horses with no painter's name. One of them was 'a large white horse, unsaddled, with its briddle, and with a sun for a mark on the croup' (*'Caballo blanco, Vn lienço al olio en que esta pintado un cauallo grande Blanco en pelo con su freno y en una anca tiene por marca un sol'*).

Two unnumbered entries in the 1686 inventory of the Madrid Alcázar (fols. 52 and 56) described several pictures of horses, including the following by Velázquez: two paintings, one of a bay and the other of a chestnut horse, painted from life, measuring 3½ *varas*, or about 2.92 m. 'almost square', and two canvases with a horse painted and a rider drawn, unfinished, on each of them, 4 *varas* high and 3 *varas* wide (approximately 3.34 × 2.50 m.). Both entries were repeated in almost identical terms, under Nos. 723 and 766, in the inventory of the same palace compiled in 1700, when the pictures of the bay and of the chestnust horse were valued at 5 doubloons each; the other two, grouped together with Ribera's portrait of Don Juan de Austria (now lost) were appraised at 45 doubloons for the lot. I have found no further documentary reference to any of these four Velázquez' works, now lost or unidentified.

A workshop copy of the painting here catalogued was in the 1960's in a Madrid private collection (0.41 × 0.36 m.). See L-R 1963 No. 221.

Study, pp. 125, 128.
Height 3.1 m. Width 2.45 m.
Madrid: José de Salamanca.
Madrid: Palacio Real (since 1848).
Plate *148*.
L-R 1963 No. 220 — G No. 75.

148 *No. 67*

68. PHILIP III, EQUESTRIAN

By an unidentified painter. Repainted, by Velázquez and an assistant about 1634–5.

Philip III, son of Philip II and Anna of Austria, was born on 14 April 1578 at Madrid, where he died on 31 March 1621.

Most scholars agree, on the strength of visual evidence, that this equestrian portrait and those of Queen Margarita and Queen Isabel *(Nos. 69* and *70)* were executed by a lesser painter and later reworked by Velázquez or under his direction. To Beruete, the lesser painter was Bartolomé González (pp. 75–7). Tormo suggested either Mazo or Juan de la Corte (*Pintura, escultura y arquitectura en España*, p. 214). Some have lately held that González, Carducho and Caxés painted one portrait each (Camón, *Velázquez*, I, pp. 522–3; Gudiol, pp. 146–7). None of these attributions is clearly supported by either stylistic traits or documentary data. Allende-Salazar and Sánchez Cantón suggested plausibly though not conclusively that Velázquez begun this portrait around 3 September 1628 when the Royal Armory was ordered to let him have everything necessary for the portraits of Philip III and Philip IV that he was working on, and that the three equestrian portraits we are discussing were among the works that 'he is painting' for which he received payment on 28 June 1629 before he set out for Italy, leaving the portraits to be finished by another hand (*Retratos del Museo del Prado*, pp. 160–5). See *No. 69*.

The available data, stylistic and otherwise, suggest in fact that this portrait was executed by a painter attentive to detail and that in 1634–5, when it was decided to hang it in the *Salón* of the Buen Retiro, Velázquez and an assistant reworked it, mainly the horse's head, chest, forelegs and tail.

Two unnumbered consecutive entries in the 1701 inventory of the Buen Retiro Palace read (fols. 505–6): 'A painting, three *varas* and a half in height and two and half in width, Portrait of Philip III, by the hand of Velázquez, in a gilded frame. It was not appraised since the sitter is a royal person'. 'Another painting, same size, frame and author, Portrait of Queen Margarita of Austria. Not appraised for the same reason'. *('Una pintura de tres varas y media de alto y dos y media de ancho Retrato del Señor Don Phelipe tercero de mano de Velázquez con marco dorado no se taso por ser de persona real'. 'Otra del mismo tamaño marco y autor Retrato de la Señora Reyna Doña Margarita de Austria no se tasa por la misma razon')*. These two entries are repeated word for word, except for the explanation concerning the omission of appraisal, in the inventory of the same palace of 1716, under Nos. 240 and 241. The metrical equivalent of the recorded size is approximately 2.92 × 2.09 m.

In 1772, these two portraits were at the New Madrid Royal Palace, inventoried in a double entry: '240 and 241. — Two equal portraits of Philip III and Queen Margarita, four *varas* square, originals by Velázquez' *('240 y 241. — Dos Retratos iguales, del Señor Phelipe tercero, y la Reyna Doña Margarita, de quatro varas en quadro, originales de Velázquez')*. The increase in width appears to correspond to an actual enlargement of the painting; indeed, a strip has been added at either side of the original canvas, making the composition at least 90 cm. wider. These additions must have been made when the portrait was taken from the Buen Retiro to the new Royal Palace at Madrid. The white-painted Buen Retiro inventory number 240 is still visible in the original area of the painting.

For the Madrid Royal Palace's inventories of 1794 and 1814, see *No. 71*.

Study, pp. 62, 63.
Height 3 m. Width 3.14 m.
Madrid: Palacio Real del Buen Retiro (since 1634 or 1635; inventories of 1701 and 1716).
Madrid: New Palacio Real (inventories of 1772, 1794 and 1814).
Madrid: Prado (since 1819), No. 1176.
Plate *149*.
C No. 96 — M No. 180 — L-R 1963 No. 185 — G No. 81.

149 *No. 68*

69. QUEEN MARGARITA OF AUSTRIA, EQUESTRIAN

By an unidentified painter. Repainted, mostly by a Velázquez', assistant, in 1634–5.

Margarita of Austria, wife of Philip III, was born in 1584; she died in 1611.

This portrait, like those of Philip III and Queen Isabel on horseback *(Nos. 68* and *70)*, was originally executed by a painter, not yet identified, who was rather attentive to detail. Of the painters attentive to detail mentioned in this regard, only Juan de la Corte (1597–1660), most of whose extant works include equestrian groups, was admired as a painter of equestrian portraits; he did a series of members of the 'house of Austria' — the Spanish reigning dynasty — for which Antonio Puga painted the landscapes (Justi, II, p. 390). These portraits, now lost or unidentified, if found, might throw light on the matter at hand. In 1635 or later, Juan de la Corte painted *The rescue of Valenza del Po by Carlos Colonna*, in which the head of the victorious general was by Velázquez, according to the Buen Retiro inventory of 1701.

It must have been repainted in 1634–5, when it was decided to hang it in the Great Hall of the Buen Retiro Palace; most of the repainting appears to have been executed by an assistant rather than by Velázquez, whose brushwork, as Beruete pointed out (p. 76), can only be recognized on parts of the horse's forelegs and in some retouches which here and there lighten the otherwise dull execution of the painting.

Cleaned in 1968.

For the provenance, see *Nos. 68* and *71*.

The strips added on both sides of the original canvas are wider than those added to the equestrian portrait of Philip III. These additions must also have been made at the time when the painting was taken to the new Royal Palace at Madrid. The white-painted Buen Retiro inventory number, 241, is plainly visible in what was the bottom left corner of the painting before it was enlarged.

Study, pp. 62, 63.
Height 2.97 m. Width 3.09 m.
Madrid: Palacio Real del Buen Retiro (since 1634 or 1635; inventories of 1701 and 1716).
Madrid: New Palacio Real (inventories of 1772, 1794 and 1814).
Madrid: Prado (since 1819), No. 1177.
Plate 150.
C No. 230 — M No. 466 — L-R 1963 No. 209 — G No. 79.

150 *№ 69*

70. QUEEN ISABEL, EQUESTRIAN

By an unidentified painter. Extensively reworked by Velázquez in 1634–5.

For biographical data, see *No. 53*.

Like *Nos. 68* and *69*, this portrait was originally executed by an unidentified painter attentive to detail; it is noticeable to the naked eye that the sitter was originally depicted wearing a low French collar, and that the horse's head and left foot were lower. Later, most likely about 1634–5, when it was decided to hang the portrait in the Great Hall of the Buen Retiro Palace, Velázquez reworked it very extensively; he painted the Queen's head and bust after the likeness of her which he had painted in 1631–2, also over another portrait of the same sitter *(No. 53)*; he reworked too the white horse, and made changes in the landscape.

For the provenance, see *Nos. 68* and *71*.

The first two figures of the white-painted Buen Retiro inventory number, 249, are still visible in the lower left corner.

Study, pp. 55, 62, 63.
Height 3.01 m. Width 3.18 m.
Madrid: Palacio Real del Buen Retiro (by 1635; inventories of 1701 and 1716).
Madrid: New Palacio Real (inventories of 1772, 1794 and 1814).
Madrid: Prado (since 1819), No. 1179.
Plate *151*.
C No. 231 — M No. 467 — L-R 1963 No. 210 — G No. 79.

151 *No. 70*

71. PHILIP IV, EQUESTRIAN

1634–5.

For biographical data, see *No. 28*.

In the lower left corner there is a folded-out piece of blank paper.

Aron Borelius has suggested that Velázquez used the same model for the mount in this equestrian portrait and for the two horses which he included in *The surrender of Breda*, *No. 73* (*Etudes sur Velázquez*, Linköping, 1949, pp. 7–14).

Painted for the Great Hall of the Buen Retiro Palace by the end of April 1635. It was perhaps repainted and somewhat altered by Velázquez himself after the fire of 1640 at the Buen Retiro Palace. Allende-Salazar (pp. 75, 278) held that the smaller copies now at the Courtault Institute, London, and the Museo Cerralbo, Madrid (L-R 1963, Nos. 192–3) were painted before 1640 since in both the hind legs of the horse are set somewhat further forward as they originally were in Velázquez' painting — which is still noticeable to the naked eye. However, the small copies (0.61 × 0.46 m. and 0.46 × 0.40 m. respectively) may have been painted after the *Philip IV on a chestnut horse*, approximately 0.835 in height, which Velázquez had in his workshop at the time of his death (No. 592 of the inventory of his belongings; L-R 1963, No. 188). Though listed with no painter's name, it might be that this equestrian portrait of Philip IV was a colour sketch by Velázquez.

The inventories of 1701 (folio 507) and 1716 (Nos. 248 and 249) of the Buen Retiro Palace described Velázquez' equestrian portraits of Philip IV and Queen Isabel (*No. 70*) as identical in size with the battle scenes, including Velázquez' *The surrender of Breda*, which were also in the Great Hall of the Palace: 3½ *varas* in height and 4 in width (approximately 2.92 × 3.34 m.). These measurements are less inaccurate for the portraits than for the battle scenes.

In 1772 the equestrian portraits of Philip IV and Queen Isabel were included with their corresponding Buen Retiro numbers, 248 and 249 respectively, in a double entry of the Madrid Royal Palace's inventory; a marginal note explained that they came from the Buen Retiro (folio 11). The paintings' height and width were apparently regarded identical with those registered in 1701 and 1716, but the amnuensis mistakenly substituted the figures corresponding to one dimension for those corresponding to the other.

These two equestrian portraits, as well as those of Philip III (*No. 68*), Queen Margarita (*No. 69*), and the Count-Duke of Olivares (*No. 66*), were grouped together in an unnumbered entry of the 1794 inventory of the Madrid Royal Palace, where the five paintings were described as identical in size: 4 *varas* in height and 3 in width, that is, approximately 3.34 × 2.50 m. These dimensions come close only to the present size of the portrait of Olivares.

The 1794 entry was repeated almost exactly in the inventory of the Madrid Royal Palace compiled in 1814, in which the Buen Retiro numbers of the four royal portraits were added (first gathering of the manuscript).

The painting still bears its white-painted Buen Retiro inventory number 248 in the lower left corner.

Study, pp. 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 66, 67, 68, 81.
Height 3.01 m. Width 3.18 m.
Madrid: Palacio Real del Buen Retiro (by 1635; inventories of 1701 and 1716).
Madrid: New Palacio Real (inventories of 1772, 1794, and 1814).
Madrid: Prado (since 1819), No. 1178.
Plate *152* (and colour plate).
C No. 97 — M No. 185 — L-R 1963 No. 187 — G No. 78.

152 *No. 71*

72. PRINCE BALTASAR CARLOS, EQUESTRIAN

Painted in 1634–5 for the Great Hall of the Buen Retiro Palace. It was *in situ* by April 1635.

For the Prince's biographical data, see *No. 51*.

At the Great Hall of the Buen Retiro Palace, it was placed over a window, on either side of which were the equestrian portraits of Philip IV (*No. 71*) and Queen Isabel (*No. 70*). As Lafuente has pointed out, the fact that the Prince' equestrian portrait was intended to hang very high explains the exaggerated curve that Velázquez gave to the pony's barrel (1943, No. 65).

In the 1701 inventory of the Buen Retiro Palace, it was described as follows (folios 508–9): 'An over-window painting 7/4 of a *vara* square, Portrait of Prince Don Baltasar, original by Velázquez, in a gilded frame. It is not appraised because the sitter is a royal person' *('Una sobre ventana de siete quartas en quadro Retrato del Principe Don Balthasar original de Velázquez con marco dorado no se tasa por ser de persona Real'.)* The metrical equivalent of the recorded size is approximately 1.46 m. square.

The 1716 inventory of the same palace repeats, under No. 266, the just quoted entry, except that it makes no reference to the reason for not appraising the painting.

In 1772, it was inventoried at the new Madrid Royal Palace: '266. — A portrait of Prince Don Balthasar on horseback, two *varas* and a half in height and two in width'. On the margin, [From] 'Retiro'. *('266. — Un Retrato del Principe Don Balthasar a cavallo, de dos varas y media de alto y dos de ancho, original de Velázquez.'* On the margin: *'Retiro')*. The 1794 inventory of the same Palace gives identical data, always under No. 266. The metrical equivalent of the size registered in these two inventories is approximately 2.09 m. in height and 1.67 m. in width, which is rather close to the present size of the painting. Since strips of canvas have obviously been added at the top and bottom of this portrait, the thought occurs that such additions may have been made at the time when it was transferred to the new Royal Palace, where it did no longer hang over a window. The mentioned difference in size, it should be noted, implies a rather remarkable difference in the format of the painting — described as square when it was at the Buen Retiro.

The 1814 inventory of the Madrid Royal Palace registers the painting as much larger than in the 1772 and 1794 inventories: 3 *varas* and a half in height and 2 *varas* and a half in width, that is, approximately, 2.92 m. × 2.09. This must have been an error since five years later the painting became part of the collection of the Prado Museum, where its size has not been tampered with, as far as I know.

The portrait still bears, in the area corresponding to the lower left corner of the original canvas, the Buen Retiro number, 266, painted in white, under which it was listed in the mentioned royal inventories, from 1716 on.

Study, pp. 59, 60, 62, 63–4, 67, 68, 81.
Height 2.10 m. Width 1.75 m.
Madrid: Palacio Real del Buen Retiro (by 1635; inventories of 1701 and 1716).
Madrid: New Palacio Real (inventories of 1772, 1794 and 1814).
Madrid: Prado (since 1819), No. 1180.
Plate *153* (and colour plate).
C No. 131 — M No. 261 — L-R 1963 No. 199 — G No. 77.

153 *No. 72*

73. THE SURRENDER OF BREDA

Painted in 1634–5 for the Great Hall of the Buen Retiro Palace; it was there by 28 April 1635.

The Spanish general Ambrosio Spínola, Marquis of los Balbases (1569–1630), is depicted receiving the key of the fortress of Breda from the Dutch Governor-General, Justinus of Nassau (1559–1635), on 5 June 1625.

Aron Borelius has suggested that the model for the two horses in this composition was the same used by Velázquez for his equestrian portrait of Philip IV, *No. 71* (*Etudes sur Velázquez*, Linköping, 1949, pp. 7–14).

Radiographs made in 1960 revealed that Velázquez made many changes in the process of composition — which seems to have been one with that of execution. In an early stage, flags occupied the space where the lances were to become so essential a compositional element. Spínola's horse had initially been sketched quite close to the centre of the composition. At some stage, Spínola appears to have been brushed in as embracing Nassau with both his arms; his head was apparently scratched off and painted anew.

The painting was cleaned and restored in 1952. The painted canvas had been folded over the stretcher on the right side; this was undone, thus bringing the composition closer to its original width. The painting has since darkened again due to unmitigated exposure to contamination.

The inventory of the Buen Retiro Palace, drawn up in 1701, described it as follows: 'Another painting of the same size and in an identical frame representing the Marquis of Spínola receiving the keys of a fortress, original by Velázquez, appraised in five hundred doubloons'. *('Otra del mismo tamaño y marco del Marqués de Spínola recibiendo las llaves de una Plaza original de Diego Velázquez tasada en quinientos doblones')*. The size referred to is '*quatro varas de largo y tres y media de alto*', that is, approximately 3.34 m. in width and 2.91 in height. The frame was gilded. Ambrosio Spínola was Marquis of los Balbases, not of Spínola, and the fortress, whose name was omitted, was Breda, of course.

This entry was literally repeated, though with no valuation, under No. 244, in the Buen Retiro inventory of 1716. The white-painted number 244, which the picture still bears, is recorded in all subsequent royal inventories.

In 1772, the painting was inventoried at the new Madrid Royal Palace. Spínola was then misidentified as the Marquis of Leganés, and the size of the canvas was given as '*quatro varas y media de largo y una menos de cayda*' — approximately, 3.75 m. in width and 2.91 m. in height. The same size was recorded in the inventory of 1794, in which the subject of the painting was summarily described as 'the surrender of the keys of a fortress' without naming either the participants or the place. The same is the case with the corresponding entry in the 1814 inventory of the Madrid Royal Palace.

Study, pp. 53, 59, 69, 70, 71, 72, 76, 77, 98.
Height 3.07 m. Width 3.70 m.
Madrid: Palacio Real del Buen Retiro (by 28 April 1635; inventories of 1701 and 1716).
Madrid: New Palacio Real (inventories of 1772, 1794 and 1814).
Madrid: Prado (since 1819), No. 1172.
Plates *154*, *155*, *156* (and colour plates).
C No. 36 — M No. 78 — L-R 1963 No. 80 — G No. 76.

154 *No. 73*

155. The surrender of Breda, radiograph of the whole.

156. The surrender of Breda, radiograph partly showing the figure of Spínola.

74. STUDIES FOR *THE SURRENDER OF BREDA*

1634–5.

Light black chalk on yellowish paper.

At the lower right there is an inscription in ink by a later hand: *Velázquez 6* [over an illegible figure] *Rs Por detras*. Besides giving the name of the artist, it indicates the price, 6 *reales*, and the fact that there is another drawing on the verso (*No. 75* following).

Rubbed. The smaller figure to the right has almost entirely faded out.

The main figure though is well built into space by means of a contour line which is fluid at every point, even where it has been purposely reinforced. This lends support to the view that this drawing is a study for *The surrender of Breda* (*No. 73*); it is not possible though to point out, as some scholars have tried to do, for which figure it was used in the final composition (see Barcia, No. 491; August L. Mayer, *Handzeichnungen Spanischer Meister*, Leipzig, 1915, plate 83, and F.J. Sánchez Cantón, *Dibujos españoles*, Madrid, 1930, vol. III, No. CCXXI).

Study, p. 70.
Height 26.2 cm. Width 16.8 cm.
Madrid: Valentín Carderera.
Madrid: Biblioteca Nacional (since 1867), 16–40, No. 20.
Plate 157.
M No. 597 — L-R No. 634.

157 No. 74

75. STUDY FOR THE FIGURE OF SPINOLA IN *THE SURRENDER OF BREDA*

1634–5.

Very light black chalk on yellowish paper. Verso of the preceding (*No. 74*). At the lower right corner there is an inscription in ink by a later hand: *Velázquez.*

Rubbed, more so than the drawing on the recto, and with several smudges.

In spite of its poorer condition, it would seem that the figure's contour has been built in much the same manner as in the recto drawing. The figure of Spínola differs in various points from that in the painting, notably from the waist down, where there are notable hesitations. The position of the right arm is different, and Spínola is not holding either the baton or the hat in his left hand. See *No. 73.*

Study, p. 70.
Height 26.2 cm. Width 16.8 cm.
Madrid: Valentín Carderera.
Madrid: Biblioteca Nacional (since 1867), 16–40, No. 20.
Plate *158.*
M No. 635 — L-R 1963 No. 635.

158 *No. 75*

76. THE SCULPTOR MARTÍNEZ MONTAÑÉS AT WORK

Painted sometime in the period June 1635–January 1636.

For the identification of the sitter as Juan Martínez Montañés, see Beruete, pp. 72–3. He was born at Alcalá la Real, Jaén, on 16 March 1568 and died at Seville on 18 June 1649.

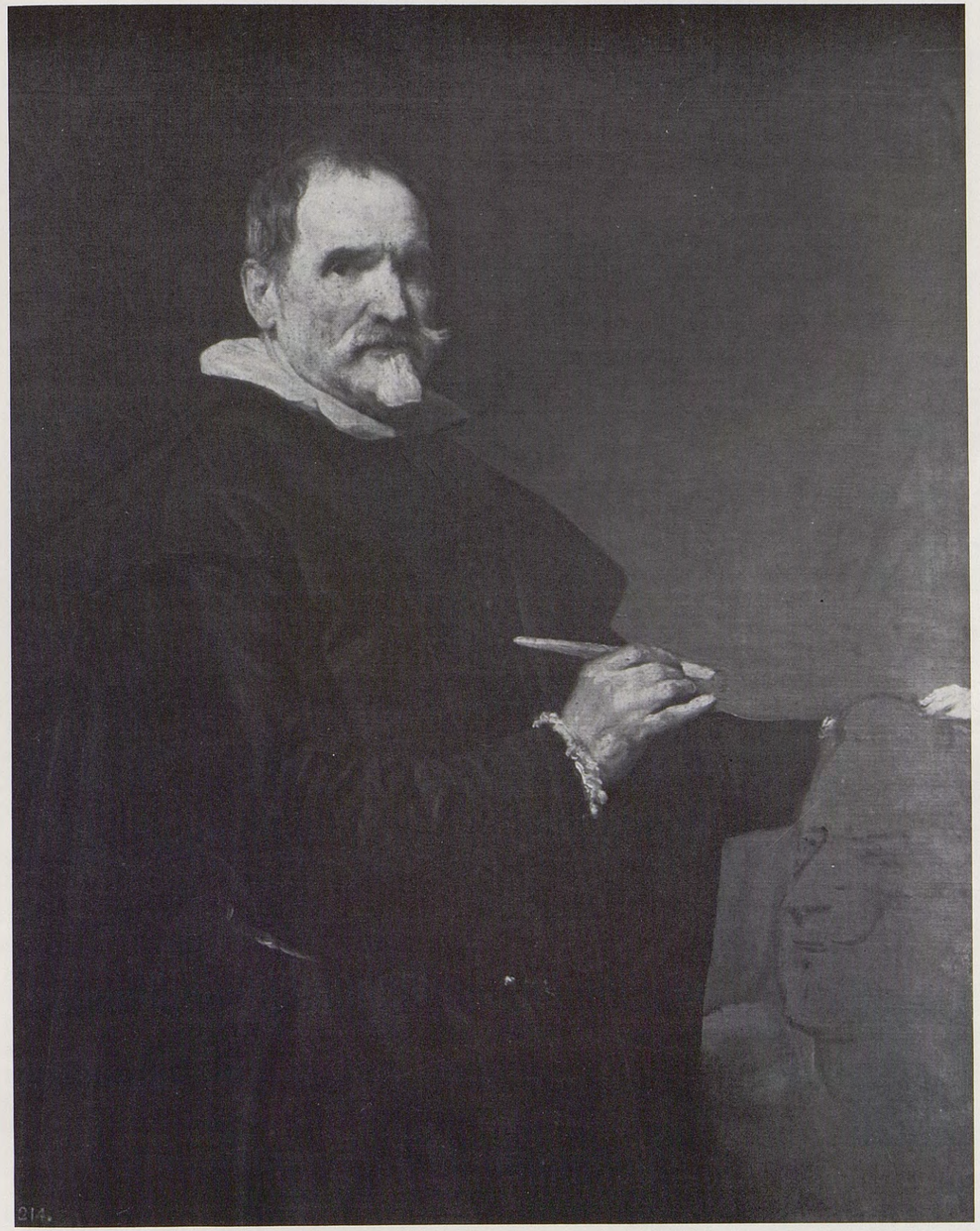
Martínez Montañés was commanded to the Court to make a clay model of the head of Philip IV for the equestrian monument that had been commissioned to Pietro Tacca in Florence. He arrived at Madrid in June 1635 and remained there till January 1636. Gabriel Bocángel y Unzueta wrote a sonnet on the portrait of Philip IV 'sculptured in clay' by Martínez Montañés; it was included in *La Lira de las Musas*, published in Madrid in 1637, without date (for the text of the sonnet, see *Obras de Don Gabriel Bocángel y Unzueta*, ed. by Rafael Benítez Claros, Madrid, 1946, vol. I, pp. 251–2).

Tacca's bronze sculpture of Philip IV on horseback, formerly in one of the gardens of the Buen Retiro Palace, is now in Oriente Square, facing the Madrid Royal Palace.

Restorations are noticeable in several spots, including the head of Philip IV that the sculptor is seen modelling; one of the repaints, not too old, partly covers a damaged sport under the left eye.

Listed in the 1789 inventory of the royal country estate known as the Quinta del Duque del Arco at El Pardo, near Madrid: '214. — Another picture, 1⅓ *varas* high and 1 *vara* wide; it represents the portrait of a sculptor; it is an original work by Velázquez, and it is valued at 3,000 *reales*' (*'214. — Otro de vara y tercia de alto y vara de ancho: representa el Retrato de un Escultor: es original de Velázquez y vale tres mil reales'*). This entry was repeated, including the number, in almost the same words in the inventory of the same royal country estate compiled in 1794. The painting still bears the inventory number, 214, in the lower right corner. The metrical equivalent of the recorded dimensions, approximately 1.12 × 0.835 m, closely coincides with the present size of the painting.

Study, pp. 90, 91, 92, 97, 98, 107.
Height 1.09 m. Width 0.835 m.
El Pardo, near Madrid: Quinta del Duque del Arco (inventories of 1789 and 1794).
Madrid: Prado (since 1819), No. 1194.
Plates *159*.
C No. 152 — M No. 347 — L-R No. 503 — G No. 86.



159 *No. 76*

77. PRINCE BALTASAR CARLOS AS A HUNTER

Late 1635, or 1636, according to the inscription on the painting (left bottom corner), *Anno aetatis suae VI*, and to the apparent age of the sitter, born on 17 October 1629.

Cut down on both sides. The composition must have originally included a somewhat fuller view of the tree and the little greyhound sitting on its hindlegs, and, as in the case of the other hunting portraits (*Nos. 63* and *64*), the sitter must have been off-centre — which he still is in the painting's present condition.
In the workshop replicas (L-R 1963, Nos. 305 and 306), the dogs — three rather than two — are much closer to the Prince; there is no tree at the back of him, and the light-hued slope there rises to the right edge of the canvas (plate *161*). As a result of these changes, the figure of the Prince does not dominate, as it does in Velázquez' original, the space around him nor the distant landscape view.

Radiographs made in 1960, which did not cover the whole painting, revealed *pentimenti* about the figure of the Prince, his gun, and the dog lying at his feet, as well as many scratches and losses of pigment (plate *160*). The painting was extensively restored at an unknown date.

The *craquelure* is web-like as in *Bacchus* (*No. 41* above).

Inventoried at the Torre de la Parada in 1701 with no painter's name (see *No. 63*). Included in the 1747 inventory of the same royal residence still without any painter's name: '35. — Another picture, 2 *varas* high and 1 *vara* wide, representing Prince Baltasar as a hunter, in a gilded frame' On the margin: 'Not appraised since it is a portrait of a royal person' *('35. — Otro de dos varas de alto y una de ancho con el Principe Balthasar de cazador y su marco dorado'*. On the margin: '*No se tassó por ser de persona Real')*. The metrical equivalent of the reported size is approximately 1.67 × 0.835 m.

However, as recorded in a list appended to the same inventory (folio 145), the portrait was higher (about 1.88 m). The 1772 inventory of the new Madrid Royal Palace described it as of a size close to its present one: '1011. — Another portrait of the Infante, also as a hunter with a gun in his hand and a dog near to it, 2¼ *varas* high and 1½ *varas* wide, original by Velázquez'. On the margin: 'From the Torre de la Parada' *('1011. — Otro del Ynfante tambien de caza, con una escopeta en la mano, y junto a ella un perro, de dos varas y quarta de alto y una menos de ancho, original de Velázquez.')* On the margin: 'Yd' for Torre de la Parada. The metrical equivalent of the reported dimensions is approximately 1.88 × 1.25 m.

The painting still bears the inventory number 1011 painted in red in the lower left corner.

The 1794 inventory of the Madrid Royal Palace listed it, however, under *No. 1010* by obvious mistake (see *No. 64*); its size was given as 2½ *varas* high and 1½ *varas* wide, or about 2.09 × 1.25 m. The 1814 inventory of the same palace repeated the error concerning the entry's number.

Study, pp. 58, 78, 79, 80, 81.
Height 1.90 m. Width 1.03 m.
El Pardo: Torre de la Parada (inventories of 1701 and 1747).
Madrid: New Royal Palace (inventories of 1772, 1794 and 1814).
Madrid: Prado, No. 1189.
Plates *160, 162*.
C No. 137 — M No. 271 — L-R 1963 No. 304 — G No. 99.

160. Prince Baltasar Carlos as a hunter, partial radiograph of Velázquez' original.

161. After Velázquez, *Prince Baltasar Carlos as a hunter*, (1.55 × 0.92 m.), Bury St. Edmon's, Suffolk, Ickworth House.

162 *No. 77*

78. PRINCE BALTASAR CARLOS WITH THE COUNT-DUKE OF OLIVARES AT THE ROYAL MEWS

About 1636.

The date is suggested mainly by the apparent age of the Prince, born on 17 December 1629; he looks slightly older than in the equestrian portrait painted by Velázquez in 1634 or early in 1635 (*No. 72*), and roughly of the same age as in the hunting portrait (*No. 77*).

Most of the other figures have been firmly or at least plausibly identified. Standing in the middle ground, to the right, there are Olivares and the keeper of arms, probably Alonso Martínez del Espinar, who hands him a tilting lance. Behind this group there is another man who, as Enriqueta Harris has suggested, can reasonably be identified with Juan Mateos, Philip IV's master of the hunt ('Velázquez's portrait of Prince Baltasar Carlos in the Riding School', *The Burlington Magazine*, May 1976, pp. 266–75). On the balcony, there can distinctly be seen Philip IV, Queen Isabel and a little girl — who, Allende-Salazar suggested, might be the Infanta Maria Antonia, who died on 6 December 1636 when she was not quite two years old (pp. 181, 284–5). Other figures on the balcony are rather indistinct, including a wimpled woman, 'possibly the Duchess of Olivares', lady-in-waiting to the Queen and governess to the Prince, according to Harris. The dwarf behind the horse, to the left, has not been identified.

The painting was cleaned, for the second time within a period of roughly twenty years, in 1973.

In Velázquez' time, in 1647, a picture of this subject, approximately 2.09 m. in height, was inventoried, with no artist's name, among the works of art left by the wife of Don Luis Méndez de Haro y Guzmán, Doña Catalina Fernández de Córdoba y Aragón, who had died on 19 November of that year; 'A painting of the Prince our Lord on horseback, and the Count-Duke of Olivares receiving the lance from the keeper of arms, two and a half *varas* high' *('Una pintura del Príncipe Nuestro Señor a caballo y el Conde Duque de Olivares recibiendo la lanza del Armero Mayor, de dos varas y media de alto')*. See Marqués del Saltillo, *Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones*, 1953, pp. 233–4. In 1951 the Marqués de Saltillo had cited a smaller picture of the same subject (2 *varas* or about 1.67 m. high), inventoried also without any artist's name as the property of the Marquise of Carpio (*Arte Español*, 1951, p. 170, n. 1). It might be that, as Enriqueta Harris has surmised, this entry, for which Saltillo gave no source, was taken from a different inventory but referred to the same painting and the same owner, since the husband of Doña Catalina Fernández de Córdoba was the sixth Marquis of Carpio.

The painting was inherited by Don Gaspar de Haro y Guzmán, seventh Marquis of Carpio, who died in 1687. A few years later, it was acquired by the Count of Monterrey, brother of the deceased Don Gaspar, in settlement of debts, at a sale of the Carpio Collection held at Madrid in 1690. It was then for the first time attributed to Velázquez: 'A portrait of the Prince Don Baltasar on horseback, dressed in black with white feathers and a red sash, and the Count-Duke. Original by Velázquez, appraised at 5,500 *reales*' *('Un retrato del Principe Don Baltasar a cavallo vestido de negro con plumas blancas, con una banda colorada y el Conde Duque. Original de Velázquez, tassado ...5500')*. See J. M. Pita Andrade, *Archivo Español de Arte*, 1952, p. 235.

Palomino in his life of Velázquez wrote (p. 907): 'He painted another picture, with many figures, of this Prince being instructed in horsemanship by Don Gaspar de Guzmán, his master of the horse, Count-Duke of San Lúcar [Count of Olivares and Duke of San Lúcar la Mayor]. This picture belongs now to the house of the Marquis of Liche [Eliche], his nephew, where it is greatly valued and esteemed' *('Otro cuadro pintó, grandemente historiado, con el retrato de este Príncipe, a quien enseñaba a andar a caballo Don Gaspar de Guzmán, su Caballerizo Mayor, Conde-Duque de San Lúcar. Esta pintura tiene hoy la casa del Señor Marqués de Liche, su sobrino, con singular aprecio y estimación')*. Palomino obviously used the term 'house' of the Marquis of Eliche in a patrician sense for, at the death of the Count of Monterrey in 1716, the painting had passed to Don Gaspar de Haro y

Guzmán's daughter, the wife of the 10th Duke of Alba, who inherited through her various titles and estates, including those of Eliche.

With Palomino's end the references to this painting in Spain. Enriqueta Harris, in her above cited article, has published a 'visual' record of what she believes 'is undoubtedly' the same work, a painting on the wall of Panini's *The picture gallery of Cardinal Silvio Valenti Gonzaga*, signed and dated at Rome in 1749 (Hartford, Conn., Wadsworth Atheneum; 1.98 × 2.67 m.). The catalogue of the Cardinal's collection, drawn up probably after his death (1746), described the painting of Prince Baltasar Carlos at the mews as by Velázquez, and gave its size as approximately 1.48 × 0.70 m. Harris holds that both 'the size and the details of the painting copied by Panini (the measurements are as usual approximate), support its identification with the Wesminster *Riding School* after it had been restored to its full size'. As Harris points out, there is evidence that the canvas had at one time been folded over at the top, cutting down the visible area by about 14.5 cm.

Enriqueta Harris rightly remarks that in this painting 'the horse's barrel is exaggerated as in the large equestrian portrait of the Prince, which was intended to be seen from below' (*No. 72*). I should add that the horse's exaggerated barrel looks plainly awkward in this picture of small figures, hardly intended to be seen from below as the life-size equestrian portrait of the Prince was.

The composition is obviously patchy. The uneven execution, which reveals more than one hand, makes it more so. The painting cannot be regarded as a work wholly by Velázquez as Michael Levey, who believes it to be a sketch, and Enriqueta Harris have suggested (Levey, *Painting at Court*, New York, 1971, pp. 142–4, and Harris, art. cit). It rather appears to be a workshop piece, partly altered by Velázquez' hand and left in that state.

By comparison with Velázquez' life-size portrait of Prince Baltasar Carlos on horseback, the equestrian group in this composition has a wooden quality, notably about the Prince's face; his figure, hardly describable as sketchy, is in fact maladroit, especially from the waist down to the foot on the stirrup; the foot, messily brushed in, looks like a stump.

The figures on the balcony and those in the middle distance, to the right, are superior in execution to the rest of the composition; the light touch with which they are modelled suggests, in fact, Velázquez' hand. Even so, the figure of Olivares is not well set in space, while the others are. This likeness of Olivares is, incidentally, somewhat similar, even in his stance, to a fine life-size portrait from Velázquez' workshop at the Pushkin Museum (Plate; L-R 1963 No. 509; size: 2.12 × 1.26 m.).

There is a school variant of this painting at the Wallace Collection (1.32 × 1.02 m.). It is a work of rather poor quality, inferior not only to Velázquez' hand but also to Mazo's (L-R 1963 No. 207). Harris has shown that its height is very nearly the same as that of the visible area of the Westminster painting when it was folded over at the top — which proves that it is a copy, with variations, made during the years when the Westminster painting was reduced in height. The copyst has simplified the composition, eliminating the wicker artifacts and the figures of both Olivares and the keeper of arms in the middle distance, as well as the royal group on the balcony. The emphasis is now plainly on the figure of the Prince on horseback. The composition is more readily intelligible, and jejune.

Gudiol (p. 147) believes that both the Grosvenor and the Wallace paintings are unmistakably by Velázquez' hand.

Height 1.44 m. Width 0.91 m.
London: Lord Grosvenor, later Marquis of Westminster (included in the 129 paintings purchased *en bloc* from the collection of Welbore Ellis Agar in 1806. Agar, born in 1755, died in 1805).
Eccleston, Chester: The Grosvenor Estate.
Plate *163*.
C No. 134 — M No. 267 — L-R 1963 No. 206 — G No. 83.

163 *No. 78*

79. LADY WITH A FAN

Mid–1630's.

Impeccably cleaned in 1976.

There is no evidence that the sitter is Velázquez' daughter, Francisca, the wife of Mazo, as has been suggested, among others, by Beruete (p. 71), Allende-Salazar (pp. 126, 281) and Lafuente (1943, No. 89). The latter holds that a comparison of this portrait with the lady sitting on a chair in Mazo's *The family of the artist* (Vienna Museum) justifies without doubt the suggested identification. Yet, in point of fact, there is little resemblance between the two ladies. Moreover, as María Luisa Caturla has indicated, it is unlikely that the lady in Mazo's group-portrait is Francisca Velázquez, who died before 3 November 1654, and she should instead be identified with Francisca de la Vega, Mazo's second wife, who died in 1665 (*La boda de Doña Ynés, nieta de Velázquez*, Madrid, 1955, pp. 9-10). Nor can this *Lady with a fan*, as has often been assumed, be the portrait mentioned by Palomino as having been painted by Velázquez around 1625 and much praised by Gabriel de Bocángel in a poem published in 1627 (pp. 909–10); the style is plainly later than that.

The sitter's features are very similar to those of *The needlewoman* (*No. 81*).

Study p. 98.
Height 0.93 m. Width 0.685 m.
London: Lucien Bonaparte Sale, 1816, lot 2.
Paris: Alejandro María López Aguado, Marqués de las Marismas (by 1837); sale 20–2 March 1843, lot 40, to Baron James de Rotschild for 12,750 francs.
Paris: Baron James de Rothschild (1843).
Paris: F. Laneuville (1843–7).
Paris: Lord Hertford (1847–70); Sir Richard Wallace (1870–2).
London: Hertford House, Sir Richard Wallace; Lady Wallace (1872–97).
London: Hertford House, The Wallace Collection (since 1897), No. 88.
Plate *164* (and colour plate).
C No. 265 — M No. 559 — L-R 1963 No. 599 — G No. 118.

164 *No. 79*

80. A YOUNG LADY

Mid–1630's.

Cut down on all sides; the lower edge, moreover, was evidently folded back at one time. There is an abrasion which extends over most of the skirt below the left forearm.

The sitter has a strong resemblance to that for the preceding portrait *(No. 79)*, though she looks younger, It is the kind of striking likeness that sometimes occurs between mother and daughter or between two sisters. The pose of the two ladies is very similar, but the younger one does not hold a fan and the position of her hands is quite different. As for their costumes, the *Lady with a fan* wears a chestnut brown dress, while the other wears yellow (dulled by dark ingrained varnish) with black trimmings.

Beruete considered this portrait a repetition of *No. 79* 'with a good many variations', lacking the 'firmness of Velázquez', and suggested the name of Mazo, adding, however, that he was 'unable definitively to state' who painted it (p. 71). Aureliano de Beruete y Moret regarded it as Mazo's original; he held that 'the same model must have sat' to Velázquez and Mazo 'within a few years' and 'in something the same pose' (*The School of Madrid*, London, 1911, p. 96, and *Conferencias de arte*, Madrid, 1924, pp. 153–4).

To my mind, Velázquez' hand is evident in the setting of the well-rounded figure in space, enhanced by subtle highlights on the sitter's face and on her pearl necklace, as well as in the sweeping brushstrokes which also build her hands into space.

Certainly this portrait cannot be a copy after *Lady with a fan* since the sitter is obviously younger. For this very reason, if the same person had sat for both portraits, this one would have been painted a few years earlier. In point of execution, however, both portraits are datable to the mid–1630's, that is to the years when Velázquez painted the equestrian and hunting portraits (*Nos. 63, 64, 66, 71, 72* and *77*).

It may be that the sitter for *Lady with a fan* was Velázquez' wife, about 35 years old, and that their daughter sat for the other portrait, as I ventured to surmise in 1963 with the caution that there is no evidence to support either suggestion.

This portrait must be the one inventoried under No. 109 in the collection of the 7th Marquis of Carpio, at Madrid, on 15 June 1677: 'A picture of a woman with a scalloped black veil on her head, and a wide lace collar, dressed in yellow trimmed with black strips, original by Diego Velázquez, 1⅓ *varas* high and 1⅙ wide' (*'109. — Vn quadro de una Mujer con un belo negro con puntas en la caueza con su balona vestida de amarillo alistado de negro original de Diego Velazquez de bara y tercia de cahida y media bara y sesma de ancho'*). The metrical equivalent of the reported size is about 1.12 × 0.97 m, larger, of course, than the painting's present size.

The same entry appears under the same number in another inventory of the Carpio collection at Madrid; the document, undated, was drawn up sometime after March 1677 when the Marquis became Spanish ambassador at Rome. It was repeated, though under No. 115, on 1 October 1692, in the inventory of the sale of the Carpio collection; a marginal note indicates that the portrait was acquired by the Count of Monterrey (there is another copy of this inventory with some differences in the numeration of the entries, though not in that concerning the portrait under consideration). All the mentioned inventories are preserved in the Archives of the House of Alba, Madrid, '*cajas*' 217 and 221.

Study, pp. 96, 98–9.
Height 0.98 m. Width 0.49 m.
Madrid: Jardin de San Joaquín, Marqués del Carpio (inventory of 1677); his estate (inventory of 1692).
Madrid: Conde de Monterrey (1692).
London: Chiswick House, Earl of Burlington (died in 1753), according to Curtis.
Chatsworth: Duke of Devonshire.
Plate *165*.
C No. 266 — M No. 561 — L-R 1963 No. 600 — G No. 119.

165 *No. 80*

81. THE NEEDLEWOMAN

Mid–1630's–early 1640's.

Unfinished.

Mayer suggested that the sitter was Velázquez' daughter and Mazo's wife, Francisca Velázquez del Mazo (*A portrait by Velázquez, Francisca Velázquez, Daughter of the Master*, Paris, privately printed, n.d.). It has, however, been argued that Mazo was one of the two persons who compiled the inventory mentioned below, and that it would be unlikely for him not to have listed a portrait of his wife as such (see W.W.S. Cook, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, August 1945, p. 81). It is conceivable, though, that even if Mazo's wife had sat for this picture, he may have considered it simply a genre composition.

The sitter's features are very much the same as those of *Lady with a fan* (*No. 79*), though they are shown at a rather different angle. If the same woman sat for the two paintings, it would indicate that she was a member of Velázquez' immediate circle.

The brushwork of the sitter's face and chest in this unfinished painting is remarkably consistent with that of *Lady with a fan*. The whitish strokes round the neck of the needlewoman were probably intended as the ground work for a necklace.

As for the attribution of the painting to Velázquez, which a comparison with *The Coronation of the Virgin* (*No. 105*) supports, it has been strengthened by the following inventory entry concerning a painting that Velázquez had in his rooms at the time of his death (No. 169 of the inventory): 'Another head, of a woman doing needlework' *('Otra caveça de una mujer aciendo labor')*. As F. J. Sánchez Cantón explained, 'doubtless, the entry means: A portrait of a woman doing needlework, of which only the head is finished' *(Archivo Español de Arte*, 1942, p. 79). This conforms rather closely with the half-length figure of *The needlewoman* in which the dress, cushion and background are obviously unfinished and the hands, just summarily sketched, even more so.

Yet, Sánchez Cantón, though careful to note that he had seen the painting under an unsatisfactory light and in haste, concluded that 'the inventory now explains that, the picture having been left unfinished [by Velázquez] another painter, probably Mazo, worked on it' — an interpretation that the unfinished character of the painting plainly denies. Two years later, Sánchez Cantón termed 'unacceptable' the attribution of the painting to Velázquez (*Archivo Español de Arte*, 1944, p. 136). The following year, however, in an article published in *The Burlington Magazine* (1945, p. 293), he again mentioned the entry in the inventory as 'lending support to the authenticity, at least of the head, of the picture' — a sketch in which, to repeat, only the head, if anything, may be said to be finished.

Lafuente has catalogued it as painted by Velázquez about 1641–3 (1943, No. 77; 1944, No. 87). The strong resemblance of the sitter to the *Lady with a fan* would indicate that the two portraits are close in time. However, since *The needlewoman* is far from finished, I find it impossible to make a clear-cut suggestion as to its date.

Study, pp. 92, 96, 99.
Height 0.74 m. Width 0.60 m.
Kerlevenant: Marquis de Gouvello.
Paris: Christiane de Poles.
Paris: Wildenstein and Co.
Washington, D. C.: National Gallery (since 1937), No. 81.
Plate *166*.
M No. 558 — L-R 1963 No. 605 — G No. 160.

166 *No. 81*

82. THE BUFFOON PABLO DE VALLADOLID

About 1636–7.

The services of this buffoon at the Court of Philip IV are documented from 1632 till his death which occurred on 2 December 1648 (Moreno Villa, pp. 145–6, and *Varia velazqueña*, Madrid, 1960, vol. II, p. 265).

Pentimenti are noticeable from the head down to the feet, including the eyebrows which were originally tufted, like those in the portrait of the jester Castañeda (*No. 84*); the collar has been notably widened.

The painting has obviously been marred during the last two decades, owing to neglect and to the action of noxious matter. A coat of grime and varnish holds together the painted surface, where cracks and losses of pigment are noticeable. The once luminous grey background has turned a foul ochre, and the sitter's white collar has darkened to a dubious grey. Lately, it seems to have been superficially wiped without removing the old varnish; the painting now has a somewhat cloudy appearance.

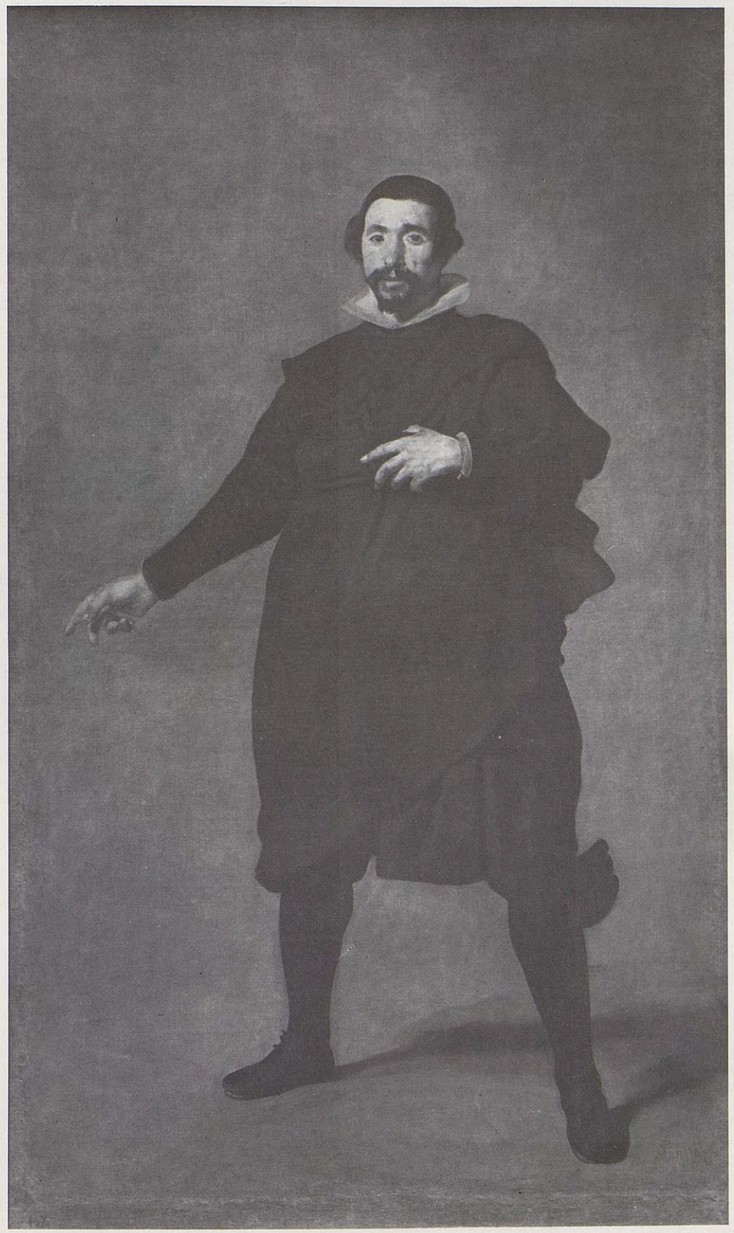
Inventoried at the Buen Retiro Palace in 1701: 'Another picture 2½ *varas* high and 1⅓ *varas* wide, the portrait of a buffoon with a stiff, flat, white collar, whose name was Pablillos de Valladolid, by the hand of Velázquez, in a black frame, valued at 25 doubloons' (*'Otra de dos varas y media de alto y vara y tercia de ancho con un Retrato de un Bufon con golilla que se llamó Pablillos el de Valladolid de mano de Velázquez con marco negro tasada en veinte y cinco doblones'*). The metrical equivalent of the reported size is approximately 2.09 × 1.12 m.

The 1716 inventory of the same palace lists the painting under No. 609 in roughly the same terms though with no valuation.

In 1772 and 1794 it was inventoried at the new Madrid Royal Palace, always under No. 609, paired with the portrait of the jester Don Juan de Austria (*No. 65*) but with no mention of either sitter's name. Its size was recorded as 2½ *varas* high and 1½ wide, that is approximately 2.09 × 1.25 m. — exactly the painting's present size.

On 19 August 1816, it was sent to the Real Academia de San Fernando as Velázquez' portrait of a mayor (*'alcade'*); it was so listed, the 'mayor' identified as 'Ronquillo', in the Academia's catalogues of 1817 and 1821. Juan Agustín Ceán Bermúdez, who compiled the 1824 catalogue, discarded that identification, describing the painting as a 'full-length portrait of a buffoon standing'.

Study, pp. XIII, 84, 85, 86, 96, 153 (note 5).
Height 2.09 m. Width 1.25 m.
Madrid: Palacio Real del Buen Retiro (inventories of 1701 and 1716).
Madrid: New Palacio Real (inventories of 1772 and 1794).
Madrid: Real Academia de San Fernando (1816–27).
Madrid: Prado (since 1827), No. 1198.
Plate *167*.
C No. 71 — M No. 449 — L-R 1963 No. 433 — G No. 107.



167 *No. 82*

83. THE BUFFOON CALABAZAS

1637–9.

For the sitter's biographical data, see *No. 39*.

Repaints in the buffoon's head, notably his right temple, are visible to the naked eye. Radiographs made in 1960 further revealed losses of pigment, some rather large, mainly about the sitter's body, where the canvas seems to have been slashed.

In the 1772 inventory of the new Madrid Royal Palace, it was listed immediately after three portraits of dwarfs by Velázquez (*Nos. 99, 102* and *103* of the present catalogue): '1012. — Another picture also by Velázquez, portrait of a buffoon with a Flemish collar of sorts, 1 and ¼ *varas* high and 1 *vara* wide'. On the margin: 'From the Torre de la Parada'. ('*1012. — Otro también Retrato de un Bufon, con un cuellecillo a la flamenca, de vara y quarta de cayda, y vara de ancho*'. On the margin: '*Torre*').[1]

The 1701 inventory of the Torre de la Parada included no entry which could be referred to this painting either on account of the description or of related data. The 1747 inventory of the same royal site listed a painting which could possibly be this portrait; it was one of 15 paintings, not included in the 1701 inventory which in 1747 were listed by subject matter only with no painter's name nor indication of size — except for some whose height was recorded. The entry we are concerned with read: 'A picture of a dwarf laughing, 1 *vara* and a half in height' (*'Un quadro de un Enano riyendo de vara y media de alto'*). The metrical equivalent of the reported height is approximately 1.25 m. The Torre de la Parada was then in a ruinous condition due to neglect and to the damage caused in 1706 and 1710 by French troops, who took away a number of paintings and left behind others which they had cut out of their frames and rolled up.

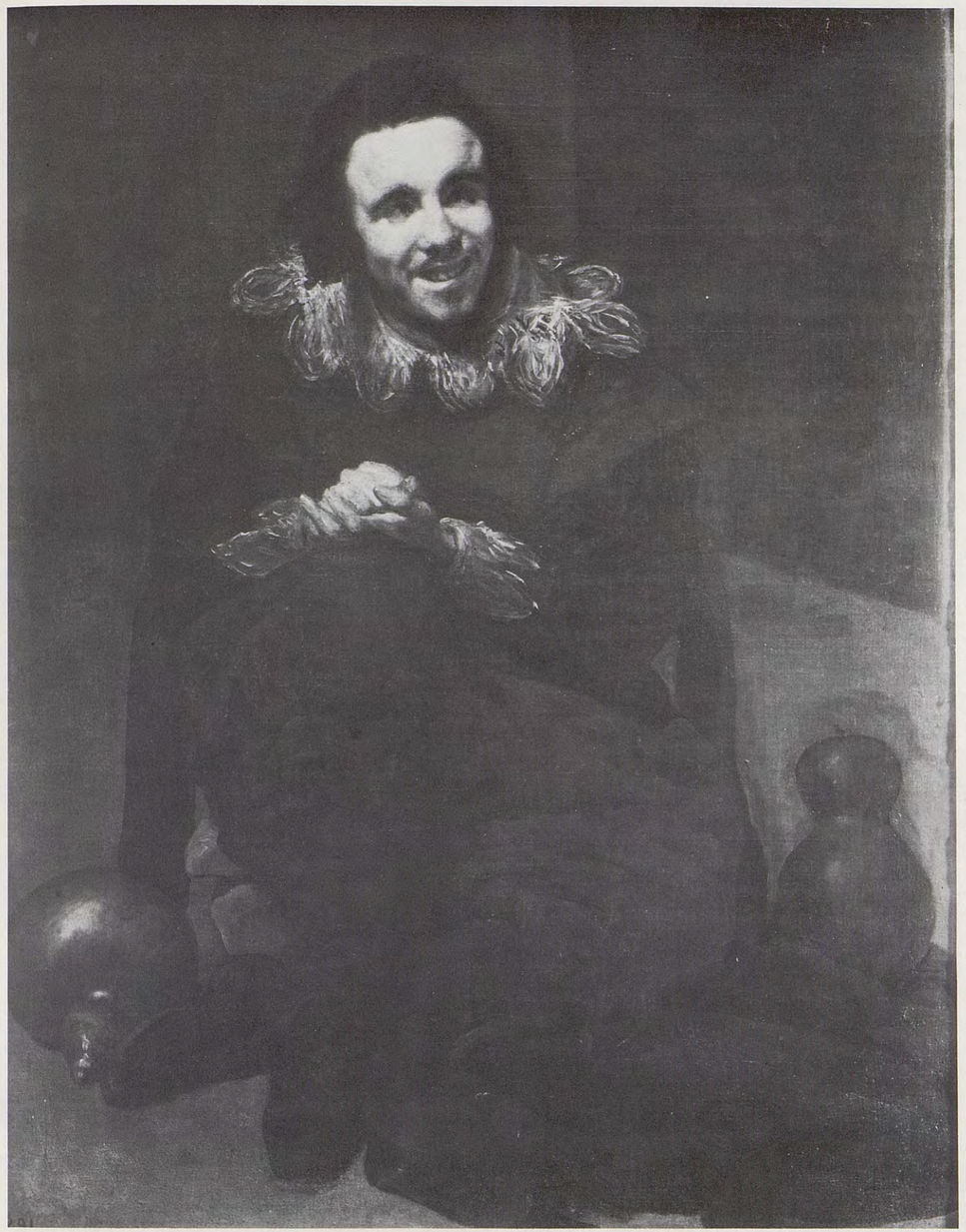
In 1794 it was inventoried at the Madrid Royal Palace without any number, as Velázquez' portrait of the *Bobo de de Coria*, valued at 6,000 *reales*, double than *The waterseller* (*No. 16*), which was described in the immediately preceding entry of the inventory. The full text of the quoted entry read: '*Vara y tercia de alto y vara de ancho: el Vovo de Coria. Yd. 6000*'. The metrical equivalent of the recorded size is 1.12 × 0.835 m. approximately.

The proper identification of the sitter was made by Pedro Beroqui (*Adiciones y correcciones al catálogo del Museo del Prado*, part 2, *Escuelas españolas*, Valladolid, 1915, pp. 36–7).

Study, pp. 82, 84, 88.
Height 1.06 m. Width 0.835 m.
Torre de la Parada, near Madrid, (possibly there in 1747).
Madrid: New Palacio Real (inventories of 1772, and 1794).
Madrid: Prado (since 1819), No. 1205.
Plates *168, 169*.
C No. 66 — M No. 446 — L-R 1963 No. 424 — G No. 104.

[1] In the context of the four consecutive inventory entries, all of which are gramatically somewhat faulty, '*también*' should be understood to mean: like the preceding paintings, also by Velázquez. As for '*cuellecillo*', this form of Spanish diminutive has several usages, one of which is to belittle the appearance or make of a thing. I have translate it in this sense taking into account the evidence provided by the painting itself.

168. The Buffoon Calabazas, partial radiograph.



169 *No. 83*

84. THE BUFFOON DON CRISTOBAL DE CASTAÑEDA Y PERNIA

1637–40.

Don Cristobal de Castañeda y Pernia was nicknamed *Barbarroja* after an Algerian pirate of the sixteenth century on account of his pretensions as a soldier and a bullfighter; his service at the Court is documented from 1633 till 1649 (Moreno Villa, pp. 124–5). According to the Tuscan Ambassador, he was first among the jesters (Justi, II, p. 312).

The cloak of the Turkish-like costume has obviously been partly painted by a hand other than Velázquez, presumably sometime between 1772 and 1794 as the inventories cited below indicate. The painting though has remained unfinished.

An unnumbered entry in the 1701 inventory of the Buen Retiro Palace provides the identification of the sitter (Pernea for Pernia): 'Another picture, two *varas* and one third in height and one *vara* and a half in width, portrait of the buffoon called Pernea in a Turkish costume, by the hand of Velázquez, and it is unfinished, in a black frame, valued at 25 doubloons' *('Otro de dos varas y tercia de alto y vara y media de ancho con otro Retrato de un Bufon con hauito turquesco llamado Pernea de mano de Velázquez y esta por acauar con marco negro tasada en veinte y cinco doblones')*. The metrical equivalent of the recorded size is approximately 1.95 m. high and 1.25 wide.

The 1716 inventory of the Buen Retiro repeated, under No. 610, the same description almost word for word, without any evaluation.

The 1772 inventory of the new Royal Palace at Madrid included it, under No. 610, as an unfinished portrait 'seemingly of a Moor' by Velázquez. In the 1794 inventory of the same palace, it was unqualifiedly described as Velázquez' portrait of a Moor, with no reference to incompleteness, and valued at 6,000 *reales*. It might be that the cloak, left unfinished by Velázquez, had been filled in by then.

Study, pp. 86, 88, 96, 99.
Height 1.98 m. Width 1.21 m.
Madrid: Palacio Real del Buen Retiro (inventories of 1701 and 1716).
Madrid: New Palacio Real (inventories of 1772, 1794 and 1814).
Madrid: Real Academia de San Fernando (1816–27, as portrait of *Barbarroja*).
Prado (since 1827), No. 1199.
Plate *170*.
C No. 70 — M No. 450 — L-R 1963 No. 428 — G No. 111.

170 *No. 84*

85. ST. ANTHONY ABBOT AND ST. PAUL THE HERMIT

Mid– or late 1630's.

Possibly commissioned for the Ermita de San Pablo in the grounds of the Buen Retiro Royal Palace. The interior of this hermitage was being refurbished in 1634. In the late 1650's, it was made into a playhouse and decorated with a fresco representing the fable of Narcissus (Ponz, p. 549).

By 1701 it was in the Ermita de San Antonio, also in the grounds of the Buen Retiro, according to an unnumbered entry in the inventory drawn up that year, which described the painting as semicircular at the top: 'A painting in the form of a segment arch, on the altar stone of the Oratory, three *varas* in height and two thirds in width, representing St. Anthony Abbot visiting St. Paul the Hermit, and other events of his life, original by Diego Velázquez, in a gilt carved frame, appraised in three hundred doubloons' *('Una pintura sobre la Mesa Altar del Oratorio de tres varas de alto en forma de Arco escarzano y dos tercias de ancho con la visita de San Antonio Abad a San Pablo Hermitaño y otros casos de su vida original de Diego Velázquez con marco tallado y dorado tasado en trescientos doblones')*. This is the only painting in the Ermita de San Antonio included in the cited 1701 inventory.

The same entry was repeated almost word for word, under No. 866, in the inventory of the same Royal Palace drawn up in 1716. In this inventory all entries are numbered, but they make no reference to the particular location of the paintings listed nor to their monetary value. The width of *St. Anthony Abbot and St. Paul the Hermit* was corrected from *dos tercias*, a plain error, to *dos varas y tercia*, thus giving the size of the painting as approximately 2.50 m. in height and 1.95 m. in width, which is rather close to its present dimensions.

In 1724, Palomino mentioned it as in the Ermita de San Pablo, perhaps due to a slip of memory or of the pen (p. 925).

In 1772, it was inventoried at the new Royal Palace in Madrid *(Cuarto del Ynfante Don Xabier)*, with the notation that it came from the Buen Retiro Palace, whose white-painted inventory number, 866, it still bore. Its size was given as *3 varas y cuarta* in height and *2 varas y cuarta* in width (about 2.71 m. × 1.88 m.). Neither this nor any of the subsequent inventory entries mentions either the frame or the archlike shape of the painting.

In 1794, it was again inventoried at the Madrid Royal Palace (*Dormitorio* of the Infanta), though with no number. Its size was given as *3 varas y media* in height and *2 varas y cuarta* in width (approximately 2.92 m. × 1.88 m.).

In 1814, it was inventoried, also without number, in the same Palace *(Quinta Pieza)*. Its dimensions were recorded as *5 varas y media* in height, obviously a gross error, and *2 varas y media* in width.

The painting's original size does not seem to have been substantially altered. As for its recorded archlike shape, it probably corresponded to the gilt carved frame described in 1701 rather than to the composition itself, as marks noticeable on the canvas seem to indicate.

Study, pp. 99, 100.
Height 2.60. Width 1.92 m.
Madrid: possibly, though not surely, Ermita de San Pablo, in the grounds of the Buen Retiro till the 1650's.
Madrid: Ermita de San Antonio (from at least 1701 till 1772).
Madrid: Palacio Real (from 1772 till 1819).
Madrid: Prado (since 1819), No. 1169.
Plate *171* (and colour plate).
C No. 13 — M No. 38 — L-R 1963 No. 42 — G No. 97.

171 *No. 85*

86. ST. ANTHONY ABBOT

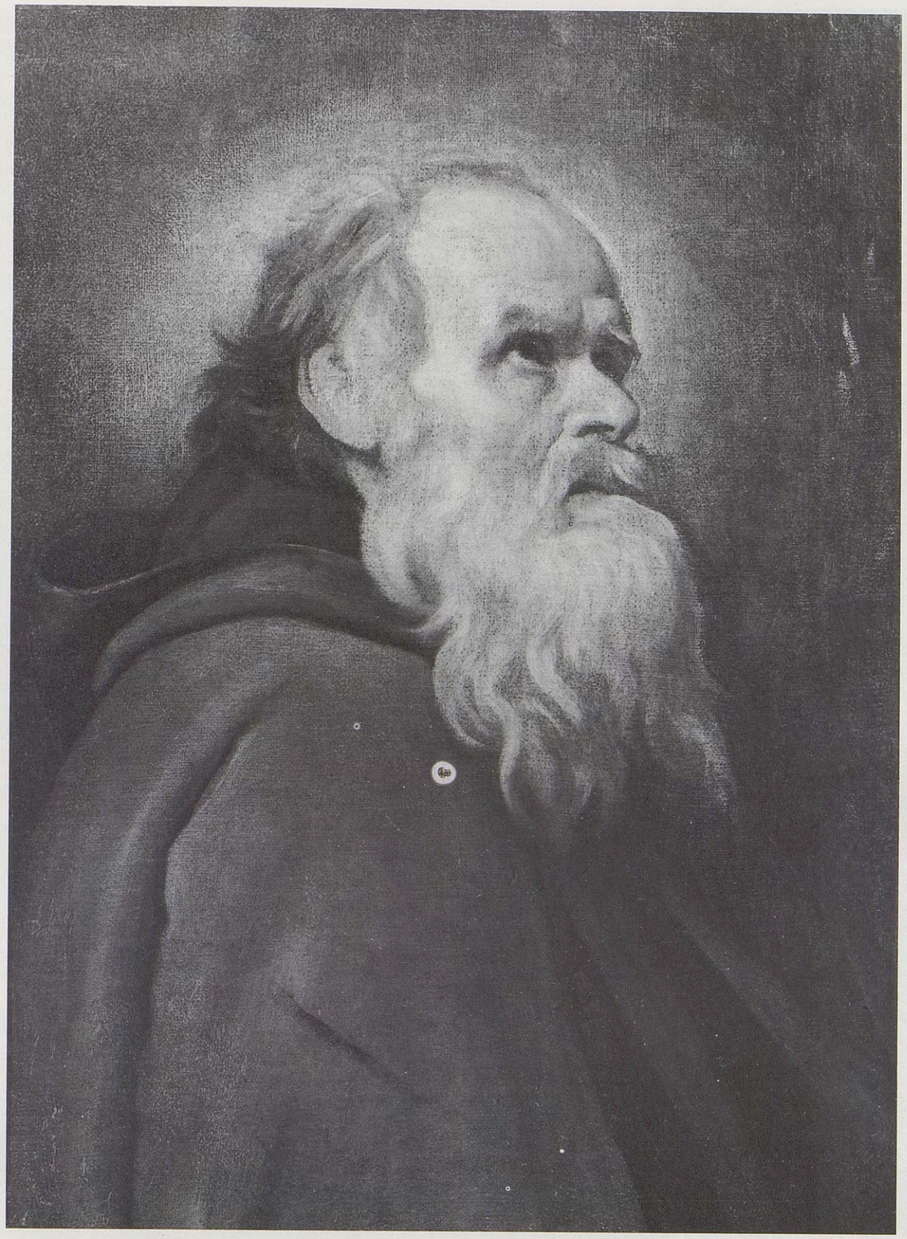
Mid– or late 1630's.

The inventory of Velázquez' possessions drawn up at the time of his death listed 'a head of a hermit' *('una cabeza de ermitaño')*, which Sánchez Cantón suggested might have been a study for *St. Anthony Abbot and St. Paul the Hermit* (p. viii).

The recently found painting here catalogued is clearly a colour study for the head of St. Anthony Abbot in *No. 85* above. The head, life-size in the study, is much smaller, less than half, in the final composition, where it is seen at a greater perspective distance. Within the compass of the final composition, the build of the eyesockets and nose has been somewhat simplified without loss of vigour, the bold interplay of thick and light strokes having been rendered by distinct strokes of heavy impasto on filmy pigment. What in the study is visible of St. Anthony's hooded mantle is different from the final composition; in the latter, it is black rather than brown. Velázquez' characteristic chance strokes are noticeable in the background to the viewer's right.

According to Pacheco, the mantle of St. Anthony Abbot ought to be brown (*Arte de la Pintura*, II, p. 334). Some artists, such as Zurbarán, consistently depicted it in brown hues. Black, however, occasionally occurs in works of the time. Interián de Ayala concluded though that brown was the proper colour (*El pintor christiano y erudito...*, II, p. 68). Velázquez' change from the brown of the sketch to the black of the final work must have been prompted by compositional reasons.

Study, p. 99.
Height 0.56 m. Width 0.405 m.
Paris: P. Gil Moreno (1866–1930).
Genève: Private collection.
Plate *172* (and colour plate).
L-R 1963, No. 43 (as lost).



172 *No. 86*

87. COUNT-DUKE OF OLIVARES

About 1638.

The black costume and the dark brown background seem to have been repainted long ago. The whole painting has darkened considerably.

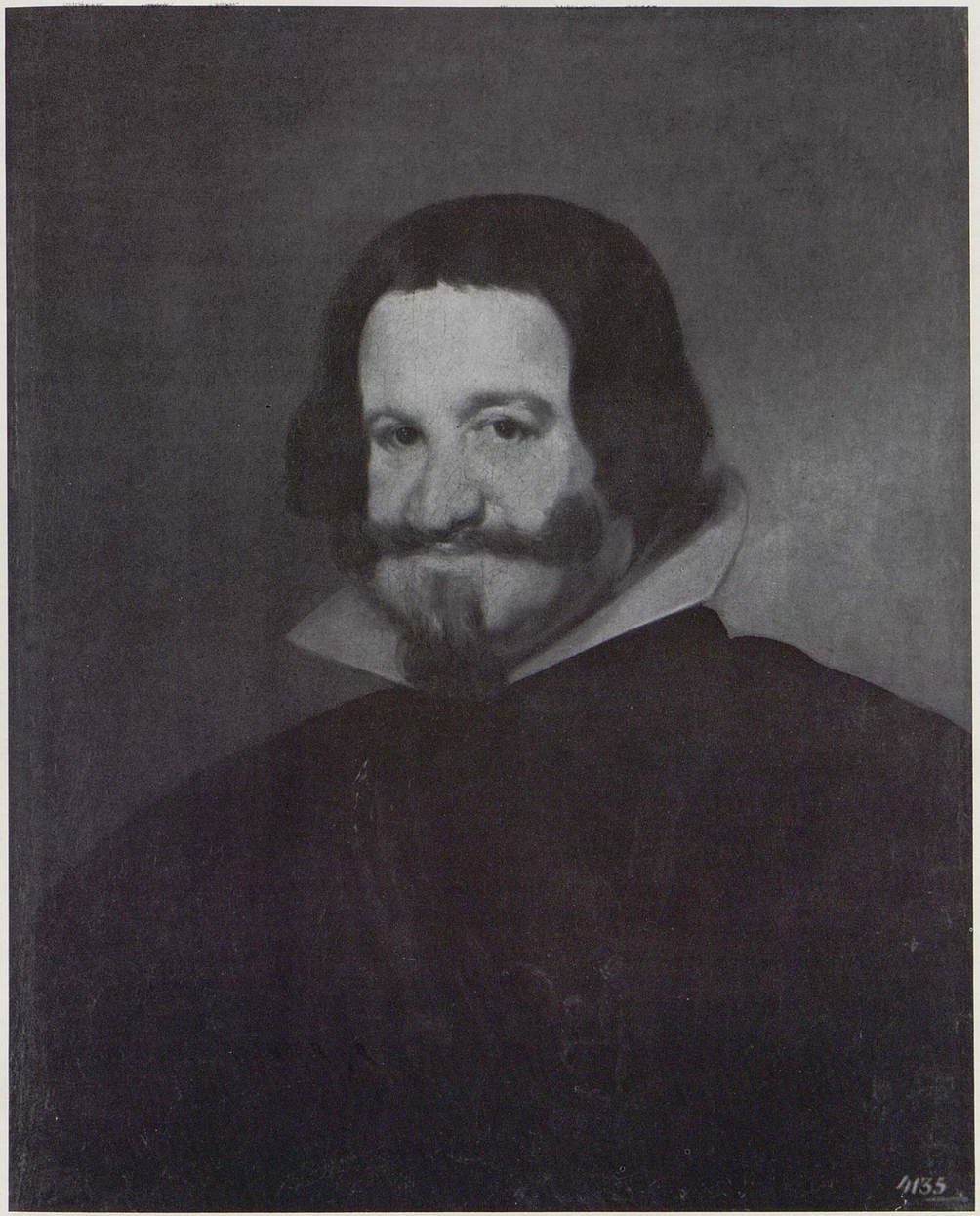
Justi attributed it to Velázquez (vol. II, p. 65), and so did Beruete, who dated it between 1638 and 1644 (p. 159). Allende-Salazar suggested that Velázquez painted it about 1638, the date of an engraving signed by Hermann Paneels in which this likeness of Olivares is reproduced in reverse (pp. 96, 279). Mayer, who knew the painting only from a photograph, was inclined to doubt that it was by the Master.

The live modelling of the sitter's face makes the attribution of this portrait to Velázquez acceptable, in spite of the mentioned extensive repaints and unsatisfactory condition.

The cited engraving by Paneels was published in Juan Antonio de Tapia y Robles' *Ilustración del renombre de grande*, Madrid, 1638; it is signed and dated as follows: *Ex Archetypo Velazquez — Herman Paneels f. Matriti. 1638.* There are two more black-and-white reproductions of this portrait. One of them is a fine etching which has been attributed, though not quite convincingly, to Velázquez himself (Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, and West Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinet — L-R 1963, No. 651). The other is a rather mediocre engraving at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

See *No. 88* following.

Height 0.67 m. Width 0.545 m.
Acquired by Czar Alexander I in 1815.
Leningrad: Hermitage (since 1815), No. 300.
Plate *173*.
C No. 175 — M No. 328 — L-R 1963 No. 511 — G No. 116.



173 *No. 87*

88. COUNT-DUKE OF OLIVARES

About 1638.

Oil on copper. Oval.

Somewhat damaged, notably along the right side of the sitter's face.

In 1638 Velázquez painted a miniature portrait of Philip IV on the back of a jewel sent to the Duke of Modena (Study, p. 111), and about 1659 he painted a miniature portrait of Queen Mariana on a round plate of silver (L-R 1963 Nos. 612–3).

Juan Bautista del Mazo included in the inventory of the Madrid Alcázar which he drew up in 1666 'fourteen heads on eight small pictures by the hand of Velázquez at 30 ducats each picture' *('catorce cauezas en ocho quadros pequeños de mano de Velázquez, a treynta ducados cada uno')*. This entry was repeated in the inventories of 1686 and 1700. These small pictures might also have been, or come close to be, what we call miniatures. See L-R 1963, Nos. 622–9.

The inventory of Velázquez possessions drawn up at his death listed together 'eight little copper plates', apparently blank, 'and five tiny portraits', presumably by him *('ocho planchillas de cobre y cinco rretratillos pequeños')*. See L-R 1963, Nos. 617–21.

However, none of the mentioned works has come down to us. Of the various miniatures attributed to Velázquez, only this one appears consistent with his hand. Yet, in the light of present knowledge, its attribution to the Master is not conclusive.

Olivares looks in this miniature very much as in the bust portrait, datable to about 1638, now at the Hermitage (*No. 87* above).

Height 10 cm. Width 8 cm.
Rome: Collection of the former Charles IV of Spain.
El Escorial: Palacio Real.
Madrid: Palacio Real.
Plate *174*.
M No. 323 — L-R 1963 No. 614.

174 *No. 88*

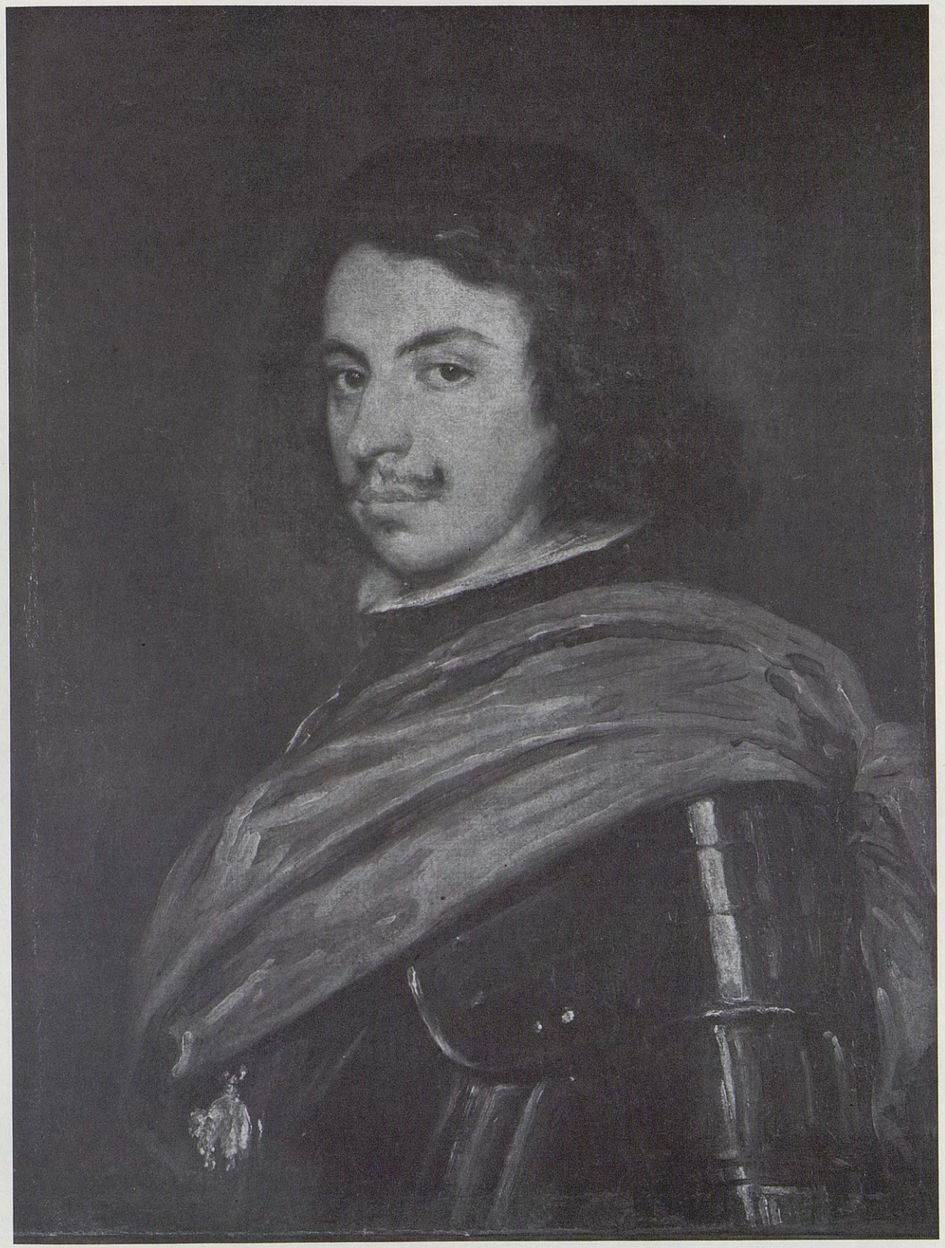
89. FRANCESCO II D'ESTE, DUKE OF MODENA

Painted in Autumn 1638.

Cut down at the bottom.

The sitter was born in 1610, and died in 1658.

Study, pp. 110-1.
Height 0.68 m. Width 0.51 m.
Modena: Galleria Estense.
Modena: Conte Paolo Cassali Lorenzotti (as by Van Dyck).
Modena: Pinacoteca (since 1843).
Plate *175*
M. No. 307 — L-R 1963 No. 337 — G No. 117.



175 *No. 89*

90. PRINCE BALTASAR CARLOS

About 1639.

Perhaps the portrait of the Prince sent by Philip IV to his brother the Cardinal Infante Don Fernando, Governor of Flanders, at Brussels. In his letter of thanks, dated 26 May 1639, Don Fernando wrote that it was a splendid *('famoso')* portrait and that the Prince looked in it like a lovely lad *('lindo muchacho')*.

Mayer, who suggested that Velázquez possibly painted it with the aid of a pupil, pointed out that the execution of the sash and other ornaments recalls the workshop replica of the portrait of *Philip IV in army dress*, at the Dulwich Gallery, the original of which is at the Frick Collection (*No. 100*).

The Prince' face, of a pale hue, appears to have been executed by Velázquez, who probably sketched the whole composition, though obviously the execution was carried out mainly by another hand.

Study, p. 124.
Height 1.285 m. Width 0.99 m.
Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inventory No. 312.
Plate *176*.
C No. 141 — M No. 288 — L-R 1963 No. 319 — G No. 114.

176 *No. 90*

91. PORTRAIT OF A BEARDED MAN

Late 1630's or early 1640's.

Nothing is known with certainty about the provenance of this painting before 1813 when Wellington captured it in the battle of Vitoria from Joseph Bonaparte, who had taken it from the Spanish royal collections.

Enriqueta Harris has suggested that the sitter may be Don José Nieto, who in *Velázquez and the royal family* (*No. 124*) is seen standing at the open door in the rear ('Velázquez's Apsley House Portrait: An identification', *The Burlington Magazine*, May 1978, pp. 304–6). The features of the *Bearded man* are certainly similar to those of Nieto in Velázquez' large group portrait, where incidentally Nieto looks baldish. However, Velázquez' portrait of Nieto is too sketchy to regard Harris' plausible suggestion as conclusive.

Study, p. 96.
Height 0.76 m. Width 0.648 m. Actually, the width of the original canvas is only 0.597 m., but it has been increased by the addition of strips at either side.
London: Apsley House, Duke of Wellington (since 1813).
London: Apsley House, The Wellington Museum, No. 159.
Plate *177*.
C No. 209 — M No. 378 — L-R No. 550 — G No. 125.

177 *No. 91*

92. AESOP

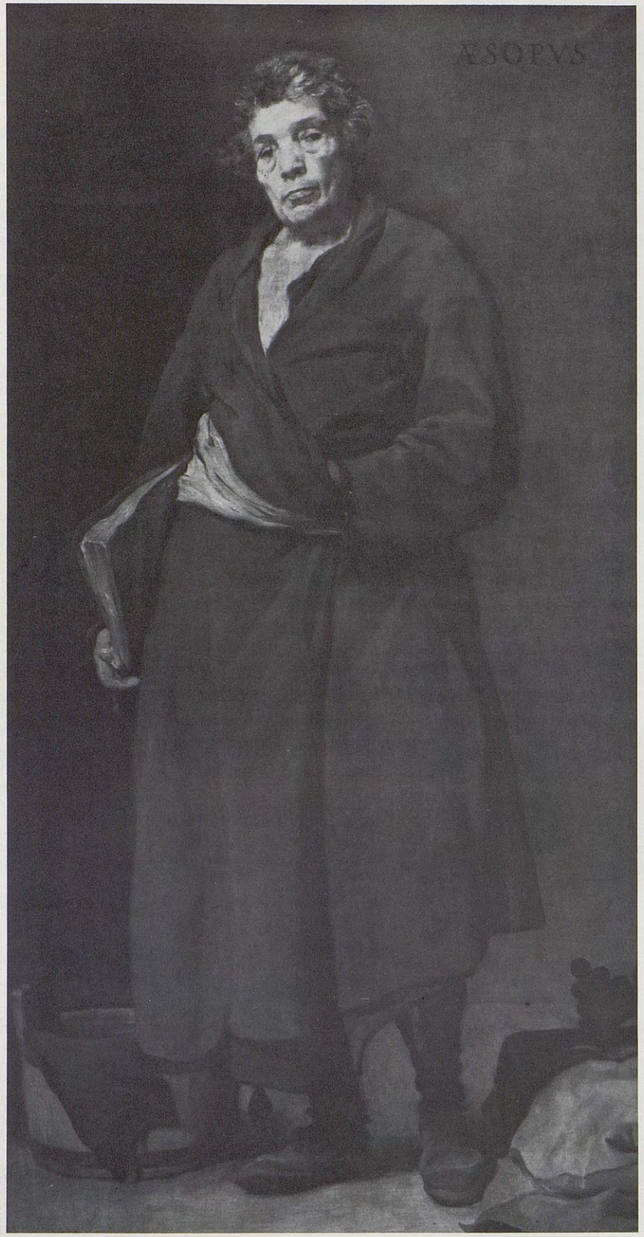
About 1639–41.

Most probably painted for the Torre de la Parada. An unnumbered entry in the 1701 inventory of this royal hunting lodge, near Madrid, reads: 'Three paintings of the same size by the hand of Velázquez, one representing Mars, another Aesop, and the other Menippus, appraised in 50 doubloons each'. On the margin, there is an undated note: 'The one of Mars, presently in the ground-floor quarters, third room, No. 118; the other two, sent to the Pardo Palace' *('Ytem tres pinturas iguales de la mano de Velázquez la una de Marte la otra de Ysopo y la otra de Menipus tasadas en cincuenta doblones cada una'*. On the margin: *'Existe, la de Marte en el quarto vajo pieza 3ª numero 118 y las otras dos conducidas al Pardo')*. The reference to the location of *Mars* was in error (see *No. 94*).

In 1747 it was inventoried at the Pardo Palace under No. 122 as companion piece to *Menippus* (see *No. 93*). As in the case of most of the paintings listed in this inventory, no painter's name was mentioned. The preamble to the inventory explained though that both *Aesop* and *Menippus* had been taken, together with forty more paintings, from the Torre de la Parada to the Pardo Palace in 1717 (fols. 3–5). See *No. 102*.

In 1772, *Mars* (*No. 94*), *Aesop* and *Menippus* (*No. 93*) were at the new Madrid Royal Palace, each in a different room. The inventory then compiled registered under No. 929 in the *Paso de Tribuna y trascuartos:* 'Another picture of a philosopher, said to be Aesop, full-length, 2 *varas* high and 1 *vara* wide, original by Velázquez'. On the margin [From the] 'Pardo' *('Otro de un Philosofo de cuerpo entero, que dicen ser Ysopo, dos varas de alto y una de ancho, original de Velázquez'*. On the margin: *'Pardo')*. The metrical equivalent of the size given is approximately 1.67 × 0.835 m. In the inventory of the same palace drawn up in 1794, Velázquez' *Aesop* and *Menippus* were listed together under No. 929 and as being both in the same room *(Pieza de Bestir)*; the two were described as of the same size: 2½ *varas* high and 1¼ wide (approximately 2.09 × 1.04 m.).

Study, pp. 78, 81, 82, 83, 84.
Height 1.79 m. Width 0.94 m.
Torre de la Parada, near Madrid (inventory of 1701; remained there till July 1714).
El Pardo: Palacio Real (1714–1772).
Madrid: New Palacio Real (inventories of 1772 and 1794).
Madrid: Prado (since 1819), No. 1206.
Plate *178*.
C No. 30 — M No. 65 — L-R 1963 No. 73 — G No. 109.



178 *No. 92*

93. MENIPPUS

1639–41.

Inscribed top left: *Moenippus.*

Most probably painted for the Torre de la Parada, near Madrid. To the data on this painting included in the preceding entry, *No. 92*, it should be added that in 1772 it was at the *Quarto del Ynfante Don Xabier* in the new Madrid Royal Palace, inventoried under No. 930 as follows: 'A picture which represents a philosopher, two *varas* in height and one in width, original by Velázquez'. On the margin: [From the] 'Pardo' ('*Un quadro que significa un Filosopho de dos caras de caida y una de ancho, original de Velázquez*'. On the margin: '*Pardo*'). The metrical equivalent of the recorded size is 1.67 m. in height and 0.835 in width.

Study, pp. 78, 81, 82, 83, 84, 96.
Height 1.79 m. Width 0.94 m.
Torre de la Parada, near Madrid (inventory of 1701; remained there till July 1714).
El Prado: Palacio Real (from 1714 till 1772).
Madrid: New Palacio Real (inventories of 1772 and 1794).
Madrid: Prado (since 1819), No. 1207.
Plate *179*.
C No. 32 — M No. 66 — L-R 1963 No. 78 — G No. 110.

179 *No. 93*

94. MARS

About 1639–41.

Radiographs made in 1960 show that at one point in the process of execution Mars' head was somewhat tilted to his left (plate *120*).

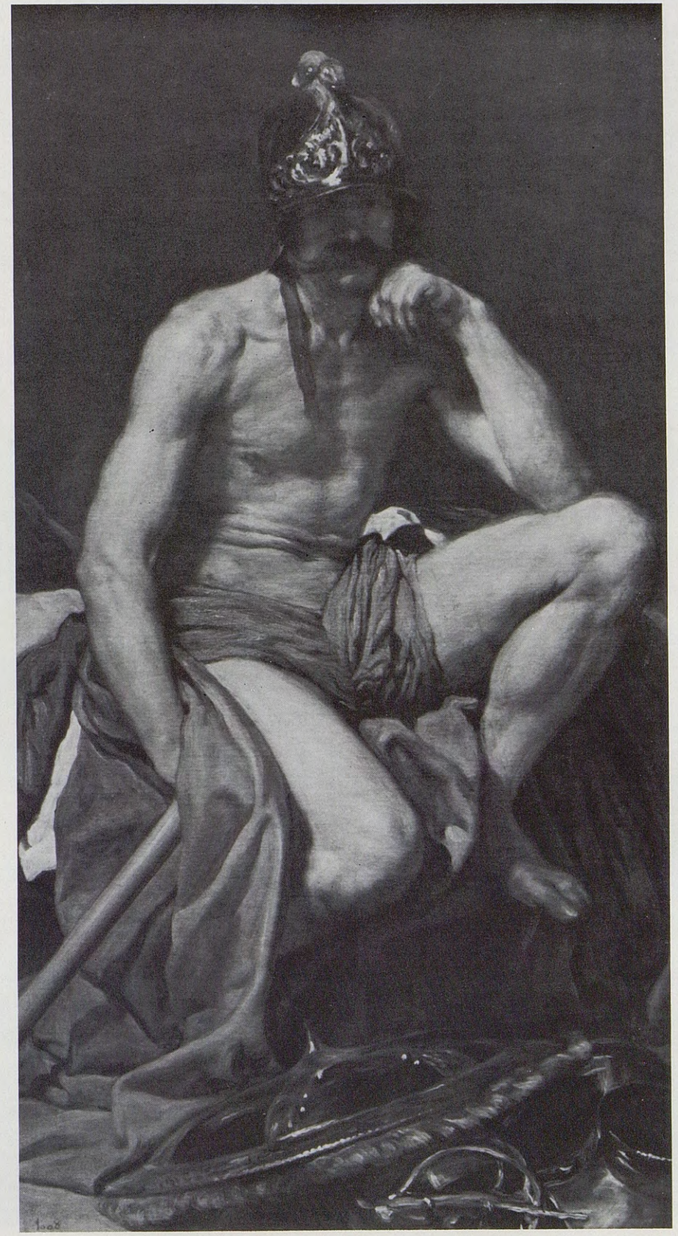
Most probably painted for the Torre de la Parada, near Madrid, where it was inventoried in 1701. Recorded as still there, under No. 118, in the third room of the groundfloor quarters sometime after July 1714 (see *No. 92* above); however, there seems to be an error in the latter reference. In fact, the inventory of the Torre de la Parada drawn up in 1747, includes under No. 118 a painting representing *Mars* in the mentioned room but it is of a different format and much larger than the one by Velázquez; it is, indeed, described as '*tres varas y tres quartas de ancho y dos y quarto de alto*', that is, approximately, 1.88 m. in height and 3.13 m. in width. The same inventory includes another painting of *Mars*, hanging in the second room of the Torre de la Parada's main floor, and bearing No. 27; its size is given as '*dos varas y quarta de alto por vara y quarta de ancho*' or approximately 1.88 m in height and 1.04 in width — which is closer to the dimensions recorded for Velázquez' *Mars* in later inventories, and even more to the present size of the painting. I ought to explain that neither of the mentioned 1747 inventory entries, Nos. 27 and 118, indicates the painter's name, and that both of them describe the subject as just *Mars*. The omission of the artist's name and the bare indication of the subject occurs, however, in most entries of the inventory in question.

In 1772, it was inventoried as follows in the new Royal Palace at Madrid: '1008. — A picture embodying Mars with military armor at his feet, two *varas* and a half in height and one *vara* and a quarter in width, original by Velázquez'. On the Margin: From the 'Torre de la Parada'. *('1008. — Un quadro, que contiene a Marte con los Arneses Militares a sus pies, de dos varas y media de cayda, y vara y quarto de ancho, original de Velázquez'.* On the margin: '*Torre de la Parada')*.Velázquez' *Mars* is again included in the 1794 inventory of the Madrid Royal Palace under No. 1008, which the canvas still bears; its measurements were the same as in 1772 if one takes into account that the omission of the words '*y vara*' corresponding to the width can only be due to an amanuensis' error.

During Napoleon's invasion of Spain (1808–14), it was taken to France. Returned to the Madrid Royal Palace in 1815, Ferdinand VII sent it to the Real Academia de San Fernando, at Madrid, on 19 August 1816; it remained there till December 1829.

Study, pp. 78, 81, 82, 83, 84, 86, 88, 98.
Height 1.67 m. Width 0.97 m.
Torre de la Parada, near Madrid (inventories of 1701 and 1747).
Madrid: New Palacio Real (inventories of 1772 and 1794).
Madrid: Real Academia de San Fernando (1816–29).
Madrid: Prado (since 1829), No. 1208.
Plates *180*, *181*.
C No. 33 — M No. 55 — L-R 1963 No. 61 — G No. 108

180 Mars, radiograph.



181 *No. 94*

95. FRANCISCO BANDRÉS DE ABARCA

Probably painted sometime between the late 1630's and the mid-1640's.

Fragment, most likely of a half-length portrait. Restored. The coat of arms in the upper left and the red cross of Santiago on the sitter's doublet are later additions; the cross, moreover, has been retouched, mainly about the upper loops. Rubbed in some spots.

Originally, the sitter must have fully shown both arms; the right forearm probably crossed over the chest, holding a paper in the hand.

The sitter, born at Valencia in 1595, moved to Madrid in 1629, where he entered Philip IV's and the Infante Don Fernando's service; on 20 February 1645 he was admitted into the Order of Santiago; he died in 1647.

The Marquis of Saltillo identified the sitter on the basis of the coat of arms, and published, in support of the attribution of the portrait to Velázquez, an entry concerning a portrait of Don Francisco Bandrés de Abarca, 'original by Velázquez', from an inventory compiled in 1727 when it was in the possession of the sitter's descendants; its size was given as approximately 0.835 m. high and 0.63 m. wide: '*Otro retrato del señor Francisco Bandrés de Abarca, original de Diego Velázquez, de vara de alto por tres cuartas*'. ('Identificación de un retrato de Velázquez', *Archivo Español de Arte*, Madrid, 1953, pp. 1–10).

I first saw this painting in 1972. The following year it was cleaned, and the piece of paper with an inscription, which had been painted over probably when the canvas was cut down, appeared. The inscription fully supports Saltillo's identification of the sitter: 'To Francisco Bandrés de Abarca, servant of His Majesty and of His Most Serene Infante...' (*'A Franco. Bandrés de Abarca, criado de su Magd. y del Ser.mo Infante...'*). This inscription is, indeed, almost identical with the dedication to Francisco Bandrés de Abarca of a book published in 1643 (reproduced by Saltillo in his mentioned article).

It is difficult to date this fragment; in point of execution it recalls somewhat Velázquez' works of the late 1630's and of the 1640's, such as *Francesco d'Este* and *A knight of Santiago*, two portraits which are though in good condition (*Nos. 89* and *110*).

Height 0.64 m. Width 0.53 m.
Seville: Alberto Domínguez Cobo (1960's).
New York: Private collection.
Plate *182*.
L-R 1963 No. 486.

182

No. 95

96. SELF-PORTRAIT

1640's?

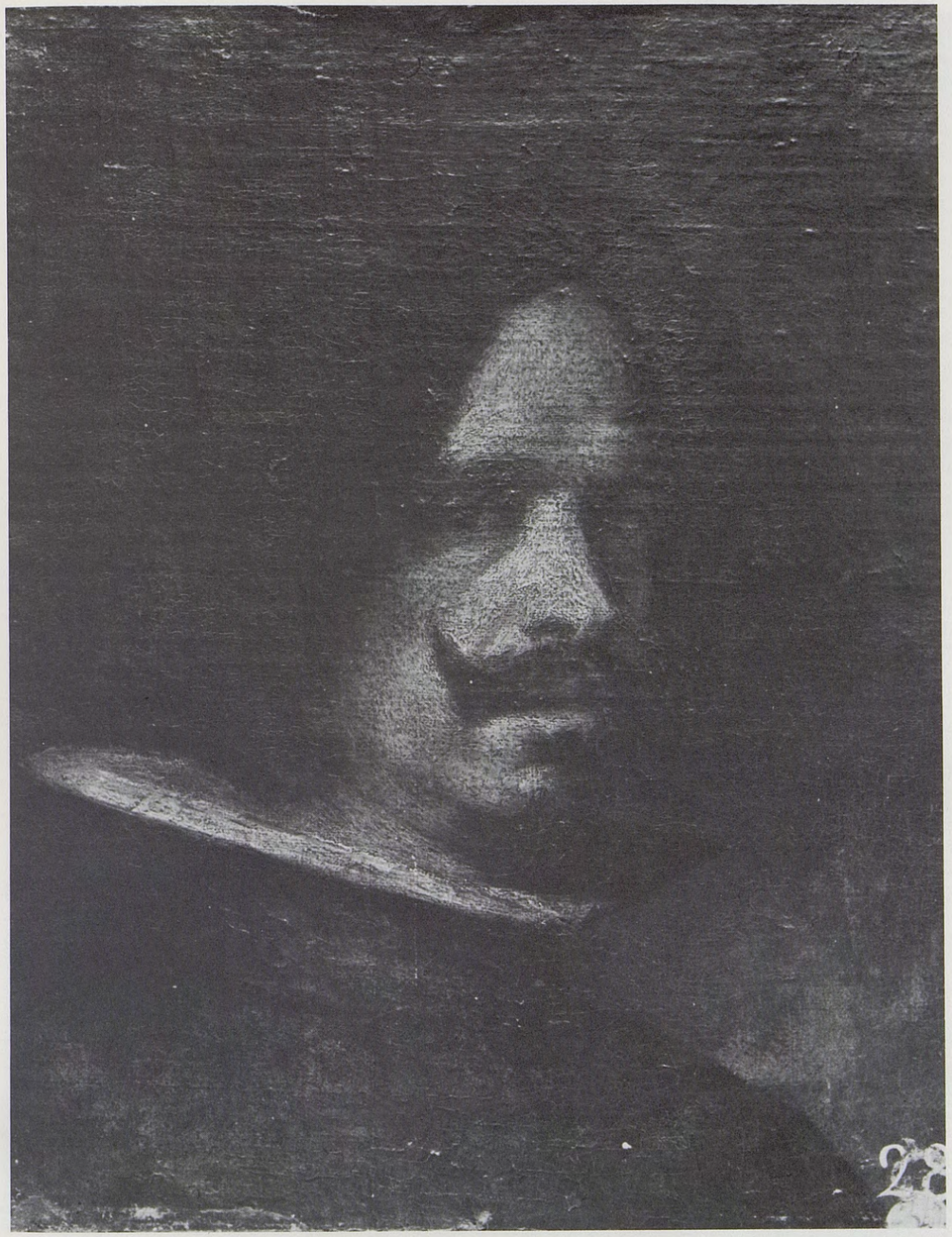
Obviously a fragment of a much damaged painting, poorly restored, particularly on the forehead. It has further deteriorated since it was shown at the exhibition *Velázquez y lo velazqueño* held at Madrid in 1960–1 (catalogue No. 101). As a consequence, the old attribution to Velázquez, supported among others by Beruete (p. 75) and Allende-Salazar (p. 102), and accepted by me with the suggestion that the painting ought to be properly cleaned, has become rather difficult to verify.

Pacheco had in his possession a Velázquez' self-portrait painted in Rome 'in the manner of the great Titian' in 1630 (vol. I, p. 160; vol. II, p. 154). Perhaps it was the 'portrait of Diego Velázquez, with the costume not yet finished' that Velázquez had at home at the time of his death (No. 570 of the inventory then drawn up).

Another Velázquez self-portrait was inventoried in his life-time, at the collection of the Duke of Salúcar and Marquis of Leganés compiled in 1652 at Madrid: 'A half-length portrait of the painter Velázquez by his own hand; one *vara* in height and the same in width' *('Un medio cuerpo del Retrato del pintor Velázquez, de su mano; de una vara de alto y otra de ancho')*. See Manuel Gómez Moreno, *Varia velazqueña*, vol. I, p.691.

The present head-portrait was auctioned at Rome in 1798 but there is no firm evidence that it came from the Vatican as some other paintings included in the same sale apparently did. The following year it was again auctioned at Livorno and bought by Don José Martínez. Don Francisco Martínez Blanch, presumably a relative of the latter, presented it to the Real Academia de San Carlos at Valencia in 1835. For data on the matter, see: 'Documentos para la historia del Museo de la Academia de San Carlos: Legado de don Francisco Martínez Blanch', *Archivo de Arte Valenciano*, 1920, pp. 33ff.; Domingo Martínez de la Peña y González, 'Importante colección de cuadros del Vaticano, sacados en la invasión francesa y trasladados a Madrid', *Arte Español*, 1963–7, pp. 171ff.; and Alfonso Pérez Sánchez, 'El paradero de la colección de cuadros del Vaticano trasladados a Madrid en 1798', *Arte Español*, 1968–9, pp. 20ff.

For other so-called Velázquez' self-portraits, see L-R 1963, Nos. 177–84, and 484.
Height 0.455 m. Width 0.38 m.
Genoa: Don José Martínez (1818).
Nice: Don Francisco Martínez Blanch (1835).
Valencia: Real Academia de San Carlos (since 1835);
Valencia: Museo de Bellas Artes (since the 1860's).
Plate *183*.
C No. 198 — M No. 172 — L-R No. 176 — G No. 143.



183 *No. 96*

97. PORTRAIT OF A GIRL

Early 1640's.

Unfinished. The costume is just sketched in, the neckline and sleeves being summarily indicated with bold strokes of brown.

Study, pp. 96-7.
Height 0.515 m. Width 0.41 m.
London: Sir William W. Knighton Sale at Christie's, Mason and Woods, 1885, lot 530 (as a portrait of the Infanta Margarita).
Edinburgh: Arthur Sanderson (by 1897).
Paris: Rudolph Kann.
Paris: Wildenstein and Co.
New York: Duveen Bros. (1907).
New York: The Hispanic Society (since 1908), No. A 108.
Plate *184*.
M No. 569 — L-R 1963 No. 608 — G No. 120.

184 *No. 97*

98. STUDY FOR THE HEAD-PORTRAIT OF CARDINAL BORJA

1643–5.

Black chalk on white paper; inscribed in an oval. The original paper is pasted on a sheet with the following mid-nineteenth century inscription: '*El Cardenal Borja, Arzobispo de Toledo, dibujado p^r. d. Diego Velázquez*'.

In the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, there is a nineteenth-century copy of this drawing, larger in size: height 29.5 cm., with 18.8 cm.; it belonged to Valentín Carderera till 1867, when it was acquired by the Biblioteca Nacional (Barcia, No. 4150).

Don Gaspar de Borja y Velasco was born in 1582, the son of the Duke of Gandía; on 3 January 1643, he was nominated for the archbishopric of Toledo, which he occupied till his death, on 28 December 1645.

According to testimony given on 23 December 1658 by the painter Don Juan Careño de Miranda (1614–85) on the matter of Velázquez' qualifications for admission to the Order of Santiago, Cardinal Borja, when he was Archbishop of Toledo — that is, sometime between January 1643 and December 1645 — asked Velázquez to paint his portrait, which the artist did, though he declined to receive any payment for it. Of the half dozen extant oil portraits of Cardinal Borja, obviously related to this drawing, none can conclusively be said to be by Velázquez' hand. See José López-Rey, 'On Velázquez' portrait of Cardinal Borja', *The Art Bulletin*, New York, vol. 28, 1946, pp. 270–4, and *Velázquez*, London, 1963, Nos. 462–8.

This study clearly shows the vigorous design which Velázquez combined with a subtle use of light and shade to place the figure firmly in ambient air.

Study, p. 124.
Height 18.6 cm. Width 11.7 cm.
Madrid: Real Academia de San Fernando, No. 72.
Plate *185*.
M No. 605 — L-R 1963 No. 644 — G No. 000.

185 *No. 98*

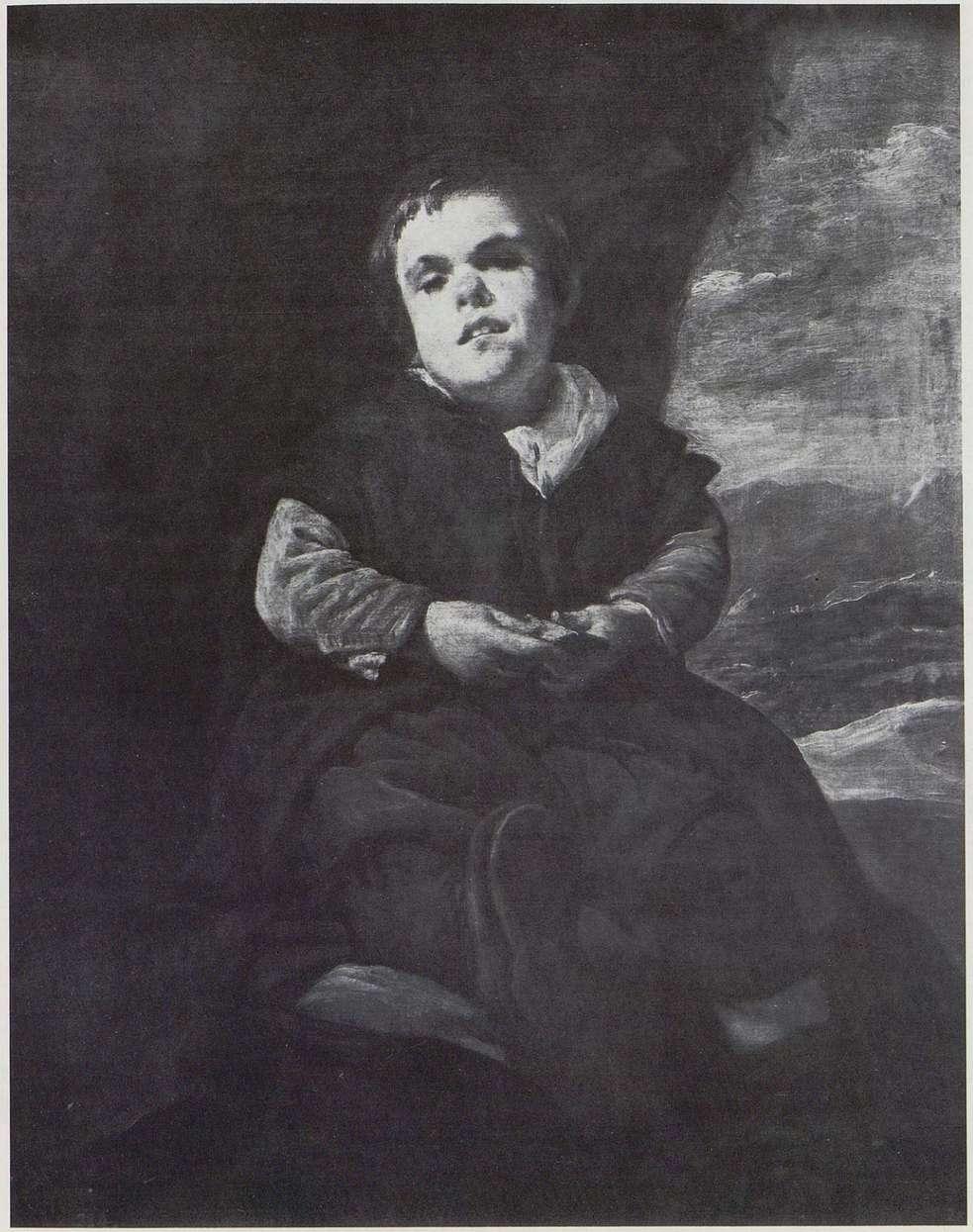
99. THE DWARF FRANCISCO LEZCANO

About 1643–5.

Francisco Lezcano was also known as the *Niño de Vallecas*, *Lezcanillo*, and the *Enano viscaino*. In 1634 he was admited to the service of Prince Baltasar Carlos, in whose suite he went to Saragossa in 1644 — when this portrait might have been painted. He was absent from the Court from 1645 till late in 1648, and died a year after his return, in October 1649 (Moreno Villa, pp. 107–10). The identification of the sitter as the *Niño de Vallecas* appears for the first time in the 1794 inventory of the Madrid Royal Palace.

The provenance of this portrait is the same as that of *A dwarf holding a tome on his lap* (*No. 102*). It is, indeed, the portrait of a '*buffoon with a deck of cards*' which in 1714 was transferred from the Torre de la Parada to the Pardo Palace, from where it went to the new Royal Palace at Madrid, and then to the Prado. The painting still bears, in the lower left corner, the number 931 painted in red corresponding to the 1772 and 1794 inventories of the Madrid Royal Palace. For full data on the matter, see *No. 102*.

Study, pp. 78–9, 82, 84, 88–9, 95.
Height 1.07 m. Width 0.83 m.
Torre de la Parada, near Madrid (possibly since the mid-1640's–1714).
Pardo: Palacio Real (1714–72).
Madrid: New Palacio Real (1772–1819).
Madrid: Prado (since 1819), No. 1204.
Plate *186*.
C No. 67 — M No. 457 — L-R 1963 No. 429 — G No. 103.



186

No. 99

100. PHILIP IV IN ARMY DRESS

Painted in June 1644 at Fraga.

As soon as it was finished, Philip IV sent it to Queen Isabel at Madrid, where it was put on show at the church of St. Martin. Several copies were made of it then, perhaps including the one now at the Dulwich College Picture Gallery (L-R 1963, No. 256), which is rather fine.

Aureliano de Beruete conclusively identified this portrait as the one painted by Velázquez at Fraga in 1644; he held the version at the Dulwich Gallery to be by Mazo (*El Velázquez de Parma*, Madrid, 1911). No scholar has since questioned that the Frick painting is by Velázquez.

F. J. Sánchez Cantón contended that the Dulwich picture is Velázquez' original and that the one at the Frick Collection is a repetition painted by the Master in a freer manner (*Revista de la Universidad de Oviedo*, Oviedo, March-June 1943, p. 218, and *The Burlington Magazine*, London, December 1945, p. 290). At another point, however, Sánchez Cantón argued that Velázquez painted the Frick portrait 'with the sitter present in person', and that it is far from certain that the one at the Dulwich Gallery 'is not also by the hand of Velázquez, as a "duplicate", later than the Frick portrait' (*The Frick Collection, An Illustrated Catalogue*, vol. I, Pittsburgh, 1949, No. 138, pp. 293–6).

In a full discussion of Sánchez Cantón's views, I concluded that this is the portrait painted from life by Velázquez. (*Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, Paris, January 1959, pp. 40–1).

The portrait is in very good condition, though slightly rubbed in a few spots, mainly the left hand.

Study, pp. 57, 64, 94, 98, 116.
Height 1.335 m. Width 0.985 m.
Came to the Ducal Palace, Parma, through Philip V of Spain, in 1748. Transferred by the dowager Duchess, Louise d'Artois, to Castle Wartegg (Switzerland) in 1859; afterwards by Duke Robert to the Castle at Schwartzau (Austria), then by Prince Elias of Bourbon-Parma to Liechtenegg, and finally to Vienna.
London: Thomas Agnew & Sons (1911).
New York: Frick Collection (since 1911), No. 138.
Plate *187*.
M No. 228 — L-R 1963 No. 255 — G No. 121.

187 *No. 100.*

101. ALLEGORICAL PORTRAIT OF PHILIP IV

About 1645.

Velázquez painted only the head of the King in this copy, executed, probably in his workshop, in the mid-1640's after the allegorical portrait of Philip IV painted by Rubens at Madrid in 1628–9 (now lost). The King's face is almost the same as in the portrait painted by Velázquez at Fraga in June 1644 (*No. 100*). The inventory of the Marquis of Eliche's collection compiled at Madrid on 1 June 1651 included under No. 229 an equestrian portrait of Philip IV with allegorical figures, 'copy after Rubens and the head by Diego Velázquez', the name of Mazo having been crossed out as that of the artist who had painted 'the horse, the body of the King, and the women' (J. M. Pita Andrade, 'Los cuadros de Velázquez y Mazo que poseyó el séptimo Marqués del Carpio', *Archivo Español de Arte*, 1952, pp. 223–36).

Close examination confirms that the head of the King, whose chin and left eye are slightly restored, was brushed in by Velázquez, while the rest of the painting is the work of a lesser hand (José López-Rey, 'A head of Philip IV by Velázquez in a Rubens allegorical composition', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, Paris, Jan. 1959, pp. 35–44). For further comment on Rubens' lost allegorical portrait of Philip IV, see Larry L. Ligo, 'Two seventeenth-century poems which link Rubens' equestrian portrait of Philip IV to Titian's equestrian portrait of Charles V', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, May-June 1970, pp. 345–54.

Study, pp. 94, 95.
Height 3.39 m. Width 2.67 m.
Madrid: Marqués de Eliche (inventory of 1651).
Florence: Palazzo Pitti (in the 17th century, as by Diego Velázquez).
Florence: Uffizi (as 'School of Rubens').
Plates *188*, *189*.
C No. 103 — M No. 195 — L-R No. 198 — G No. 122.

188. Head of Philip IV in an allegorical portrait after a lost Rubens composition.

189

102. A DWARF HOLDING A TOME ON HIS LAP

Mid-1640's.

Radiographs made in 1960 revealed that at an early point in the process of composition the sitter did not have his hat on and that he was wearing a falling collar.

This portrait has for long been identified with that of the dwarf Don Diego de Acedo painted by Velázquez in June 1644 at Fraga, from where Philip IV sent it to Madrid (Cf., Pedro de Madrazo, *Catálogo descriptivo e histórico de los cuadros del Museo del Prado de Madrid*, I, Madrid, 1872, pp. 628–30, No. 1095, and Aureliano de Beruete, *El Velázquez de Parma*, Madrid, 1911, p. 14). Nothing in the execution of this portrait would contradict that date; it must indeed have been painted in the mid–1640's.

Nor would the available biographical data concerning Don Diego de Acedo deny the possibility that he may have been the sitter for this portrait. According to Moreno Villa (pp. 55–9), his service at the Court of Philip IV is documented from 1635 till his death on 22 October 1660. His nickname, *El Primo* ('The Cousin'), might indicate that he was a relative of Don Juan de Acedo y Velázquez, who was a knight of Santiago in the service of the Cardinal-Infante Don Fernando; if one of his family names was also Velázquez, it is conceivable that he might have claimed, in jest or in earnest, that he was a cousin of one of several royal servants of this name, including the Court painter. As for the books, ink-well, and quill with which Velázquez has represented the sitter, Moreno Villa suggested that they probably refer to the administrative functions entrusted to *El Primo*; he acted, indeed, as Court courier and attended '*La estampa*' — the office where documents were stamped with the facsimile signature of the King.

However, the fact is that this painting was never described as a portrait of *El Primo* in any royal inventory. As we shall presently see, there was a portrait of *El Primo* by Velázquez at the Madrid Alcázar; it was last inventoried there on 19 November 1700, after Charles II's death, while on 7 April 1701 the portrait now under consideration was inventoried with no indication of the sitter's identity at the Torre de la Parada, and there is no reason to suppose that it had been taken in the intervening time from the Alcázar there. Indeed, it is rather plain that the cited inventory entries did not refer to the same painting.

The unfinished inventory of the Madrid Alcázar drawn up in 1666 by Juan Bautista del Mazo, Velázquez' son-in-law, included a 'painting of the dwarf El Primo by the hand of Velázquez, valued at 150 silver ducats' *('Otra pintura del Primo enano de mano de Diego Belazquez en ciento y cincuenta ducados de plata')*. The valuation was substantially higher than that placed by Mazo on Velázquez' portrait of the dwarf Morra in the immediately preceding entry of the same inventory, 100 ducats (see *No. 103*).

In 1686, it was inventoried at the same place, again as by Velázquez and as a portrait of *El Primo*, with no indication of either format or size. The inventory compiled at the death of Charles II, in November 1700, listed it, under No. 455, in a like manner, though valued at 40 doubloons, exactly the same as the portrait of Morra, also by Velázquez, which preceded it under No. 454.

The first inventory of the Torre de la Parada was drawn up on 7 April 1701, also in compliance with an order to compile inventories of the works of art which were at the various royal palaces and country estates at the time of Charles II's death. Listed at the entrance hall were 'four portraits of different subjects and dwarfs, original works by Velázquez, appraised at 50 doubloons each, making a total of 200' *('quatro Retratos de diferentes sujetos y enanos originales de Velázquez tasados a cinquenta doblones cada uno hacen doscientos')*. A later note, written on the margin, says: 'They are listed at the Pardo' *('She hallan sentados en el Pardo')*. An undated list, filed together with the 1701 inventory of the Pardo Palace, seems to refer to those four 'portraits', described as follows in two entries: '1. — Two dwarfs by Velázquez, valued at 100 doubloons', '27, 28. — Two paintings

by the hand of Velázquez, one representing Aesop and the other Menippus, valued at 100 doubloons' *('1. — Dos Enanos de Belazquez tasados en 100 doblones', '27, 28. — Dos pinturas de mano de Belazquez la una de Esopo y la otra de Menipo tasadas en 100')*. The total valuation was again 200 doubloons for the four paintings.

A memorandum bearing the dates 17 and 28 July 1714, a copy of which was also filed together with the 1701 inventory of the Pardo Palace, seems to refer to the same 'portraits', though the dwarfs are now described as buffoons — which was, after all, the role they played at the Court. This memorandum listed only the subjects of the paintings with no mention of any painter's name. Each entry had two numbers, the first of which apparently referred to the undated list of paintings from the Torre de la Parada mentioned above; the second number obviously indicated the painting's sequence in the memorandum.

Among the paintings thus recorded were: '27/20. — Menippus, philosopher, full-length', '28/21. — Aesop, philosopher, full-length', '1/24. — A buffoon, gotten up as a philosopher, studying', and '2/25. — Another buffoon, with a deck of cards, over-doors' *('27/20. — Moenipus Philosofo cuerpo entero', '28/21. — Esopus Philosopho cuerpo entero', '1/24. — Un bufon rebestido de Philosofo estudiando', '2/25. — Otro Bufon con una baraja de naypes, sobre puertas')*.

The inventory of the Palace compiled in 1747 after Philip V's death (9 July 1746), included all four paintings, though once more without Velázquez' name. Those of the dwarfs were described: '162. — Two paintings, alike, 1¼ *varas* in height and 1 *vara* in width, in gilted frames, one representing a buffoon gotten up as a philosopher, studying. 3,000 *reales*', '163. — And the other representing another buffoon playing with a deck of cards, both placed over doors'. 3,000 *reales*' *('162. — Dos Pinturas yguales de vara y quarta de alto y vara de ancho sus marcos dorados, la una Un Bufon rebestido de filosofo estudiando. 3000', '163. — Y la otra otro Bufon con una baraja de naypes jugando, y ambas son sobrepuertas. 3000')*. The metrical equivalent of the recorded size is 1.04 × 0.835 m.

Both paintings were transferred to the new Royal Palace at Madrid, where they were inventoried in 1772: '931. — Another picture of a boy or a dwarf, 1 *vara* and one third high and 1 *vara* wide, original by Velázquez', and '932. — A like picture, a boy or a dwarf dressed in black holding a book'. On the margin of each entry there is a note explaining that the painting was formerly at the Pardo Palace *('931. — Otro de un Muchacho o Enano, de vara y tercia de alto y vara de ancho, original de Velázquez'*, and *'932. — Otro igual, con un libro en la mano, vestido de negro'*. On the margin of both entries: 'Pardo'). Both descriptions are, of course, insufficient to identify the paintings. However, their inventory numbers leave no doubt that they refer to the portrait held to be of Don Diego de Acedo and to that of Francisco Lezcano (*No. 99*), the two now at the Prado. The supposed portrait of Don Diego de Acedo still bears, indeed, the inventory number 932 painted in red in the lower left corner. Likewise, the portrait of Lezcano bears *No. 931*.

The two portraits were grouped together, under the same numbers, in the 1794 inventory of the Madrid Royal Palace: '931 and 932. — Two paintings, 1 *vara* and one third high and 1 *vara* wide: one representing the *Niño de Vallecas* and the other a portrait of a philosopher with a book in his hand. 6,000 *reales* each, total 12,000 *reales*: Velázquez' *('931 y 932. — Dos de vara y tercia de alto y vara de ancho: el Niño de Ballecas el uno y el otro Retrato de un Filosofo con un libro en la mano a seis mil reales cada uno importa doce mil reales: Velázquez')*. The metrical equivalent of the recorded size is 1.12 × 0.835 m.

From all the preceding there can be no doubt that the portrait we are concerned with, supposed to be of *El Primo*, was at the Torre de la Parada in 1701, and that neither in the inventory of that year nor in any other the sitter was identified as *El Primo*. There is, indeed, some possibility that Velázquez' portrait of *El Primo*, once at the Madrid Royal Alcázar, may be the one now generally held to be of Sebastián de Morra (*No. 103*).

Study, pp. 79, 88-9, 95, 96.
Height 1.07 m. Width 0.84 m.
Torre de la Parada, near Madrid (possibly since the mid-1640's–1714).
Pardo: Palacio Real (1714–1772).
Madrid: New Palacio Real (1772–1819).
Madrid: Prado (since 1819), No. 1201.
Plates *190*, *191*.
C No. 69 — M No. 452 — L-R 1963 No. 420 — G No. 105.

190. A dwarf holding a tome on his lap, radiograph showing an early stage of the composition: the dwarf does not have his hat on, and he is wearing a falling collar instead of the flat stiff one which he wears in the final composition.

191 *No. 102*

103. A DWARF SITTING ON THE FLOOR

Mid-1640's.

For over a century the sitter has been supposed to be Sebastián de Morra (Pedro de Madrazo, *Catálogo descriptivo e histórico de los cuadros del Museo del Prado Madrid, Parte primera, Escuelas italianas y españolas*, Madrid, 1872, p. 630, No. 1096).

Sebastián de Morra had been in the service of the Cardinal-Infante Don Fernando in Flanders till the latter's death in 1641, and entered that of Prince Baltasar Carlos at Madrid in 1643. After the Prince's death he remained at the Court where he died about three years later, in October 1649 (Moreno Villa, pp. 119–20).

The inventory of the Madrid Alcázar begun in 1666 but left unfinished by Juan Bautista Martínez del Mazo, Velázquez' son-in-law, listed in the '*galería del çierço*' 'another picture 1½ *varas* high, almost square, representing the dwarf Morra by the hand of Diego Velázquez, valued at 100 ducats' (*'Otra pintura de bara y media de alto casi en quadro del enano Morra de mano de Diego Belazquez en cient ducados'*). The metrical equivalent of the recorded size is approximately 1.25 m. in height and almost the same in width. This entry was immediately followed by that concerning Velázquez' portrait of the dwarf *El Primo*, whose service at the Court is documented from 1635 till 1660 (see *No. 102*).

The 1686 inventory of the Alcázar described in roughly the same terms, though with no appraisal, Velázquez' portrait of Morra, as well as that of *El Primo*. In 1700 the portrait of Morra was inventoried again at the Alcázar, under No. 454, in almost the same words as in the two preceding inventories; it was though valued at 40 doubloons, exactly the same as the portrait of *El Primo*, which bore No. 455.

The inventory of the paintings rescued from the fire which in 1734 gutted the Madrid Alcázar, compiled before July 1735, included the following entry: '116. — Original by Don Diego Velázquez. — Another canvas of the same size and in a like frame, full-length portrait of a dwarf, original by Diego Velázquez' (*'116. — Original de Don Diego Velázquez. — Otro del mismo tamaño y marco de un Retrato de cuerpo entero de un Enano, original de Don Diego Velázquez'*). The frame referred to was oval and gilted, and its size 1¼ *varas* high and ¾ of a *vara* wide (approximately 1.04 × 0.63 m.). This was substantially different from the size recorded for the Morra portrait before the 1734 fire: about 1.25 m. almost square. The painting was not described as damaged, not even as 'somewhat damaged', as many of the paintings rescued from the fire were.

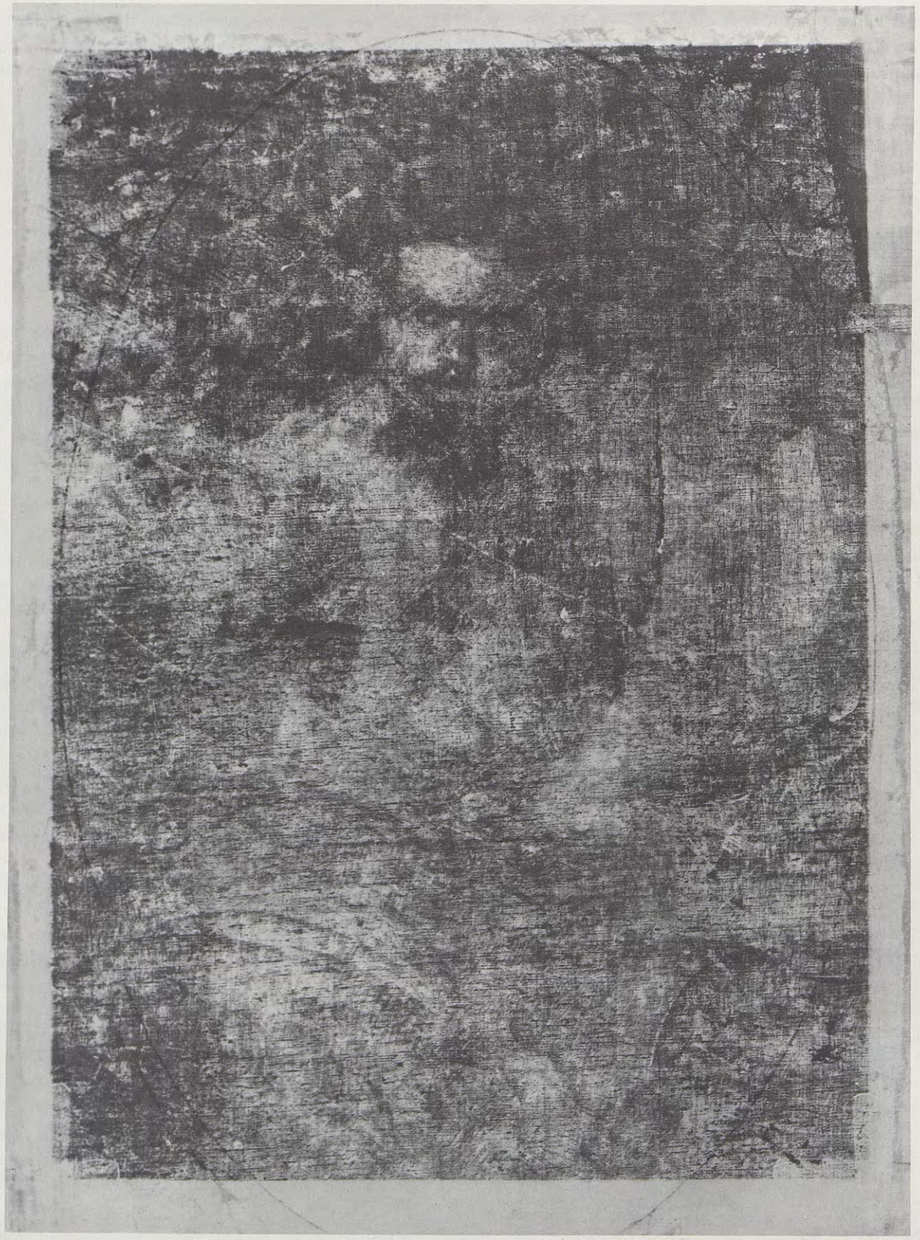
That the painting has been in an oval frame is evident to the naked eye from the pressure marks left on the canvas around the dwarf's figure. X-rays made in 1972 further revealed that painted areas of the canvas were at some time folded over the stretcher and that the painting has suffered losses of pigment. It is also evident that the canvas was folded out at a later time. Restorations are noticeable here and there, including the sitter's nose and eye sockets.

The portrait of the unidentified dwarf was placed at the Buen Retiro Palace together with other paintings from the destroyed Alcázar, according to a memorandum signed on 28 May 1746 by Don Santiago Bonavía. In 1772 it was inventoried at the new Royal Palace in Madrid: '116. — Another painting like the preceding and by the same author, depicting a dwarf sitting' (*'116. — Otro igual al antecedente y del mismo Autor, de un Enano sentado'*). The size of the 'preceding' painting, Velázquez' portrait of 'a boy or dwarf', Francisco de Lezcano (*No. 99*), was approximately 1.12 × 0.835 m. Obviously, the portrait of the 'dwarf sitting' had by then been removed from its oval frame and folded out to its present size.

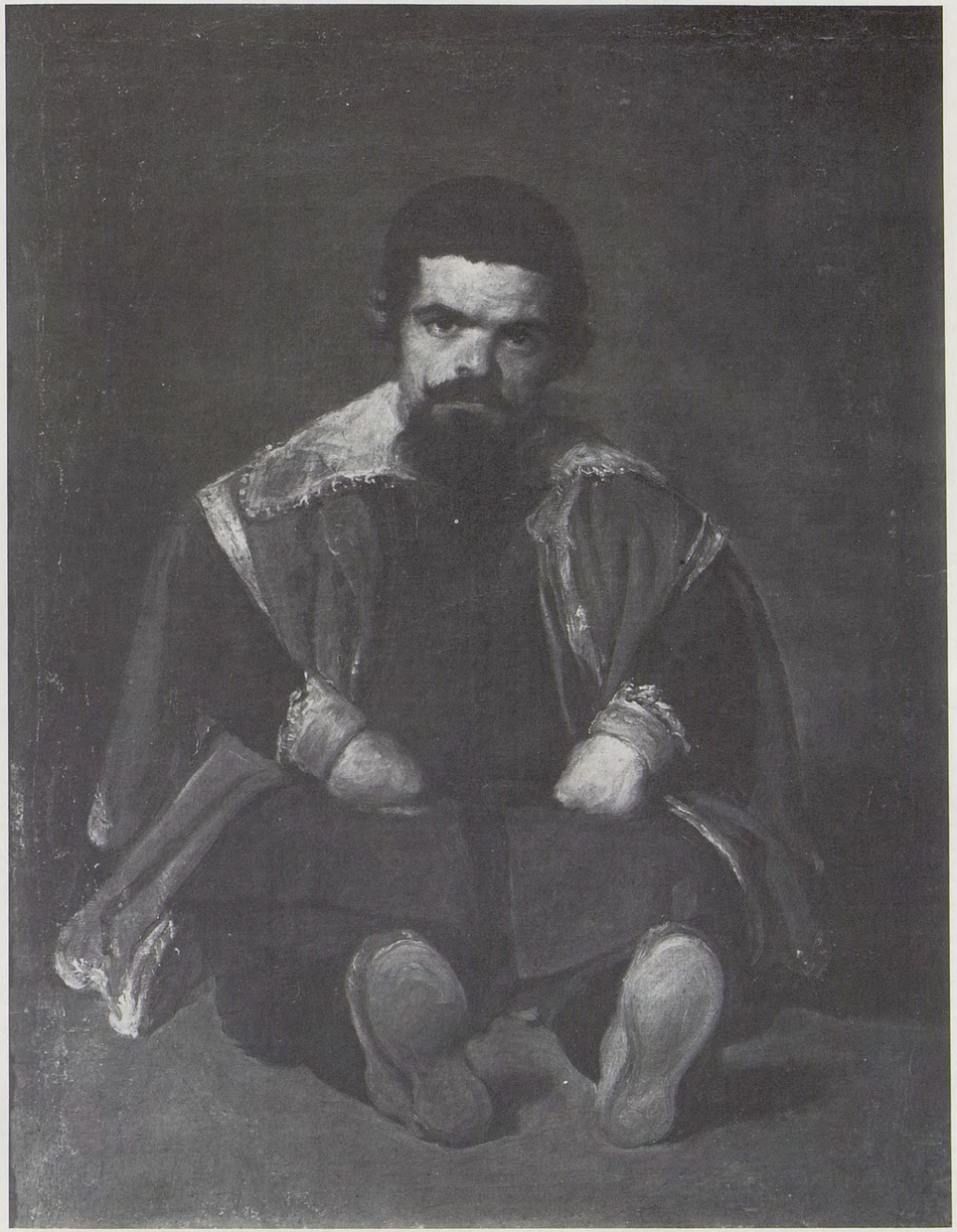
Entry No. 116 of the 1794 inventory of the Madrid Royal Palace is a repetition of that of 1772, except that the portrait is valued at 6,000 *reales*, the same as that of Francisco Lezcano (*No. 99*).

Velázquez' portraits of both *El Primo* and Sebastían de Morra were in 1700 at the Madrid Alcázar, and only one of them was rescued from the fire which in 1734 destroyed the building; the rescued portrait can be identified with the one we are concerned with mainly on account of the marks left on the painting by the oval frame and additionally because the 1772 and 1794 inventories explained that it represented a dwarf sitting. As for the sitter's true identity, the only point of reference which we have is a late 17th-century inventory entry concerning another version of this portrait, described also as by Velázquez but identifying the sitter as *El Primo* (*No. 104*). This entry might, of course, have been in error. If so, there would be no basis to decide whether this portrait of a dwarf, rescued from the 1734 fire, represents Morra or *El Primo*.

Study, pp. 88, 89, 90, 95.
Height 1.07 m. Width 0.82 m.
Madrid: Alcázar (inventories of 1666, 1700, and 1735).
Madrid: Palacio Real del Buen Retiro (1746).
Madrid: New Palacio Real (inventories of 1772 and 1794).
Madrid: Prado (since 1819), No. 1202.
Plates *192*, *193* (and colour plate).
C No. 68 — M No. 451 — L-R 1963 No. 430 — G No. 106.



192. A dwarf sitting on the floor, radiograph.



193 *No. 103*

104. A DWARF SITTING ON THE FLOOR BY A PITCHER

Mid-1640's.

Velázquez' replica, possibly with some workshop assistance, of the portrait discussed in the preceding entry (*No. 103*). It shows the original off-centre composition. Both paintings hung, described as by Velázquez, in well known collections at Madrid late in the 17th century: *No. 103* in the Royal Alcázar; *No. 104* at the Marquis of Carpio's mansion.

It was cleaned in 1973; a dark coat of varnish was then removed, and so were several repaints, some of which, notably about the sitter's nose and eyes, imitated brushstrokes of the restored portrait at the Prado (*No. 103*). There are slight damages in the sitter's head, including his right eye, nose and hair, and several in his costume, as well as in the foreground and background areas; rubbed in several spots, notably the background to the sitter's left.

There is a large *pentimento* about the sitter's left shoulder; his head's broad outline is noticeable.

The 1690 inventory of the paintings left by the deceased 7th Marquis of Carpio in his mansion *Jardín de San Joaquín* in Madrid included: '252. — A portrait of *El Primo* sitting on the floor, with a falling collar, clad in black and a red frock decorated with gold braid, by Velázquez' *('Un retrato del Primo sentado en el suelo con una valona caida vestido de negro con una gaberdina colorada guarnecida de pasamanos de oro de Velázquez')*. See J. M. Pita Andrade, 'Noticias en torno a Velázquez en el Archivo de la Casa de Alba', *Varia velazqueña*, Madrid, 1960, vol. I, p. 410. The identification of the sitter as *El Primo*, recorded in 1690, is not entirely conclusive (see Juan José Martín González, 'Algunas sugerencias acerca de los *bufones* de Velázquez', *Varia velazqueña*, Madrid, 1960, vol. 1, pp. 250–6; see also No. *103* above).

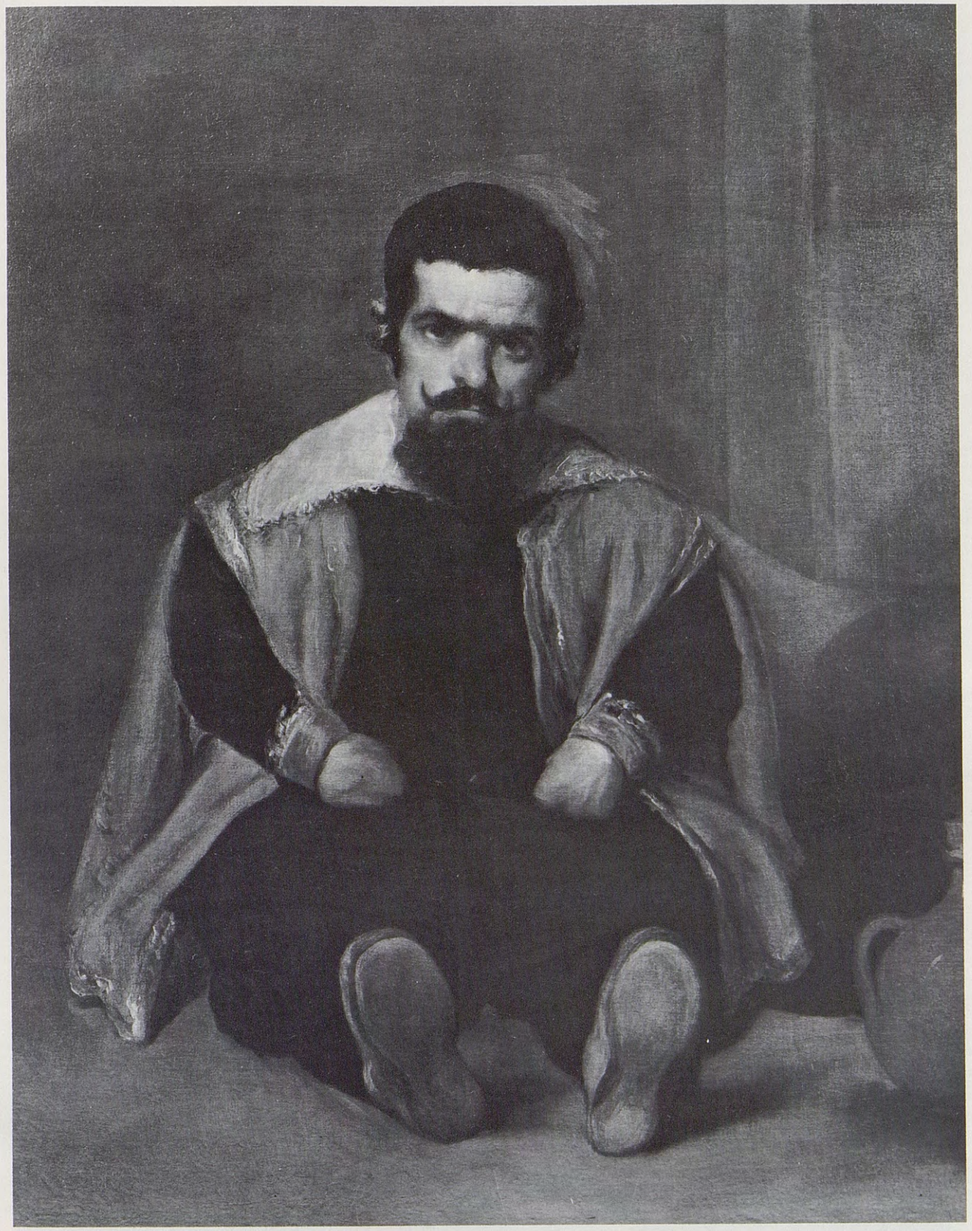
A fuller description of this portrait was given in another inventory of the same collection drawn up on 10 October 1692: '252. — A portrait of *El Primo* sitting on the floor, with a falling collar, clad in black and a red frock decorated with gold braid; only the soles of his shoes are visible; there is a pitcher at his side. Original by Diego Velázquez, 1½ *varas* high and 1¼ *varas* wide. 1,000 *reales*' *('252. — Vn Retrato del Primo sentado en el suelo con Valona caida vestido de negro con vna gauardina colorada guarnezida de pasamanos de oro y solo se ben las suelas de los zapatos con vn jarro al lado Original de Diego Belazquez de vara y media de caida y vara y quarta de ancho. 1000')*. on the margin: '*El conde de Monterrey*'. This inventory is in archive of the House of Alba at Madrid ('*caja*' 221, No. 2).

The quoted marginal note indicates that the portrait was acquired by the Count of Monterrey. It later belonged to the dowager Duchess of San Fernando de Quiroga, who in 1845 sold it to Don José de Salamanca; it was then described as follows: 'It represents a dwarf sitting, with a moustache and a long beard, his hands in the pockets of his coat, with an earthen pitcher on his left hand side, and the whole background dark, original by Diego Velázquez, whose repetition by the same author, after which there are several engravings, is at the Royal Museum in Madrid' — i.e. the Prado *('Representa un enano sentado con bigote, barba larga, metidas las manos en los bolsillos de la zamarra, con un frasco de barro en* [obviously error for *a*] *la mano izquierda y todo el fondo oscuro, original de Don Diego Velázquez, cuya repetición del mismo autor está en el Real Museo de Madrid, del que hay various grabados')* See Marqués del Saltillo, *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, Madrid, vol. 129, 1951, p. 40.

At the Salamanca sale, it was described as 'a repetition of the painting at the Madrid Royal Museum' (*Catalogue des tableaux anciens ... composant la galerie de M. le M^is^ de Salamanca*, Paris, 1867, No. 39).

Curtis catalogued it as a 'repetition' of the portrait of 'Sebastian de Morra' at the Prado (*No. 103* above). I referred to it under both *El Primo* and Morra in my 1963 catalogue; its location was then unknown.

Study, p. 89, 90.
Height 1.03 m. Width 0.82 m.
Madrid: Marqués del Carpio's estate (1690–2).
Madrid: Count of Monterrey (1692).
Madrid: Infante Don Luis de Borbón (d. 1785).
Madrid: Duquesa de San Fernando de Quiroga (sold it in 1845).
Madrid: Don José de Salamanca, Marqués de Salamanca (1845–67).
Paris: Salamanca sale, 1867, lot 39 (7,500 francs); second Salamanca sale, 1875, lot 37 (2,750 francs).
Paris: Private collection.
New York: Private collection.
Plate *194*.
C No. 68a — L-R 1963 Nos. 421 and 431.



194 *No. 104*

105. THE CORONATION OF THE VIRGIN

Mid-1640's.

Justi (II, pp. 254–7) and Beruete (p. 121) placed it among Velázquez' latest works. Allende-Salazar (pp. 104, 279–80) and other scholars after him have dated it to about 1641–2. The main reason for this dating has been that Jusepe Martínez — a friend and somewhat a pupil of Velázquez — painted in 1644 a picture of the same subject for the Seo Cathedral at Saragossa, the upper part of which has some resemblance to Velázquez' composition. However, this does not necessarily imply that Velázquez' painting was finished by then. Martínez might, indeed, had seen it before completion. It might also be that Velázquez, who was in Saragossa in 1644, made some suggestion to Martínez for the composition that the latter was working on. The relation between the two painters was rather close, and we know from Martínez that he let Velázquez paint in his workshop at Saragossa at least on one occasion; this may have been in 1642, 1644, 1645 or 1646, perhaps on more than one occasion too.

The painting shows stylistic interrelations with *The fable of Arachne* (*No. 107*), *Arachne* (*No. 108*), and *Venus at her mirror* (*No. 106*), all of which are datable to 1644–8.

It is said to have been painted for the Oratory of the Queen at the Alcázar, Madrid. However, it was included neither in the inventory of this palace begun in 1666 but never completed nor in that compiled in 1686. Likewise, it was not mentioned in the inventory of the Alcázar compiled in 1700 nor in the supplement to it concerning the Queen's appartments drawn up on 24 January 1701 after some quibbling between Queen dowager Mariana — widow of Charles II, the last Spanish monarch of the Austria dynasty — and Philip V, the first Bourbon Spanish king.

The earliest reference which I have found concerning this work is entry No. 912 of the inventory of paintings rescued from the fire that gutted the Alcázar in 1734. In this inventory, compiled in 1735, the subject of the painting was described as the Holy Trinity crowning the Virgin, and its size as 2 *varas* high and 1½ wide (about 1.67 × 1.25 m). As for its painter, the name of Cano was first entered, then it was crossed out and replaced by that of Velázquez (*'912. — Otro de dos varas de alto y vara y media de ancho sin marco de la Trinidad coronando a Nuestra Señora original* [crossed out: *del Racionero Cano*] *de Belazquez'*). On 28 April 1746, it was taken to the Buen Retiro Palace as a work by Velázquez valued at 6,000 *reales* (*'Pinturas que se le entregaron a Don Bartolome Rusca para componer el quarto del Señor Ynfante Don Phelipe. Año 1746'*, Madrid, Archive of the Royal Palace).

The painting was then moved to the new Royal Palace at Madrid, where in 1772 it was inventoried in the Oratory of the Prince, always under No. 912, as measuring 2¼ *varas* in height and 1½ *varas* in width (about 1.88 × 1.25 m): *'912. — Otro que contiene la Coronación de Nuestra Señora de dos varas y quarta de alto, y vara y media de ancho; original de Velázquez'*.

The 1794 inventory of the same palace described it in similar terms in an unnumbered entry, placing its value at 8,000 *reales*.

Study, pp. 98, 100, 101, 102.
Height 1.79 m. Width 1.35 m.
Madrid: Alcázar (inventory of the paintings rescued from the 1734 fire, compiled the following year).
Madrid: Palacio del Buen Retiro (list of paintings formerly at the destroyed Alcázar, dated 28 April 1746).
Madrid: New Palacio Real (inventories of 1772, and 1794).
Madrid: Prado, No. 1168.
Plate *195* (and colour plate).
C No. 5 — M No. 17 — L-R 1963 No. 23 — G No. 96.

195 *No. 105*

106. VENUS AT HER MIRROR

About 1644–8.

Cut down on the left. Rubbed in several places. There are old tears across Venus' right arm and the small of her back; her hip and her back were slashed in seven places by an incensed suffragette in 1914 — which required restoration. In 1965 old repaints and a coating of ingrained brownish varnish were removed. At the same time, though, some of the tentative contours that Velázquez had purposely painted over were brought to light all too plainly. Such is the case with the figure of Cupid, particularly his right hand and foot, and Venus' profile, shoulders, right arm and left foot. Her torso was extensively repainted, and her reddish cheeks notably stressed both in the profile view of her head and in its frontal reflection in the mirror. This mirror reflection, originally thinly painted and long recorded as 'worn' (*National Gallery Catalogues, The Spanish School*, London, 1952, p. 7), was intensified into a sort of close-up. As for the mirror itself, the *pentimenti* in its top and left side became a little too conspicuous. The light blue touches that originally enlivened the blackish sheet on the bed were substantially increased and extended over most of it. For a glowing account of this 'cleaning and retouching', see the Director's report in *The National Gallery, January-1965–December 1966*, London, 1967, pp. 71–2.

José Moreno Villa rightly pointed out that there is a very close likeness between the features of Venus and those of the Virgin in Velázquez' painting of her *Coronation* (*Velázquez*, Madrid, 1920, p. 64). See plate *195*.

Beruete (p. 112) noted 'that the face of Venus, but vaguely reflected in the mirror, is the same as that of one of the figures' in *The fable of Arachne* (*No. 107*, plate *198*). He, as well as Justi (vol. II, pp. 268ff., and 340 ff.), Allende-Salazar (pp. 151–2, 283), Mayer (No. 58), and Lafuente (Nos. 117, 118, 1943 catalogue; Nos. 120, 122, 1944 catalogue) have held that *Venus at her mirror* and *The fable of Arachne* were painted about the same time, the prevailing view having been that both were executed around 1657.

Beruete also wrote that *Mars* (*No. 94*, plate *181*) and this work, both of which he held to have been painted in the late 1650's, 'by a preponderance of purple tones also resemble *The Coronation of the Virgin*' (*No. 105*, plate *195*).

However, it is now known that *Venus at her mirror* was at the collection of the 6th Marquis of Carpio by 1 June 1651 (see J.M. Pita Andrade, *Archivo Español de Arte*, vol. 25, 1952, pp. 223–36); at that time, Velázquez had not yet returned to Madrid from his second Italian journey, which points to the conclusion that he had painted this work some time before November 1648 when he set out on that journey.

This appears more plausible than to assume, as has been done, that Velázquez painted this large composition in Rome, sometime between July 1649 and November 1650, and dispatched it to Madrid, where it was inventoried in the Marquis of Carpio Collection on 1 June 1651. As a matter of fact, Velázquez was quite busy during that period. It would, moreover, be surprising if Palomino, who was obviously well informed about the paintings executed by Velázquez during his second Italian journey, had failed to mention so important a composition.

In the mentioned inventory of 1651, the picture was described as follows under No. 222: 'A painting on canvas of a nude woman lying on a cloth, painted showing her back, leaning on her right arm and looking at herself in a mirror held by a child, by the hand of Velázquez, two *varas* and a half in width, and one and a half in height' [approximately 2.09 m. × 1.25 m.] (*'Una pintura en lienço de una muger desnuda tendida sobre un paño pintada de espaldas recostada sobre el braço derecho mirándose en un espejo que tiene un niño de la mano de Velázquez de dos baras y media de ancho y una y media de cayda'*). In the seventeenth century measurements were given to the nearest third or quarter of a *vara*; this, together with the fact that the painting now under discussion has been cut down on the left, explains the differences between the size reported in the 1651 inventory and that of the painting today.

It was included under No. 293 in an inventory of the Marquise of Carpio's possessions drawn up in 1669; its size was then described as substantially larger, 2 and a half *varas* in height and 3 *varas* in width — roughly, 2.09 × 2.50 m. (Duque de Berwick y de Alba, *Discursos leídos ante la Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando en la recepción pública del Excmo. Sr*, Madrid, 1924, pp. 88–9). The 1669 inventory, which in 1924 was in the Alba archives, is at present missing or mislaid.

The painting was not listed in any of the inventories of the collections of Don Gaspar de Haro y Guzmán, 7th Marquis of Carpio, compiled at Madrid in 1677, at Rome in 1682, and at Naples in 1687 immediately after his death. Nor is it mentioned in any of the various memoranda concerning the sale of his paintings at Madrid years after his death, except for a hitherto unmentioned memorandum of 10 October 1692. I have examined all these documents in the Alba archives ('*cajas*' 217 and 221).

The memorandum of 10 October 1692, which it was my good fortune to find in the Alba archives, included the paintings and other objects from the estate of Don Gaspar de Haro y Guzmán, 7th Marquis of Carpio, which were still at his mansion, known as *Jardín de San Joaquín*, at Madrid. All the paintings were appraised in *reales*. Many were listed as 'sold'; the buyer's name was frequently recorded. A large number of paintings, though, were set aside for '*los Señores*', meaning the late Don Gaspar's daughter, Doña Catalina Méndez de Haro y Guzmán, 8th Marquise of Carpio, and her husband, Don Francisco Alvárez de Toledo, 10th Duke of Alba. *Venus at her mirror* decorated the ceiling of a chamber — the one numbered 3 for the purpose of the inventory. It was appraised at 16,000 *reales*, by far one of the highest valuations in the whole collection. There is no indication that it had been either sold or set aside for the Albas, who actually ended by keeping it. The entry reads as follows: '81. — On the ceiling. Another picture of a nude woman lying on a bed, turning her back to the viewer, and Cupid holding a mirror, where one sees the woman's face. Original by Diego Velázquez. 16,000 *reales*' (*'81. — En el techo. Otro de vna Muger desnuda echada sobre vna cama buelta de espaldas y cupido teniendo vn espejo donde se ve la cara de la muger. Original de Diego Belazquez. 16,000'*).

I have been unable to identify conclusively the room on whose ceiling the painting was placed; it might have been a bedchamber.

It remained in the Alba collection until after the death in 1802 of the Duchess Cayetana, whose heirs sold it by King Charles IV's command to his chief minister, Manuel Godoy.

Study, pp. 101, 102, 108.
Height 1.225 m. Width 1.77 m.
Madrid: Don Gaspar Méndez de Haro, 6th Marqués de Carpio (inventory of 1 June 1651).
Madrid: Marquesa del Carpio (inventory of 1669).
Madrid: Estate of Don Gaspar de Haro y Guzmán, 7th Marqués del Carpio, at the mansion Jardín de San Joaquín, third chamber, on the ceiling (memorandum of 10 October 1692).
Madrid: The Duke and Duchess of Alba collection (1692–1802).
Madrid: Don Manuel Godoy, Príncipe de la Paz (acquired in 1802; sold after October 1808).
London: W. Buchanan (1813).
Rokeby Hall: John Bacon Sawrey Morritt.
London: Agnew and Son (1905).
London: National Gallery (since 1906), No. 2057.
Plate *196* (and colour plate).
C No. 34 — M No. 58 — L-R 1963 No. 64 — G No. 132.

196 *No. 106*

107. THE FABLE OF ARACHNE

About 1644–8.

Known as *Las hilanderas* — 'The spinners' or 'The tapestry weavers' — from at least the late 18th century till 1948, when Diego Angulo Iñíguez convincingly identified the subject as that of Pallas and Arachne (*Archivo Español de Arte*, 1948, pp. 1–19). Soon after, María Luisa Caturla published the following entry from the inventory of the collection of Don Pedro de Arce, drawn up at Madrid on 24 October 1664: 'Another painting, the fable of Arachne, by Diego Velázquez, more than 3 *varas* wide and 2 *varas* high, valued at 500 ducats' (*'Otra pintura de Diego Velázquez de la fábula de aragne de más de tres varas de largo y dos de cayda, tasada en quinientos ducados', Archivo Español de Arte*, 1948, pp. 292–304). The metrical equivalent of the recorded size is approximately: height 1.67 m; width over 2.50 m. In spite of the substantial difference in size, this entry appears to refer to the painting now at the Prado, the original size of which, as we shall see, corresponded rather closely with that given in the inventory of the Arce collection.

Justi (vol. II, pp. 262, 268ff., and 340ff.), Beruete (pp. 113–5), Allende-Salazar (pp. 151–2 and 283), Mayer, and Lafuente (1943, Nos. 117 and 118; 1944, Nos. 120 and 122) have held that *The fable of Arachne* and *Venus at her mirror* (*No. 107*) belong to Velázquez' last years, the prevailing view having been that both were executed around 1657 — that is, somewhat later than *Velázquez and the royal family* (*No. 124*), whose date can be established with little risk of error around 1656.

It is, however, now known that *Venus at her mirror* was in a Madrid private collection in 1651, when Velázquez had not yet returned from his second Italian journey, which leads to the conclusion that he painted it before November 1648, when he left Madrid.

Both Justi and Beruete, neither of whom realized that there is a likeness between the female faces in *The Coronation of the Virgin* and *Venus at her mirror* (*Nos. 105* and *106*), believed that these two works had been executed at about the same time — which, to them, meant the late 1650's. José Moreno Villa pointed out the close likeness between the female faces in the two pictures just mentioned (*Velázquez*, Madrid, 1920, p. 64). Later Mayer, in discussing *Arachne*, then rather known as *A sibyl* (*No. 108*), pointed out that this picture 'is closely connected in style' with *The fable of Arachne*, and suggested that Velázquez used the same model for the half-length female figure and for the full-length Arachne (plates *198* and *199*). Indeed, the two figures are quite close in point of motion, setting in space, and modelling.

It seems consequently reasonable to hold, as most scholars have done, that the *The fable of Arachne* was painted at roughly the same time as *Venus at her mirror* and *Arachne*. In the present sate of our knowledge, this means approximately ten years earlier than the cited scholars thought. See p. 166, note 157.

Radiographs made in 1960 show that the composition underwent changes in the process of execution; at one point more was seen of Arachne's face. The radiographs are also helpful to understand the lighting of the original composition. Aron Borelius made rewarding suggestions concerning the light in this masterpiece (*Etudes sur Velázquez*, Linköping, 1949, pp. 67–74).

The painting has a large strip added at the top, another, quite uneven, at the bottom, and a narrow one at either side. Without these additions, the size of the painting would be much the same as that of Velázquez' *The fable of Arachne* inventoried in the Arce collection in 1664, four years after the painter's death. The added strips are of a somewhat coarser canvas.

The size of the added strips, measured without removing the canvas from its present frame, is as follows: top, 48.5 cm.; right side, 18.7 cm.; left side, 19.8 cm.; bottom, 2.6 cm. at its lowest point (right), and 7.85 cm. at its highest (left). Consequently, the original composition was at least 1.69 m. in height and more than 2.50 m. in width — rather close to the 1.67 × 2.50 m. which approximately measured the painting in the Arce collection (plate *197* and colour plate).

The available data lead to the conclusion that the additions were made sometimes between 1664 and 1772, when the painting already bore the white-painted royal inventory number 982 on the strip added at the right of the canvas, where it is still visible.

The earliest reference to this number that I have been able to find appears in the 1772 inventory of the then new Royal Palace at Madrid, where it is stated that white-painted numbers correspond to paintings coming from the Buen Retiro Palace. Moreover, a marginal note to the entry reads 'Retiro'. The entry says: '982. — Another picture representing a tapestry factory and several women spinning and winding yarn, 3½ *varas* wide and 1 *vara* less in height, original by Velázquez' *('982. — Otro que expresa una fábrica de Tapices y varias mujeres hilando, y devanando, de tres varas y media de largo, y una menos de caida, original de Velázquez')*. On the margin: '*Retiro*'. The approximate metrical equivalent of the recorded size is 2.08 × 2.91 m., not too different from the present dimensions of the painting: 2.20 × 2.90 m.

In 1794 it was inventoried again at the Madrid Royal Palace, where it had been moved from the *Paso de Tribuna y trascuartos* to the *Pieza de Trucos*. Strangely though, it was described as square: '982. — 3½ in width and 3½ in height: Picture known as The weavers: Velázquez: valued at 60,000 *reales de vellón*'. *('982 — Tres varas y media de largo y tres y media de alto: Quadro llamado de las Ylanderas: Velázquez: en 60000')*. Identical dimensions, approximately 2.92 m. square, were recorded in the 1814 inventory of the same palace.

Lafuente stated as a matter of fact that *The fable of Arachne* had 'suffered considerably in the fire' that gutted the old Alcázar at Madrid in 1734 (1963, No. 117, and 1944, p. 170); his statement was accepted by other scholars, including me. However, I was later able to find out that there is no indication that the painting ever was at the old Alcázar (*Velázquez' Work and World*, London, 1968, p. 106, note 1).

The painting, lined and restored long ago, is in a deplorable condition. Beruete, who thought that the restoration dated from the 18th century, commented that traces of it 'are visible in the minute network produced by the cracks, the furrows of which have been filled with fresh colours which have changed with time' (p. 115). At present, there are folds, cracks or losses of pigment over most of the paint surface — perhaps owing to flaws in the lining procedure or to shrinking of old varnish film. Whatever the cause, which only expert technological examination could determine, the pigment was flaking off in several spots by 1961 (see L-R 1963, No. 56), and it has continued to do so ever since (see López-Rey, *Velázquez' Work and World*, 1968, p. 105, and 'Perils of the Prado', *ARTnews*, New York, Summer 1974, pp. 104–5).
It is worth recalling Renoir's comment on this masterpiece which he saw in 1892: '*Je ne connais rien de plus beau. Il y a là un fond, c'est de l'or et des diamants!*' (Ambroise Vollard, *En écoutant Cézanne, Degas, Renoir*, Paris, 1938, p. 221). That brilliancy, alas!, has been considerably dulled of late.

Study, pp. 52, 101, 102–6, 107, 108, 113, 125, 133, 142.
Height 2.2 m. Width 2.9 m.
Madrid: Don Pedro de Arce (inventory of 1664; not included in the inventory of the same collection drawn up in 1657).
Madrid: Palacio Real del Buen Retiro (before 1772).
Madrid: New Palacio Real (inventories of 1772, 1794 and 1814).
Madrid: Prado (since 1819), No. 1173.
Plates *197*, *198* (and colour plate).
C No. 23 — M No. 130 — L-R 1963 No. 56 — G No. 133.

197. *The fable of Arachne*, radiograph showing original composition.

198 *No. 107*

108. ARACHNE

About 1644–8.

Most areas are thinly painted while impasto has been used in others. Somewhat abraded in the thinly painted areas.

Mayer rightly considered it 'closely connected in style' with *The fable of Arachne* (*No. 107*), and suggested that the model for the foreground figure of Arachne may have been the same used by Velázquez for this half-length composition. There is certainly a similarity in style, and possibly also in intended meaning, between this disheveled black-haired woman and the disheveled black-haired Arachne, both of whom may be regarded as personifications of Painting, different, of course, from Ripa's iconographic formalization of the subject (see Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia*, with an introduction by Erna Mandosky, New York, 1970; pp. 404–5).

Till now this picture has been held to represent *A sibyl* ('*with tabula rasa*', according to William B. Jordan's *The Meadows Museum: A visitor's guide to the collection*, Dallas, 1974, pp. 20 and 106, No. 21).

Study, pp. 101, 106, 107, 167 (note 170).
Height 0.64 m. Width 0.58 m.
Milan: Private collection.
Munich: Julius Boehler.
New York: I. Reinhardt Gallery.
Toledo (Ohio): Edward Drummond Libbey.
Toledo (Ohio): John Willys; Mrs. Isabel van Wie Willys.
New York: Mrs. Isabel van Wie Willys Collection sale, 25 October 1945, lot 20, to Georges Wildenstein and Co.,
Dallas: Southern Methodist University, The Meadows Museum (since 1974), No. 74.1.
Plate *199* (and colour plate).
M No. 570 — L-R 1963 No. 591 — G No. 134.

199 *No. 108*

109. THE INFANTA MARÍA TERESA

1648.

The Infanta María Teresa, daughter of Philip IV and Queen Isabel of Bourbon, was born on 20 September 1638; she married Louis XIV of France on 9 June 1660, and died on 30 July 1683.

Somewhat rubbed.

Allende-Salazar dated it to 1651 (p. 136), and so did Mayer and Lafuente (1943, No. 105); 1944, No. 109), both of whom thought that Velázquez painted it a short while after June 1651, when he returned from Italy. The Infanta, however, looks several years younger in this portrait than in the one known to have been painted by Velázquez late in 1652 or early in 1653 (*No. 119*). Velázquez must consequently have painted it before November 1648, when he set out from Madrid to Italy. The Infanta was then ten years old, and in the portrait she looks like a child of that age, dressed, I should point out, in the fashion of the time.

Beruete, who had not seen the painting when the French and the English editions of his *Velázquez* were published, included it as a work painted by Velázquez, in the German edition (1909, pp. 68–9); however, he mistook the sitter for Queen Mariana and dated the portrait to 1651.

Study, pp. 109, 129.
Height 0.48 m. Width 0.37 m.
Cadiz: Zenón Gallery.
Paris: Trotti and Co. (1908).
New York: Henry Clay Frick (1908–13).
New York: Philip Lehman, Robert Lehman (1913–69).
New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Robert Lehman Collection (since 1969).
Plate *200*.
M No. 515 — L-R 1963 No. 384 — G No. 144.

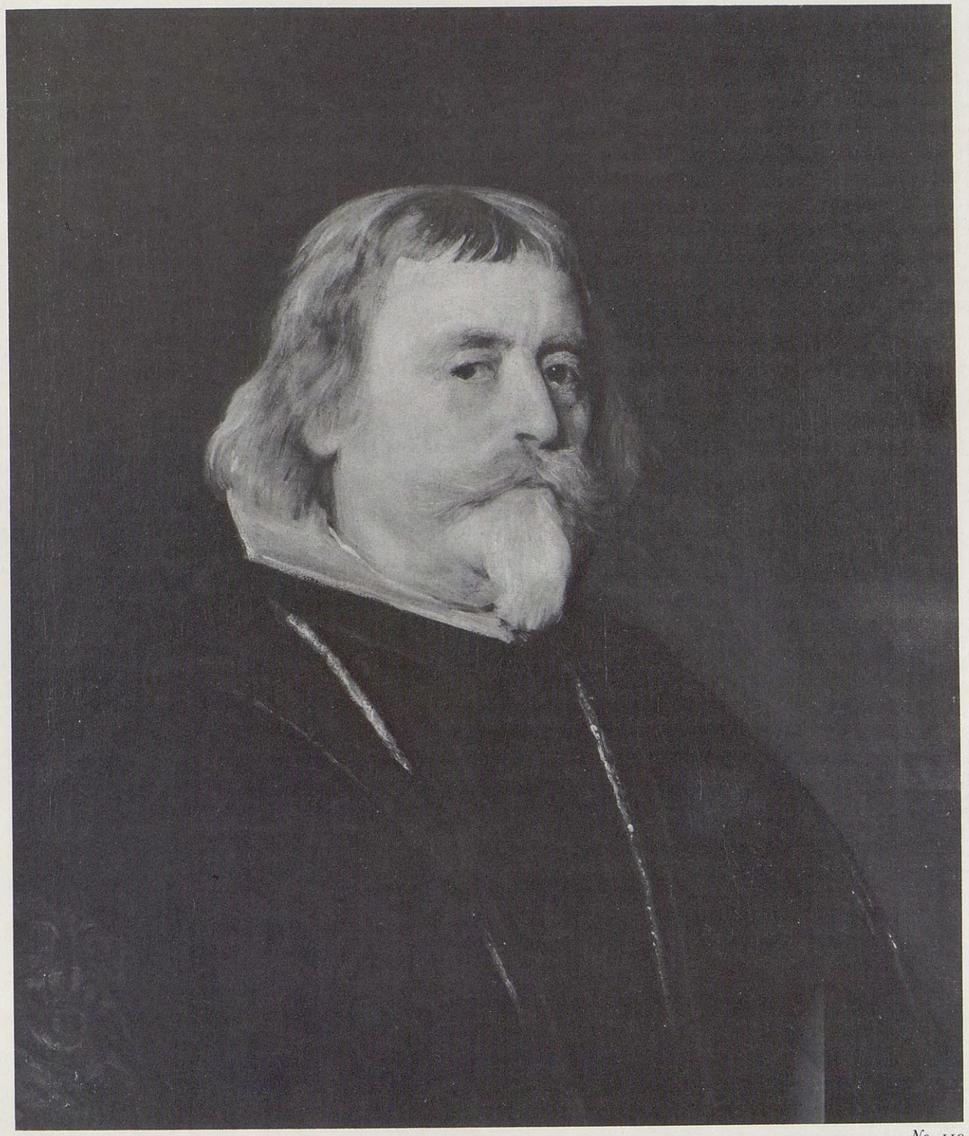
200 *No. 109*

110. A KNIGHT OF THE ORDER OF SANTIAGO

Late 1640's.

Mayer thought it probable that the sitter was connected with the Court of Modena since the portrait was already in the possession of the Este family in 1685. Curiously, though, Velázquez' name was then recorded as that of the painter of the portrait while the sitter's name was not mentioned. Allende-Salazar (pp. 122, 281) suggested that it was painted before Velázquez' second Italian journey, and that the sitter may be Don Fernando de Fonseca y Ruiz de Contreras, Marqués de Lapilla, who was portrayed by Velázquez, according to Palomino (p. 908). Beruete (pp. 74–75) wrote that there are 'many points of resemblance' between this portrait and that of Martínez Montañés (*No. 76*) in what concerns 'the execution of certain parts of the face, especially the eyes', though the portrait of the knight of Santiago is 'not so vigorous' as that of Martínez Montañés. Beruete dated both of them to the late 1640's.

Study, pp. 95, 99.
Height 0.665 m. Width 0.56 m.
Modena: 1685, Principe Cesare Ignacio d'Este (as by Velázquez).
Dresden: Staatliche Gemäldesammlung (since 1747), No. 698.
Plate *201*.
C No. 226 — M No. 372 — L-R 1963 No. 539 — G No. 128.



201 *No. 110*

III. A LASS

Mid–1640's–1650.

First published by Gudiol, who dated it to 1649–50.

Unfinished; it seems to have been cut down on the right side and somewhat at the bottom too.

The lass' body is just outlined with broad strokes of black paint on a dark greenish-brown background. Her head though is rather close to Velázquez' sense of completion. The chestnut hair, quickly brushed in, reveals, notably at the right of the face, a process of execution akin to that noticeable in *A dwarf holding a tome on his lap*, of the mid-1640's (*No. 102*). Likewise, her eyelids and brows, partly brushed in black, recall the portrait of the jester *Don Cristobal de Castañeda*, also unfinished, datable to 1637–40 (*No. 84*), and that of the buffoon *Don Juan de Austria*, of 1632–3 (*No. 65*).

Strokes of white paint, unevenly thick, with a faintly pinkish tint, highlight the face from the forehead to the chin. These highlights, when seen close up, appear to hover at a perceptible distance over the skin colour pigment, thus underscoring the deepset eyes. Velázquez made use of such highlights throughout most of his career as a means to accent the look of the human eyes. He did so in the just mentioned works as well as in others executed from the late 1620's on, including *Bacchus* (*No. 41*), *Joseph's bloody coat* (*No. 43*), *The surrender of Breda* (*No. 73*), *Pablo de Valladolid* (*No. 82*), *Menippus* (*No. 93*), and *Juan de Pareja* (*No. 112*), to cite only masterpieces of diverse subjects and different dates.

Taking into account the inherent difference between a finished and an unfinished work, and the fact that this painting shows a distinct affinity with others executed by Velázquez at various times, it is difficult to date it conclusively to a particular period. It seems rather likely though that Velázquez painted it sometime in the mid- or late 1640's at Madrid or during his stay at Rome in 1649–50. It may, indeed, be one of the several portraits which, according to Palomino (p. 913), he left unfinished at Rome in 1650.

The painting was relined three years ago. The initials D.G.H. interlaced, with a marquis crown above and the number 1387 below, all painted in black on the back of the original canvas, corresponded to the inventory of the collection of Don Gaspar de Haro, seventh Marquis of Carpio and Spanish Viceroy of Naples, drawn up in Italian in this city on 17 November 1687, two days after his death. The pertinent entry reads (fol. 71): '1387. — *Vn quadro di p^m 3 Inc^a. con cornice liscia d'un Ritratto d'una figliola con un fazzoletto in testa*', that is, 'A picture, approximately 3 *palmi* [about 63 cm] in size, in a flat frame, portrait of a lass with a kerchief on her head'. The dimension recorded was probably the height.

A paper pasted on the back of the original stretcher bore the following inscription in late 17th-century handwriting: '*Testa di Femmina con pazzuola bianco in capo di Diego Velazquez, Spagn.^lo N^to 1594 ✝1660*' ('Head of a woman with a kerchief on by Diego Velázquez, Spanish, born in 1594; died in 1660'). Velázquez' birthdate was recorded as 1594 in the epithaph written and published at his death by his pupil Juan de Alfaro (Palomino, p. 935). The true date, 1599, became known in 1800, when Ceán published it (vol. V, p. 155).

Entry No. 97 of the collection of Don Gaspar Méndez de Haro y Guzmán, sixth Marquis of Carpio, compiled in 1651, concerns 'a head of a Galician woman by Velázquez'. Galician women, '*gallegas*', from Northwestern Spain, traditionally found employment at the lower levels of domestic service in Madrid (see Miguel Herrero García, *Idea de los españoles del siglo XVII*, 2nd. ed., Madrid, 1966, pp. 209–13). In the 17th century their numbers there were so large that the term *gallega* was frequently used to designate any rustic maidservant whether she came from Galicia or elsewhere, a usage which still has not entirely died out. The recorded size for the mentioned painting — ½ by ⅓ *vara*, or about 41 × 28 cm — is much too small to definitely conclude that the said inventory entry concerned the painting discussed above. One must bear in mind though that measurements were at the time frequently anything but accurate. For the cited inventory entry, see J.M. Pita Andrade, *Archivo Español de Arte*, 1952, pp. 226–7, and L-R 1963, No. 606.

The case is different with an entry concerning the same subject in the inventory of the collection of Don Gaspar de Haro, seventh Marquis of Carpio, to whom reference has already been made. Entry No. 106 of this inventory, drawn up on 15 June 1677 at Madrid, reads: 'A portrait of a maidservant, original by Diego Velázquez, hanging over a window, ¾ of a *vara* square' *('106. — Vn retrato de vna Gallega original de Diego Velazquez que sirue de sobreventana de tres quartas en quadro')*. The metrical equivalent of the recorded size is approximately 63 cm. square. This entry was repeated word for word in an undated list of paintings from Don Gaspar de Haro collection at Madrid.

Many of Don Gaspar de Haro's paintings were sold over a long period of time, beginning in 1690, partly in Italy and partly in Spain. In two memoranda, both dated 1 October 1692, Velázquez' portrait of a '*gallega*' was described under No. 112 in exactly the same terms as in 1677 and appraised at 1,000 *reales*, with the notation 'sold' *('vendido')*. It is again listed under No. 112, with the same valuation and also as sold, in a memorandum of 14 May 1693. Finally, an undated memorandum explains that the buyer was a Nicolás Nepata, who paid for it 6.120 maravedis: '*112. — Vendido al dicho Nicolás Nepata vn retrato de vna gallega original de Diego Velázquez de tres quartas en quadro tasado en 1000 reales. 6.120 m*'. (All the above mentioned documents are preserved in the Archives of the House of Alba, Madrid, '*cajas*' 217 and 221. The Spanish translation, made at Naples in 1687, of the inventory of the Haro collection compiled the same year is either missing or mislaid.)

It is likely that Velázquez' portrait of a '*gallega*', included in Haro's inventories and memoranda drawn up from 1677 on, is the painting here catalogued. The height, approximately 63 cm., recorded in all of them is quite close to that of the painting. As for the difference in width it might be the result of the painting having been cut down on the right side. Don Gaspar de Haro sent on occasion paintings from Spain to Italy and from Italy to Spain. It is conceivable that *A lass* was sent from his mansion in Madrid to his viceroyal residence in Naples, from where it was returned to Madrid after his death.

It ought also to be noted that a painting of a like subject by Velázquez, summarily described as 'portrait of a country girl' *('Ritratto d'una contadinella')*, belonging to Senator Nicollo Martelli, was included in the exhibition held by the Accademia del Disego di S. Luca at Florence in 1767 (see Fabia Borroni Salvadori, 'Le esposizione d'arte a Firenze dal 1674 al 1767', *Mittellungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florence*, Düsseldorf, 1974, vol. XVIII, pp. 1–166).

Study, pp. 96, 99.
Height 0.60 m. Width 0.465 m.
Naples: Don Gaspar de Haro, Marqués del Carpio, Spanish Viceroy (d. 15 November 1687); his estate.
Rome: Private collection.
New York: Private collection.
Plate *202* (and colour plate).
G No. 141.

202

No. 111

112. JUAN DE PAREJA

Painted sometime between 10 July 1649 and 19 March 1650 at Rome.

Juan de Pareja was born, apparently of Moorish descent, in Seville about 1610, and died in Madrid in 1670. In 1630 he claimed to be a painter by profession, and was planning to go to Madrid for further study with his brother, Jusepe, also a painter. It is not known when he entered Velázquez' workshop, where it would seem he performed rather minor tasks. His extant dated works, all executed in the years 1658–69, show that he did not learn much of substance from his master, whom he accompanied in his 1648–51 Italian journey.

On Pareja, see Mariano Rodríguez de Rivas, *Revista Española de Arte*, Madrid, December 1932, p. 233; Enrique Lafuente Ferrari, *Arte Español*, Madrid, 1941, first quarter, pp. 23–4, and Juan Antonio Gaya Nuño, 'Revisiones sexcentistas: Juan de Pareja', *Archivo Español de Arte*, Madrid, 1957, pp. 271–86.

An old repaint on the sitter's hand, mainly about the fingers, was removed, and the spot properly restored before 1947.

Some of the painted surface had been folded over the edges of the stretcher, as noted in the catalogue of *An Exhibition of Spanish Paintings*, London, The Arts Council of Great Britain, 1947, No. 35. In 1971 the stretcher was removed, and the painted border areas at the top (3.5 cm.) and on the right (5.4 cm.) were folded out, thus restoring the portrait to its original off-centre composition. A piece of canvas, measuring 3.2 by 5.7 cm., missing from the upper right corner, was replaced; it obviously had been cut off when the canvas was folded over at the top and right. The unlined original canvas was put on a new stretcher and backed by an unattached grounded canvas. The colour of Pareja's doublet has been described as of various shades of green — smirched, dark, olive, greyish olive, or plain green — by scholars who had actually examined the painting (Curtis, 1883; Justi, 1888; Beruete, 1898, 1906, and 1909; Trapier, 1948; Gerstenberg, 1957, and López-Rey, 1963 and 1968). The report on the 1971 cleaning and restoration of the painting cites one exception, the catalogue of the exhibition, *Seventeenth-Century Art in Europe* held at the London Royal Academy in 1938, where Pareja's doublet 'is correctly referred to as dark gray, contrary to most' earlier and later descriptions. After the 1971 cleaning, Pareja's doublet, sash and cloak do look gray 'with a faintly greenish tinge', as the report says (Hubert von Sonnenberg, 'The technique and conservation of the portrait' [of Pareja], *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, New York, June 1971, pages unnumbered).

Francisco Preciado de la Vega, in a short historical account of Spanish painting, written in the form of a letter in 1765 at Rome, where he had resided since 1740, recalled that Cardinal Trajano d'Acquaviva (1694–1747) 'had owned' the portrait of Pareja, who had an 'olivaceous flesh colour', painted by Velázquez 'the day before' he began to do the portrait of Innocent X, 'which is in casa Pamphili' (G. Bottari, *Raccolta di lettere sulla Pittura, Scultura ed Architettura*, Milano, 1822, vol. VI, p. 230). Preciado obviously did not know the whereabouts of Velázquez' portrait of Pareja when he mentioned it eighteen years or more after having seen it in the collection of Cardinal Trajano d'Acquaviva.

It might, of course, be that the portrait seen by Preciado was not Velázquez' original but a copy after it, perhaps the one now at the Hispanic Society of America (0.74 × 0.60 m., L-R 1963, No. 518). This copy, finely executed, must have been painted after the original had been folded over the edges of the stretcher, mainly on the right, for the purpose of 'centring' the sitter – a mischief which has befallen other Velázquez' portraits.

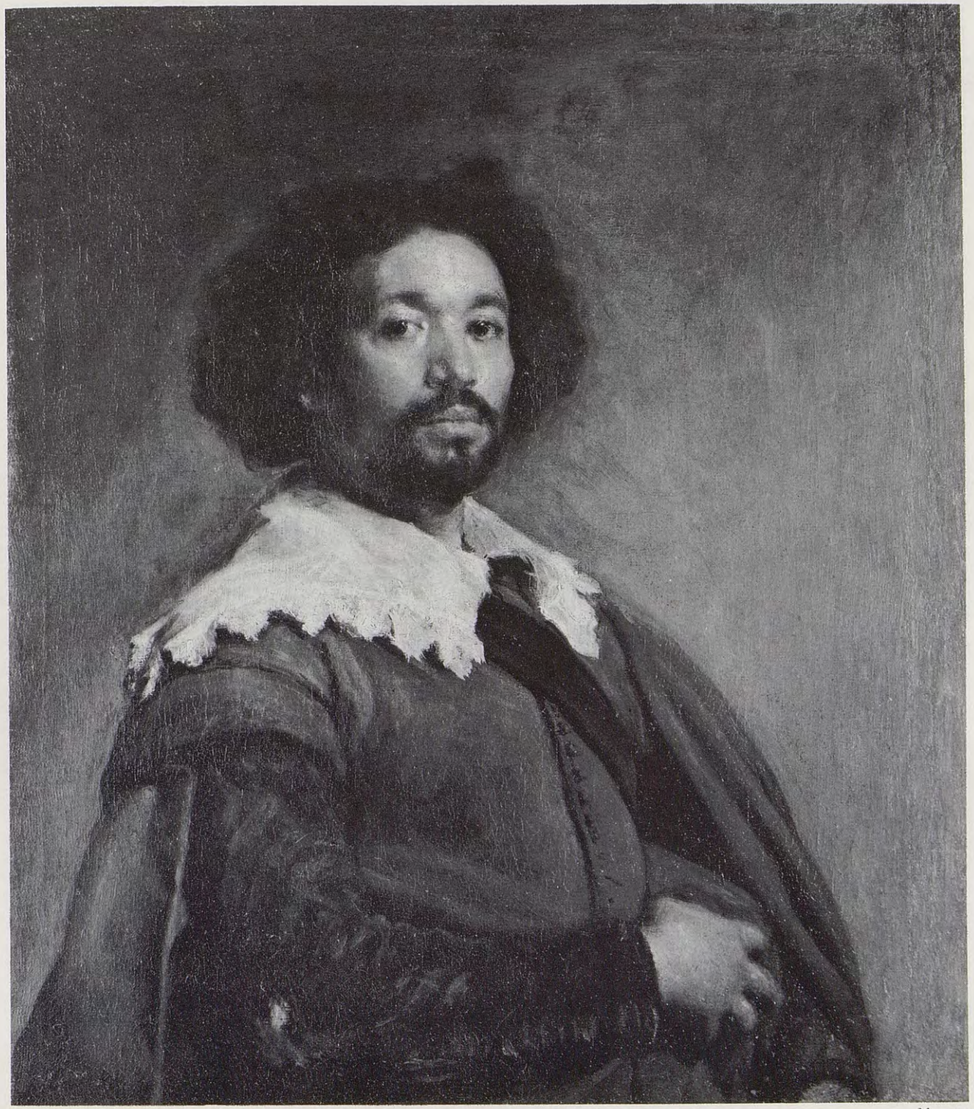
On the back of the original canvas of the portrait at the Metropolitan Museum, there is some lettering, hardly decipherable. On the upper part, there is what may be the capitals *T* and either *R* or *D*, interlaced. The lettering is not distinct enough to conclude that the interlaced letters refer to Cardinal Trajano d'Acquaviva.

Below, there is a large *B*, which might refer to the Baranello collection at Naples, where the painting was late in the 18th century. If so, it could still be the portrait which had earlier belonged to Cardinal Trajano d'Acquaviva.

In 1798, it was inventoried as the property of Sir William Hamilton, British envoy to Naples, who sold it a few years later at London.

Study, pp. 96, 112, 113, 116, 117.
Height 0.813 m. Width 0.699 m.
Rome: Cardinal Trajano d'Acquaviva (?).
Naples: Baranello Collection.
Naples: Sir William Hamilton (by 1798).
London: Sir William Hamilton sale, 27 March 1801, to Parkes for 39 guineas.
Longford Castle, near Salisbury, Wilts: Earl of Radnor (1811–1970).
London: Christie's sale, 27 November 1970, to Wildenstein and Co. for $5,540,000.
New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art (since 1971), No. 1971.86.
Plates *203*, *204* (and colour plates).
C No. 180 — M No. 351 — L-R 1963 No. 517 — G No. 135.

203. Juan de Pareja, radiograph. Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum.



204 *No. 112*

113. SO-CALLED BARBER TO THE POPE

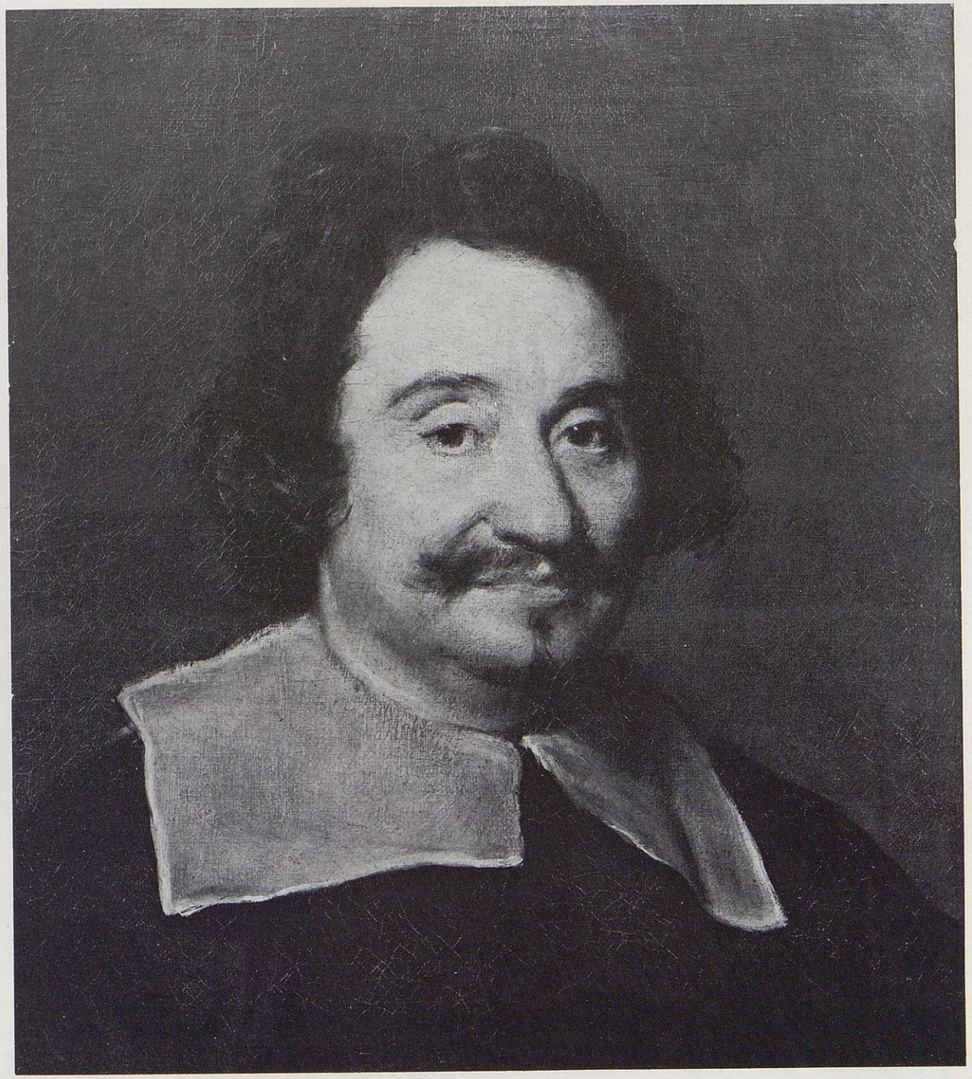
1650.

According to Palomino (p. 913), Velázquez made the portrait of '*Miguel Angelo, barbero del Papa*' at Rome in 1650.

In 1936, Mayer catalogued this painting as a portrait of an unidentified man executed by Velázquez 'certainly not before 1647'. Later, he convincingly listed it as one of the portraits painted by Velázquez at Rome in 1650, and suggested that the sitter may be Michelangelo, the barber to Innocent X (*Velázquez*, Paris, 1940, pl. 82).
The grain of the canvas appears identical with that of the portrait of Juan de Pareja (*No. 112*), and the brushwork is very much alike in both portraits, notably about the sitter's mouth.

An awkward copy (0.43 × 0.345 m.) was on the art market, first at Dublin and later at Madrid, in 1973–4.

Study, pp. 113, 117.
Height 0.483 m. Width 0.444 m.
Chilham Castle: Sir Edmund Davis.
Paris and New York: Wildenstein & Co.
New York: Private collection.
Plate *205* (and colour plate).
C No. 229g — M No. 463 — L-R 1963 No. 482 — G No. 139.



205 *No. 113*

114. INNOCENT X

Painted at Rome in 1650, most probably in the spring.

Innocent X, born Giovanni Battista Pamphili in 1574, was elected Pope in 1644, and died in 1655.

Inscribed on the paper in the sitter's hand: *Alla San^{ta} di N^{ro} Sig^{re}/Innocencio X^{o}/Per/Diego de Silva/Velázquez dela Ca-/mera di s. M^{ta} Catt^{co}* (There seems to be an earlier inscription, with the date 1650, underneath).

Study, pp. 113, 114, 115, 116–7, 124, 128, 145.
Height 1.40 m. Width 1.20 m.
Rome: Principe Doria-Pamphilj, Galleria Doria-Pamphilj.
Plate *206* (and colour plate).
C No. 183 — M No. 409 — L-R 1963 No. 443 — G No. 136.

206 *No. 114*

115. INNOCENT X

1650.

Slightly rubbed.

On 8 July 1651, the Papal Nuncio at Madrid, Giulio Rospigliosi, wrote to Cardinal Pamphili — that is, Astalli (see *No. 117*) — that Velázquez had returned from Italy 'and brought with him a good many originals by the best painters, as well as a very like portrait of our Lord [Innocent X], which His Majesty has shown to enjoy very much' *('E ritornato quà d'Italia D. Diego di Velasco Aiutante di Camera e Pittore di S. M. et hà condotto molta quantità di pitture originali de' migliori autori come parim.te un ritratto molto simile di N.S.re del quale la M. S. hà mostrato di compiacersi molto')*. See Enriqueta Harris, *Archivo Español de Arte*, 1958, p. 186.

Rospigliosi does not mention the name of the painter of the portrait, but the wording of his letter tends to support Palomino's statement that Velázquez brought to Spain with him a 'copy' of his portrait of Innocent X *('trajo copia a España de este retrato'*, p. 912). 'A portrait of the Pope Innocent X' was in Velázquez's rooms at the time of his death (No. 374 of the inventory); this portrait might have been the copy, presumably by his own hand, that he had brought from Italy.

In the list of paintings acquired by Charles III from the collection of the Marquis of Ensenada in 1768, there was a portrait of Innocent X by Velázquez, 3 ft. high and 2½ ft. wide (about 0.84 × 0.70 m.), described as a 'painting so uncommon and expressive that one could not praise it enough' *('Pintura tan especial y expresiva que no se puede ponderar bastante')*. See F. J. Sánchez Cantón, *Los pintores de Cámara de los Reyes de España*, Madrid, 1916, pp. 82–3. The 1772 inventory of the new Royal Palace at Madrid recorded it in an unnumbered entry (fol. 8), as 'a portrait of Innocent X, half length, original by Velázquez, from the Ensenada collection' *('Un retrato del Papa Ynnocencio 10, de medio cuerpo, de vara de alto, y poco menos de ancho, original de Velázquez'*. On the margin: *'Ensenada')*. In metrical terms, the size was roughly 0.835 m. in height and somewhat less in width.

It was inventoried again at the Madrid Royal Palace in 1794 and 1814 as measuring 1 *vara* in height and somewhat less in width. The metrical equivalent of 1 *vara* is approximately 0.835 m. There is no further reference to this portrait in the Spanish royal archives, as far as I know.

Of all the extant portraits of Innocent X derived from Velázquez' original, only this one approximates the measurements of the one inventoried at the Madrid Royal Palace in 1772, 1794, and 1814 (the latter inventory included paintings which were no longer there).

This portrait was among the paintings that Joseph Bonaparte took with him in his flight from Madrid and which fell into Wellington's hands at the battle of Vitoria in 1813, according to Gibbs-Smith and Percival (*Apsley House: A Guide to the Wellington Museum*, London, 1957, pp. 25 and 45). If so, it can safely be assumed that it came from the Madrid Royal Palace.

In 1737, Marchese Ferdinando Incontri owned a 'head of a Pontiff' by Velázquez (see Fabia Borroni Salvadori, 'Le esposizione d'arte a Firenze', *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, Düsseldorf, 1974, vol. XVIII, pp. 1–166). Later Don José Nicolás de Azara (1730–1804), Spanish Minister in Rome, acquired what was regarded as the first head of Innocent X painted by Velázquez for the Pope's three-quarter-length portrait; this head portrait is now lost or unidentified (L-R 1963, No. 457). For extant head or bust portraits of Innocent X executed by unidentified painters after either the three-quarter-length or the bust painted by Velázquez, see L-R 1963, Nos. 447–56.

As for critical opinions, Justi held this portrait to be a study from life executed by Velázquez, though the robe and the background were perhaps painted by another hand (II, p. 179). Beruete summarized his opinion about it in the statement: 'its authenticity seems to me somewhat doubtful' (p. 88). Allende-Salazar listed it as 'Copy by Pareja (?)' without explaining the reasons for this hesitant attribution (p. 203). I should

point out that, as the few known works by Pareja show, there was a lack of affinity between his and Velázquez' manner; he, in fact, never came close to his master's sense of modelling in space.

Mayer rejected Allende-Salazar's suggestion, and held that the quality of this portrait is 'entirely that of Velázquez's authentic work'.

In fact the head of the Pope in this bust-portrait reveals Velázquez's hand; the eyes, and the flesh colouring, are lighter in hue than in the signed three-quarter length (*No. 114*), an effect which is underlined by some vivid grey touches on the face; the modelling of the ear and mouth is even more fluid than in the signed portrait, and the expression of the light-blue eyes is enlivened by a red touch at the corner of the right one. As for the cape, there is a wide contour area which seems also to have been brushed in by Velázquez; the same is the case with the white collar enlivened by bluish and pinkish transparencies. However, the rest of the costume and the dark, slightly greenish background appear to have been painted with dispatch, without attempting to imitate the signed original, by a hand other than Velázquez'.

Study, pp. 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 124.
Height 0.78 m. Width 0.68 m.
Madrid: Marqués de la Ensenada (by 1768).
Madrid: New Palacio Real (1768–1813; inventories of 1772, 1794 and 1814 — the latter included paintings which were no longer in the Palace).
London: Apsley House, Duke of Wellington (exhibited at the British Institution in 1828).
London: Apsley House, Wellington Museum, No. 1590.
Plate *207*.
C No. 187 — M No. 412 — L-R 1963 No. 446 — G No. 137.

207 *No. 115*

116. MONSIGNOR CAMILLO MASSIMI

1650.

In spite of the layers of dirt and varnish that darken this painting, it can be identified with the portrait of Camillo Massimi which, according to Palomino (p. 913), Velázquez painted in 1650 at Rome. A proper cleaning of the painting would most likely strengthen this conclusion.

Camillo Massimi was born in 1620; he was chamberlain to Pope Innocent in 1650, when Velázquez portrayed both of them. In 1654–8, he was Nuncio to Spain. He died in 1677 in Rome.

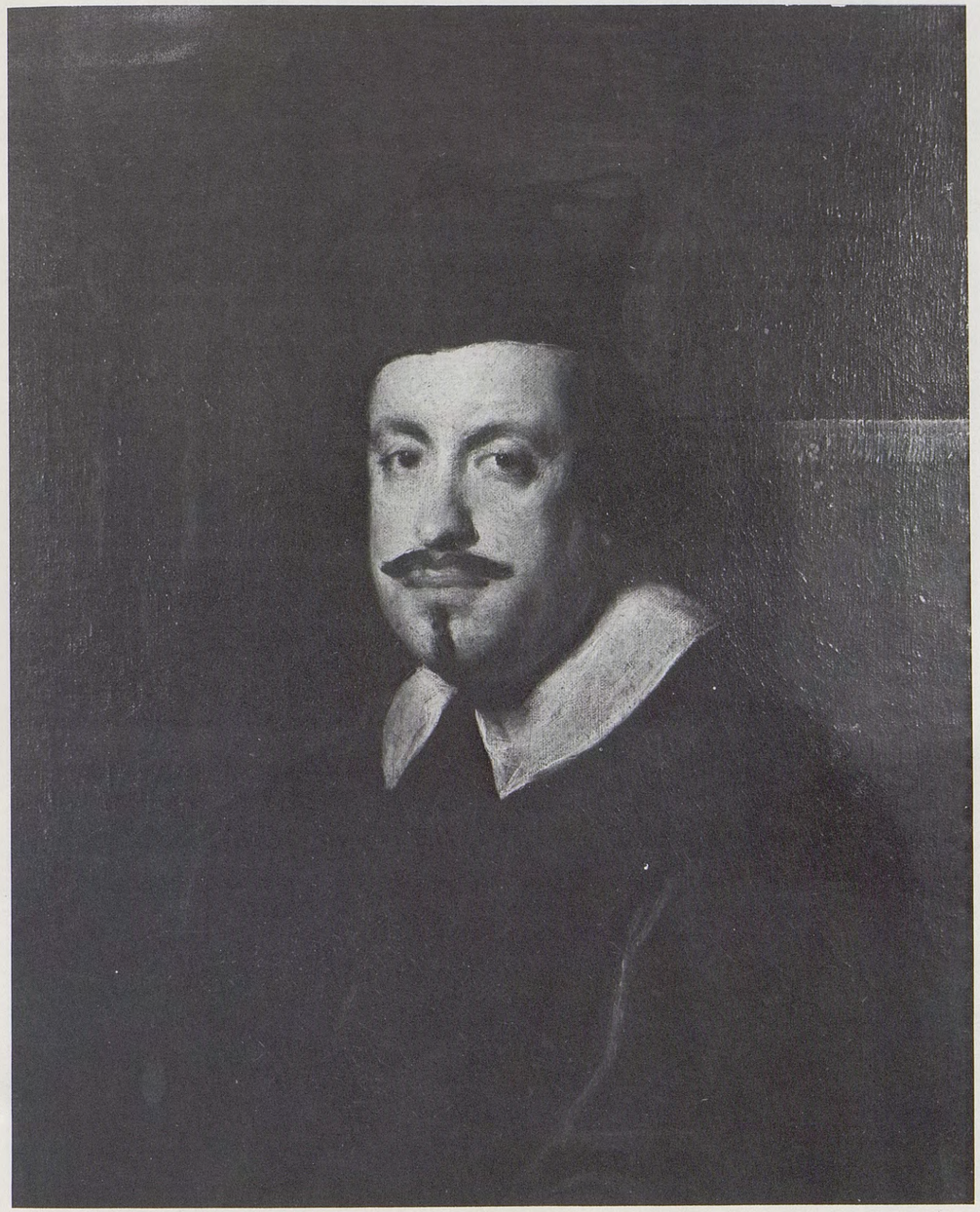
Curtis mixed up his notes on this portrait and on one of Cardinal Borja, also at the Bankes Collection.

Listed in the inventory of the collection of Cardinal Camillo Massimi, drawn up at Rome in 1677, at his death, as showing the sitter 'in robes of prelate' *('in habito da prelato')*. Acquired soon after by the seventh Marquis of Carpio, who sent it from Rome to Naples in 1682 on his appointment as Viceroy; it was described, under No. 430, in the inventory then drawn up as follows: 'A picture representing a portrait of Cardinal Massimi in robes of prelate by the hand of the said Diego Velázquez, about three palmos by two and a half with its frame entirely gilded' *('Un quadro, che reppresenta un Ritratto del Cardinal de Massimi in habito da Prelato, di mano del detto Diego de Velasco di palmi 3 e 2½ in circa con sua cornicia tutta indorata')*. The indicated measurements would roughly correspond to 0.63 m. × 0.52 m.; it should be noted, however, that they are given as no more than approximate.

See Enriqueta Harris, 'Velázquez's portrait of Camillo Massimi', *Burlington Magazine*, London, August 1958, pp. 279–80, and J. M. Pita Andrade, 'Noticias en torno a Velázquez en el Archivo de la Casa de Alba', *Varia velazqueña*, Madrid, 1960, vol. I, p. 409.

Purchased at Bologna by an ancestor of the present owner before 1821, when it was exhibited at the British Institution.

Study, p. 118.
Height 0.736 m. Width 0.585 m.
Rome: Cardinal Camillo Massimi (1650–77).
Rome: Marquis of Carpio, Spanish Ambassador (by 1682).
Naples: Marquis of Carpio, Spanish Viceroy (1682 till his death in 1687).
Wimborne, Dorset: Kingston Lacy (by 1821); Ralph Bankes, No. 87.
Plate *208*.
C No. 218 and 229d — M No. 432 — L-R 1963 No. 471 — G No. 140.



208 *No. 116*

117. CARDINAL ASTALLI

1650 or 1651.

Cardinal Camillo Astalli, known as Cardinal Pamphili, was born in 1616 or 1619. At his death, in 1662 or 1663, he was Bishop of Catania in Sicily.

Palomino (p. 913) mentioned that Velázquez painted a portrait of a Cardinal Pamphili at Rome in 1651. Adolfo Venturi (*L'Arte*, vol. 2, 1899, p. 296) and Marcel Nicolle (*Revue de l'Art*, vol. 15, 1904, pp. 23ff.) held that the sitter was Camillo Pamphili; yet he was only a Cardinal from 1644 to 1647 when he relinquished the hat in order to marry.

Beruete (p. 70) thought that this portrait had been painted by Velázquez sometime between 1644 and 1647, when Camillo Pamphili, who also held the position of Archdeacon of the Toledo Cathedral, might have been in Spain. He called attention to the 'fine red colour' of the sitter's biretta and cape which 'harmonise with the roseate hue of the features and the plain grey background'.

Elisabeth du Gué Trapier conclusively proved that 'at Rome in 1650 there was exactly one Cardinal Pamphili, not the Pope's real nephew, Camillo Pamphili, but his adopted nephew, Camillo Astalli', who was created a Cardinal on 19 September 1650 at the age of about thirty; a few years later, on 4 February 1654, a document signed by the Pope states that 'Innocent X takes from Cardinal Camillo Astalli the name of Pamphili and revokes all of his dispositions in his favour' (*Notes Hispanic*, vol. IV, 1944, pp. 54–63).

Painted at Rome, after 19 September 1650, when the sitter was created a Cardinal, and most probably before 12 December of the same year, when the painter was back in Modena. It may, however, be that Velázquez returned to Rome in the first half of 1651 before starting on his journey back to Spain, and that it was then that he painted this portrait.

Said to have belonged to the Doria-Pamphili family at some time, but, according to Trapier, it is not included in Salvatore Tonci's *Descrizione regionata della Galleria Doria*, Rome, 1794.

It may be the painting inventoried as follows at the Royal Palace of Naples on 12 September 1808, when Joseph Bonaparte (or Giuseppe Napoleone as the inventory says) sat at the throne there: '*56. — Quadro alto palmi 2 5/12 largo 2. Ritratto di un Cardinal con baffi, e beretta in testa. Velázquez. 100*' ('56. — A picture 2 5/12 *palmi* in height and 2 in width. Portrait of a Cardinal with a moustache, and a biretta on his head. Velázquez. 100' See: *Nota de' quadri esistenti nel Real Palazzo di Napoli (1808)*, Madrid, Archivo del Palacio Real.

The metrical equivalent of 2 5/12 × 2 palmi is approximately 51 cm. × 42 cm.

Study, pp. 117–8.
Height 0.61 m. Width 0.485 m.
Naples: Palazzo Reale (?).
Rome: Private collection (by 1899).
Paris: Trotti & Co. (1902).
New York: Francis Lathrop.
New York: The Hispanic Society of America (since 1908) No. A 101.
Plate *209*.
M Nos. 427 and 428 — L-R 1963 No. 458 — G No. 138.

209 *No. 117*

118. THE INFANTA MARIA TERESA

1651–2.

The left side of the face has been somewhat restored.

It is a fragment of a portrait, added to on all four sides. Beruete, who reproduced it as a portrait of Queen Mariana, gave its size, obviously also by error, as 'about $21\frac{3}{4} \times 25\frac{1}{2}$ inches', that is, approximately 0.55×0.645 m. (p. 156, plate 73). These wrong measurements passed into Allende-Salazar's (p. 142) and Mayer's catalogue.
The following account tries to retrace as closely as available information permits the changes in size undergone by the painting since 1920, when it was included in a loan exhibition held at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Its size was then 0.349×0.381 m. ($13\frac{3}{4} \times 15$ inches). Later the canvas was trimmed to a size which was most likely about 0.33×0.375 m., and strips were added on all four sides. These additions brought the overall size up to the measurements recorded below; the increase in height was roughly 11.4 cm., most of which — a little over 8 cm. — was added at the bottom in a strip of somewhat irregular shape; the increase in width was approximately 1 cm., or slightly more, at either side.

Study, p. 129.
Height 0.444 m. Width 0.4 m. (with all the additions).
Paris: Ledieu Collection (by 1874).
New York: Colonel Payne Bingham (since 1899).
New York: Duveen Bros.
New York: Jules S. Bache Collection.
New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, Jules S. Bache Collection (since 1949).
Plate *210*.
M No. 517 — L-R 1963 No. 385 — G No. 145.

210 *No. 118*

119. THE INFANTA MARÍA TERESA

Late 1652 or early 1653.

On 22 February 1653, this portrait, or less likely a workshop replica of it, was sent by Philip IV to the Emperor Ferdinand III at Vienna. See H. Zimmermann, *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, 1904, p. 189. The workshop replica seems to be the one now at the Boston Museum, which acquired it in 1921 from the Kunsthistorisches Museum at Vienna. It had been sent by Philip IV to the Duke Leopold Wilhelm, Governor General of Flanders, early in 1653 too (see L-R 1963 No. 387).

Cleaned in 1953. The mouth and eyes have been poorly restored.

Study, pp. 129, 130.
Height 1.27 m. Width 0.985 m.
Vienna: Kunsthistorisches Museum, inventory No. 353.
Plate *211*.
M No. 517 — L-R 1963 No. 386 — G No. 150.

211

No. 119

120. PHILIP IV

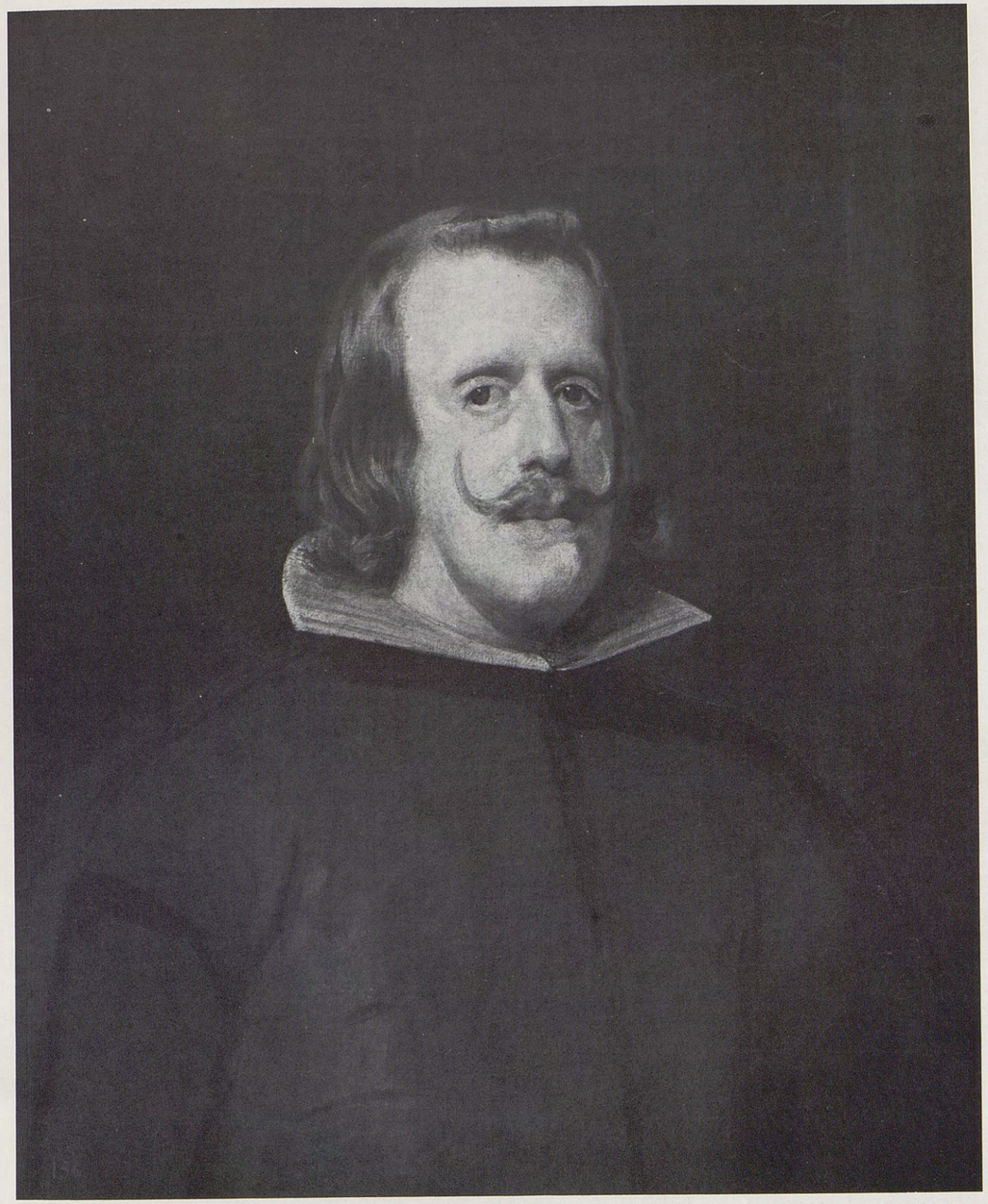
1652–5.

The head was copied in an engraving in which the King wears armour and the insignia of the Golden Fleece. The engraving, signed and dated *Petrus de Villafranca sculptor Regius fact, Matriti, 1655*, is the title page of *Regla y establecimientos de la Orden y Cavallería del glorioso Apostol Santiago*, Madrid, 1655 (plate **48**).

Pedro de Villafranca, an engraver and painter, was active during the years 1632–78. He painted a full-length portrait of Philip IV, now at the Prado (L-R 1963, No. 288).

I have been unable to pinpoint any specific reference to this portrait prior to 1816, when King Ferdinand VII deposited it at the Royal Academy of Fine Arts in Madrid. It might be one of the two half-length portraits of members of the House of Austria, painted by Velázquez according to Juan Bautista del Mazo, who inventoried them in 1666, valuing them at 200 silver ducats each (fol. 23 of the inventory).

Study, pp. 57, 131, 132, 138.
Height 0.69 m. Width 0.56 m.
Madrid: Palacio Real (by 1816).
Madrid: Real Academia de San Fernando (1816–27).
Madrid: Prado (since 1827), No. 1185.
Plate *212*.
C No. 128 — M No. 246 — L-R 1963 No. 266 — G No. 146.



212 *No. 120*

121. QUEEN MARIANA

1652–3.

The date is determined by the fact that a workshop replica (2.04 × 1.265 m.), now at the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, was sent to Archduke Leopold Wilhelm on 23 February 1653 (plate *216*). See Heinrich Zimmermann, *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, Vienna, 1905, pp. 171ff., and L-R 1963, No. 356.

The sitter, daughter of Emperor Ferdinand III and of Philip IV's sister, the Infanta María (see *No. 48*), was born on 21 December 1634 at Neustadt; on 7 November 1649 she married her uncle, the widowed Philip IV; she died at Madrid on 16 May 1696.

Partial radiographs made in 1960 show *pentimenti* about the Queen's face and bodice, as well as some damages (plate *214*).

The red table in the background appears now unhued, which was not the case up to the early 1960's. The upper part of the curtain has been painted by a hand other than Velázquez' on a piece of canvas added at the top of the original composition as the seam running across the whole width of the painting plainly shows.

This addition was made to bring the painting up to the size of the portrait of Philip IV with a lion at his feet, now at the Prado (L-R 1963, No. 259; 2.31 × 1.31 m.); it was certainly done before 1700 when the two portraits were inventoried as a pair at the King's chambers in the Monastery of the Escorial. The original size of the Queen's portrait must have been approximately the same as that of the fine workshop replica, now at the Louvre: 2.09 × 1.25 m. (Plate *215*; L-R 1963, No. 357).[1]

As Beruete observed (p. 108), the portrait of Philip IV with a lion at his feet 'is a very weak imitation' after Velázquez, 'hesitating in drawing and of very feeble execution'. The manner in which the head has been brushed in has a muddy quality that betrays, indeed, the imitator's effort and failure; on the other hand, the King's figure is made garish, and his stance clumsy, by a surfeit of highlights on the armour and sash (Plate *217*). Allende-Salazar listed this portrait of Philip IV as a workshop picture though partly by Velázquez (pp. 231, 286). Mayer suggested that it had been sketched in by Velázquez and completed by Mazo. In my opinion, the hesitating quality of the drawing hardly suggests Velázquez' hand. As for Mazo, it is true that his highlights often resulted in a sort of garishness, but again his drawing could hardly be described as hesitant, nor his brushwork as muddy. These two traits characterize this middling work, possibly began by a painter and finished by another, but certainly neither by Velázquez nor by anyone who had learned much from him. According to the catalogue of the exhibition *Christina, Queen of Sweden*, held at the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, 1966, pp. 95–6, No. 78: 'Tradition has it that Philip IV commissioned' this portrait 'as a gift for Christina but that it was never' sent to her.

Neither this portrait of the King nor that of Queen Mariana with which we are concerned was mentioned by Fray Francisco de los Santos in his *Descripción breve del Monasterio de S. Lorenzo el Real del Escorial* (Madrid, 1657). The earliest known reference to either is provided by the cited inventory of 1700, when both were grouped together in a single unnumbered entry as in the King's apartment: 'Firstly, two portraits, one of our Lord, King Philip IV, and the other of our Mistress Queen Mariana of Austria (who is in Heavens), in gilded frames, 3 *varas* high and 1½ wide, by the hand of Diego de Velázquez, valued at 200 ducats each' (*'Primeramente, dos Retratos el uno de el Rey nuestro Señor Don Phelipe quarto y el otro de la Reyna Nuestra Señora Doña Mariana de Austria (que esta en el Cielo) con marcos dorados de tres varas de alto y vara y media de ancho de mano de Diego de Velázquez tasados cada uno a doscientos ducados'*). The metrical equivalent of the reported size is approximately 2.50 × 1.25 m.

Both portraits remained at the Monastery, though not always in the same room, according to the inventories of 1746, 1771, 1794, 1838 and 1843, in every one of which they were described as by Velázquez. In 1794, the

paintings at El Escorial were given inventory numbers. Those corresponding to the portraits of Philip IV and Queen Mariana were respectively 62 and 63 — which they still bear in the lower right corner.

As one who agrees with Beruete's views on the portrait of the King, I should say that the only stylistic similarity between it and the portrait of the Queen lies in the execution of both curtains. In fact, the brushwork, the highlights and the shape of the folds of the curtain in either painting are so much alike that they seem to have been executed by the same garish-minded painter. Whoever he was, he not only enlarged the original curtain in the Queen's portrait but he also partly repainted or touched up the rest of it to match his own brushwork.

See Pedro Beroqui, *Adiciones y correcciones al catálogo del Museo del Prado, Parte segunda*, Valladolid, 1915, pp. 19–20.

Study, pp. 118, 129, 130–1, 139.
Height 2.31 m. Width 1.31 m.
El Escorial: Monasterio de San Lorenzo (inventories of 1700, 1746, 1771, 1794, 1838 and 1843).
Madrid: Prado (since 1845), No. 1191.
Plates *213, 214* (and colour plate).
C No. 237 — M No. 484 — L-R 1963 No. 355 — G No. 147.

[1] This portrait of Queen Mariana, formerly at the Prado, has been at the Louvre since 1941 as a result of an exchange of works of art between the French and the Spanish governments. Justi thought that it was Velázquez' original and that the portrait discussed above, which has remained at the Prado, was a replica by the master himself (vol. II, p. 281). Beruete held the opposite view, pointing out that in the painting now at the Louvre 'there is much less animation and spontaneity' (p. 103). Allende-Salazar held it to be a workshop copy (pp. 207, 282). In my opinion, it is a fine workshop replica, with possible participation by Velázquez himself, but much less spirited than the original at the Prado. In addition to old restorations, some skilful retouching is noticeable.

213 *No. 121*

214. Velázquez, *Queen Mariana*, partial radiograph.

215. Velázquez' workshop, *Queen Mariana* (2.09 × 1.25), Paris, Louvre. Courtesy of the Museum.

216. Velázquez' workshop, *Queen Mariana* (2.04 × 1.265 m.), Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum. Courtesy of the Museum.

217. Unknown painter, *Philip IV* (2.31 × 1.31 m.), Madrid, Prado. Courtesy of the Museum.

122. THE INFANTA MARGARITA

1653.

The Infanta Margarita, daughter of Philip IV and Queen Mariana, was born on 12 July 1651; she married Emperor Leopold I of Germany on 12 December 1666, and died on 12 March 1673.

Study; pp. 118, 129, 130.
Height 1.285 m. Width 1 m.
Vienna: Kunsthistorisches Museum, No. 321.
Plate *218*.
C No. 253 — M No. 524 — L-R 1963 No. 394 — G No. 150.

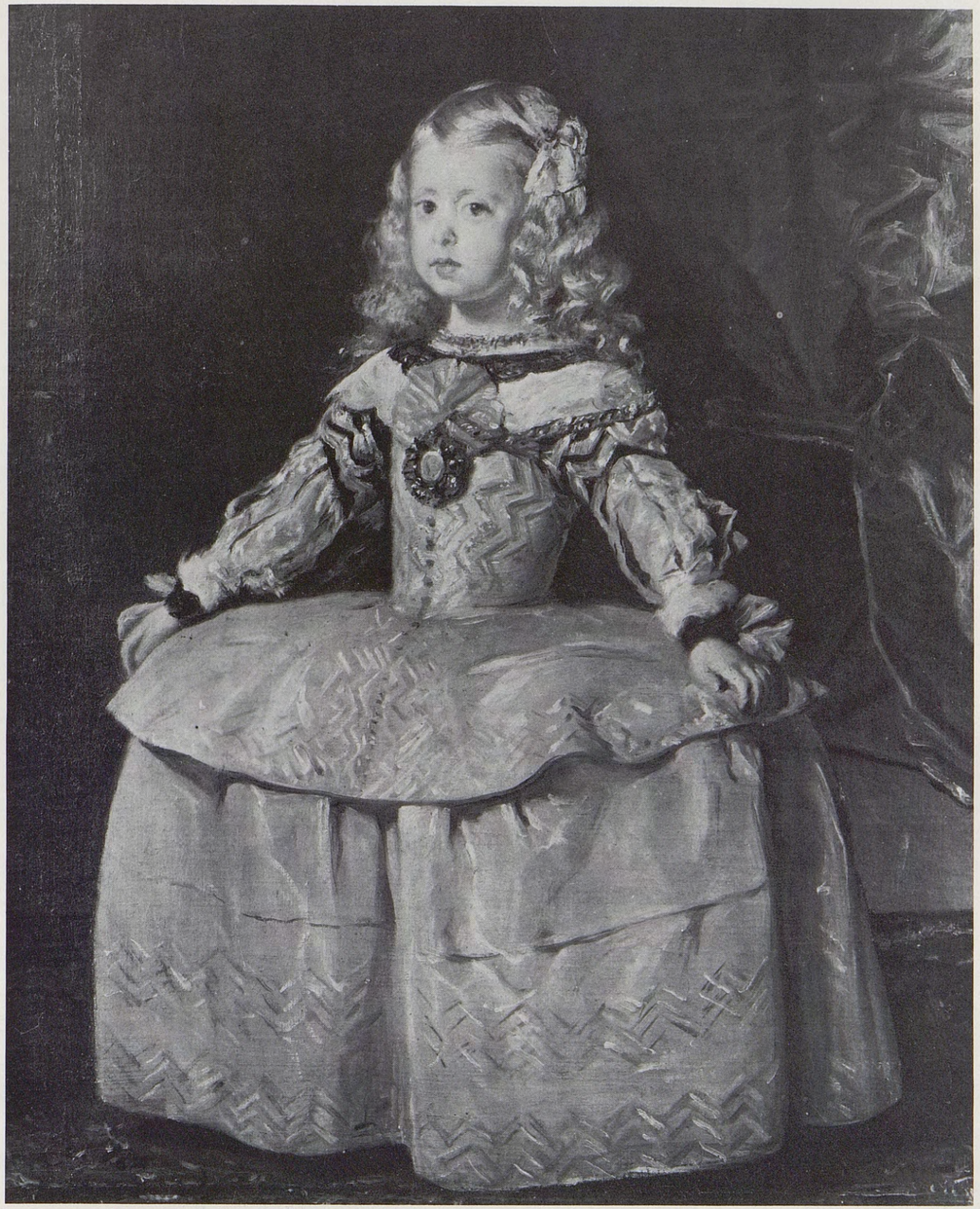
218 *No. 122*

123. THE INFANTA MARGARITA

About 1656.

Cleaned in 1953. The sitter's head, somewhat damaged had been repainted. The painting appears now slightly rubbed.

Study, pp. 129, 140–1.
Height 1.05 m. Width 0.88 m.
Vienna: Kunsthistorisches Museum, inventory No. 3691.
Plate *219*.
M No. 531 — L-R 1963 No. 402 — G No. 156.



219 *No. 123*

124. VELÁZQUEZ AND THE ROYAL FAMILY, commonly known as *LAS MENINAS*

Finished in 1656, according to Palomino, who did not indicate when it was begun (pp. 920–2). The apparent age of the Infanta, born on 12 July 1651, bears out the date reported by Palomino; it also suggests that the execution of this large composition could not have taken too long.

Damaged in the fire that destroyed the Madrid Alcázar in 1734, and restored by the Court painter Don Juan García de Miranda (1677–1749). The most obvious restoration, noticeable to the naked eye, concerns the left cheek of the Infanta which was almost entirely redone. X-rays made in 1960 revealed that this restoration covers a rather large loss of pigment (plates *223* and *224*). Other large scratches in less important areas are also visible under X-rays. The canvas has been cut down on both sides, notably on the right.

The painting's richness of hue and texture has been substantially dulled during the last twenty years or so, due to unmitigated exposure to pollution, common to all the Prado galleries, aggravated in this instance by the fact that till 1978 the large canvas has been on show in a comparatively small room, almost constantly crowded with visitors.

Velázquez himself is seen at the easel; the mirror on the rear wall reflects the half-length figures of Philip IV and Queen Mariana standing under a red curtain. The Infanta Margarita is in the centre, attended by two *meninas*, or maids of honour, Doña Isabel de Velasco and Doña María Augustina Sarmiento, who curtsy as the latter offers her mistress a drink of water in a *búcaro* — a reddish earthen vessel — on a tray. In the right foreground stand two dwarfs, Mari-Bárbola and Nicolás de Pertusato, the latter playfully putting his foot on the back of the mastiff resting on the floor. Linked to this large group there is another formed by Doña Marcela de Ulloa, *guardamujer de las damas de la Reina* — attendant to the ladies-in-waiting — and an unidentified *guardadamas*, or escort to the same ladies. In the background, the *aposentador*, Palace marshall, to the Queen, Don José Nieto Velázquez, stands on the steps leading into the room from the door. The two large pictures hanging on the rear wall represent *Pallas and Arachne* and *Apollo and Pan*, both painted by Mazo, the first after a Rubens' composition, and the second after a painting by Jordaens, based too on a Rubens' composition. For the above mentioned identifications, see F. J. Sánchez Cantón, *Las Meninas y sus personajes*, Barcelona, 1943, pp. 14ff., and J. A. Emmens, 'Les Menines de Velasquez miroir des princes pour Philippe IV', *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, vol. 12, 1961, pp. 51–79.

In 1686 and 1700 both paintings, described as representing *Pallas and Arachne* and *Apollo and Pan*, copies 'after Rubens by the hand of Juan Bautista del Mazo' were inventoried at the Madrid Alcázar in the room which Velázquez had used as his workshop. They still hung side by side on the same wall.

The radiographs show that Velázquez introduced changes in the poses of various figures, notably his own. He had portrayed himself at first with his head leaning to his right rather than to his left, and with the brush much closer to the palette (plate *221*). *Pentimenti* are visible in Nicolás de Pertusato's left leg (plate *223*).

The red cross of the Order of Santiago on the doublet worn by the artist must have been added after 28 November 1659, when Philip IV issued the final decree for Velázquez' admission in the Order.

The royal inventories reflect the various points of view from which this manysided masterpiece has been looked at throughout the centuries. The first mention of it occurs in the inventory of the Madrid Alcázar drawn up by Juan Bautista del Mazo, Velázquez' son-in-law, in September 1666, after the death of Philip IV. It should be pointed out that two years earlier the Infanta Margarita had been betrothed to Emperor Leopold I, whom she married on 12 Dezember 1666. Mazo described this work as 'a painting,

$4\frac{1}{2}$ *varas* high by $3\frac{1}{2}$ *varas* wide, in a gilded carved frame, portraying our Mistress the Empress with her ladies-in-waiting and a female dwarf, by the hand of Diego Velázquez, valued at 1,500 silver ducats' *('Vna pintura de quatro baras y media de alto y tres y media de ancho con su marco de talla dorado retratando a la señora Emperatriz con sus damas y una enana de mano de Diego Velázquez en mill y quinientos ducados de plata')*. The metrical equivalent of the reported size is approximately 3.76 m. high by 2.93 m. wide.

The 1686 inventory of the Alcázar described the painting as of the same size with no mention of the frame. It gave more particulars about the Infanta and Velázquez, both of whom were obviously viewed as vital centers of the composition: 'the Empress, Infanta of Spain, with her ladies-in-waiting and servants and a female dwarf, original by the hand of Diego Velázquez, Court painter and Chamberlain of the Royal Palace, who in this work portrayed himself painting' *('Una pintura de quatro varas y media de alto y tres y media de ancho retratada la Señora Emperatriz Ynfanta de España, con sus damas y criados, y una enana original de mano de Diego Belazquez pintor de Camara y Aposentador de Palacio, donde se retrató a si mismo pintando')*.

The 1700 inventory of the Alcázar described the painting, under No. 286, in identical terms, except that, as in the inventory of 1666, there was a reference to the 'gilded frame'. The valuation, 10,000 doubloons, was by far the highest for any painting in the inventory. Indeed, the nearest high valuation was 2,000 doubloons, and only two paintings reached it: Van Dyck's *The taking of Christ* (Prado) and Titian's *Diana and Actaeon* (Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland). It must be said that portraits were not appraised because the sitters were royal persons as it was explained in the corresponding entries. The one exception to this practice was the portrait of the Infanta Margarita with Velázquez at work with which we are concerned. Obviously this composition transcended the accepted idea of a royal portrait.

The list of paintings salvaged from the 1734 fire, compiled early in 1735, shows that the picture had lost its frame during its rescue: '212 — Another picture without frame, with its stretcher, 4 *varas* high and $3\frac{1}{3}$ *varas* wide, representing the Family of our Lord Philip IV, original by Velázquez' *('212. — Otra sin marco con vastidor de quatro varas de alto y tres y tercia de ancho, la Familia del Señor Phelipe 4º, original de Velázquez')*. This description was the first to take into account the half-length figures of Philip IV and Queen Mariana reflected in the rearwall mirror, and to link them with the full-length figure of the Infanta. As for the reported size, it was smaller than in the previous inventories, approximately 3.34 m. high by 2.78 m. In 1747–8 two inventories were compiled of the paintings rescued from the 1734 fire. Both included the painting we are discussing under No. 4. Both reported its size as 4 *varas* high by $3\frac{1}{2}$ *varas* wide, approximately 3.34 m. by 2.93 m. None of them mentioned any frame, and only one noted that the painting had been 'lately restored' *('compuesta ultimamente')*. The appraisal, made in 1748, was the same in the two inventories: 25,000 *reales*, a little over 400 doubloons. The subject was described as the Infanta 'being portrayed' by Velázquez, or 'when Velázquez portrayed her'. However, the Infanta was misidentified as María Teresa, 'Queen of France'. The misidentification is more easily understandable if one bears in mind that María Teresa, Margarita's half-sister, married Louis XIV in 1660, and that her grand-son Philip V was the first Bourbon King of Spain, after whose death in 1746, the 1747–8 inventories were compiled.

In 1772, the painting was inventoried at the new Madrid Royal Palace, again as representing the Infanta María Teresa, Queen of France, being portrayed by Velázquez, with 'several ladies and dwarfs' — the first inventory reference to Nicolás de Pertusato. *('Otro quadro que contiene el Retrato de la Señora Ynfanta Doña María Theresa Reyna de Francia, retratandola Velázquez, con diferentes Damas y Enanos, original del expresado Velázquez, de quatro varas de alto y tres de ancho')*. The metrical equivalent of the reported size is approximately 3.34 m. high and 2.50 m. wide.

It was again inventoried at the Madrid Royal Palace in 1794, with no number, as 4 by 3 *varas* in size. The description though coincided with that of 1735: the 'picture called the Family of Philip IV' *('Quadro llamado la familia de Felipe IV')*. It was valued at 60,000 *reales*.

The 1814 inventory of the Madrid Royal Palace recorded it also as *The family of Philip IV*. At the Prado, it was for some time described as representing the Infanta Margarita, whom her ladies-in-waiting offer a drink of water, while Velázquez is seen portraying her. It was not, indeed, till 1843 — the time of sentimental realism — that the title *Las Meninas*, or *The Maids of Honour*, entered the Prado catalogue.

In 1963, I catalogued it as *The royal family*.

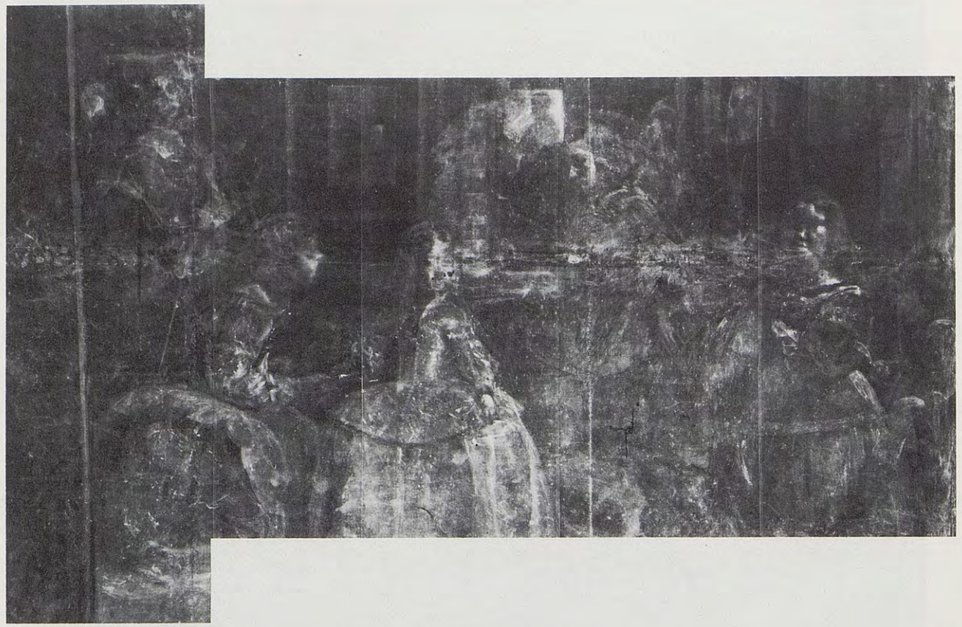
A 17th-century copy of this painting (1.404 m. × 1.238 m.) is in the Ralph Bankes Collection, Kingston Lacy, Wimborne, Dorset, England (L-R 1963, No. 230).

Study, pp. XIV, 55, 91, 121, 131, 133, 138, 139–45.
Height 3.21 m. Width 2.81 m.
Madrid: Alcázar (inventories of 1666, 1686, and 1700).
Madrid: inventories of the paintings rescued from the 1734 fire which destroyed the Alcázar, drawn up in 1735 and 1747.
Madrid: New Palacio Real (inventories of 1772, 1794 and 1814).
Madrid: Prado (since 1819), No. 1174.
Plates *220*, *221*, *222*, *223*, *224* (and colour plates).
C No. 21 — M No. 166 — L-R 1963 No. 229 — G No. 155.

220 *No. 124*

221. Velázquez and the Royal Family, radiograph of Velázquez' self-portrait.

222. Velázquez and the Royal Family, Velázquez' self-portrait.



223. *Velázquez and the Royal Family*, partial radiograph (middle section).

224. *Velázquez and the Royal Family*, radiograph of the figure of the Infanta (head and shoulders).

125. QUEEN MARIANA

About 1655–6.

Fragment of a painting, somewhat abraded. Restored. A narrow strip had been added at the bottom, but it was removed in 1934; there are still though strips, roughly 4.2 cm. wide, added at the top and left of the original canvas. The addition on the left includes part of the sitter's hairdo.

Allende-Salazar assumed that Velázquez had painted a double-portrait of Philip IV and Queen Mariana like the one reflected in the mirror of the large composition *Velázquez and the royal family* (*No. 124*) and that this head of the Queen was probably 'an original study' for that portrait (p. 286). There is no evidence that Velázquez ever painted a double-portrait of the King and the Queen as an independent work.

Mayer regarded it as a study connected with the portrait of Queen Mariana now at the Thyssen-Bornemisza collection (*No. 126*). Lafuente catalogued it as a work painted by Velázquez about 1656, and pointed out that this likeness of the Queen 'is characterized by the curling of the hair in waves and not in ringlets' as in the Thyssen-Bornemisza portrait (1943, No. 111; 1944, No. 116).

Height 0.465 m. Width 0.43 m.
Paris: Wildenstein & Co.
Paris: Baron Maurice de Rothschild; his heirs (early 1920's–1978).
Dallas, Texas: The Meadows Museum at Southern Methodist University (acquired in March 1978), No. 78.01.
Plate *225*.
M No. 493 — L-R 1963 No. 364 — G No. 161.

225 *No. 125*

126. QUEEN MARIANA

About 1656–7.

Somewhat overcleaned at an unkown date and, as a result, slightly distorted about the neck and left temple.

It has lately been cleaned again and restored.

Height 0.647 m. Width 0.546 m.
Paris: Hôtel Drouot, E. G. Sale, 20 April 1876, lot 38.
Paris: Hôtel Drouot, G. Mailand Sale, 2–3 May 1881, lot 131.
London: Christie's, W. de Zoete Sale, 5 April 1935, lot 149.
London: Tomás Harris Ltd.
Lugano-Castagnola: Villa Favorita, Fondation Château de Rohoncz (Baron Henry Thyssen-Bornemisza), No. 435.
Plate *226*.
C No. 243d — M No. 501 — L-R 1963 No. 365 — G No. 162.

226 *No. 126*

127. MERCURY AND ARGUS

About 1659.

Painted for the Hall of Mirrors at the Madrid Alcázar, or Royal Palace, where in 1686 it was inventoried as follows: 'Another two pictures, on window piers, both of the same size, three *varas* in width and one *vara* in height, representing two myths, one that of Apollo flaying a satyr [Marsyas], and the other Mercury and Argus with a cow. Both, originals by the hand of Velázquez' *('Otros dos quadros yguales de entre bentanas de tres varas de ancho y vara de alto de dos fabulas, la una de Apolo desollando un satiro; y la otra de Mercurio y Argos con una baca ambos originales de mano de Belazquez')*. This entry is repeated, almost identically, under No. 17, in the inventory of the same Palace drawn up in 1700: each of the two paintings was then appraised at 100 doubloons.

The metrical equivalent of the size recorded in both inventories was approximately 0.835 m. in height and 2.50 m. in width.

Apollo flaying Marsyas was lost in the fire that destroyed the Madrid Royal Palace in 1734. *Mercury and Argus* was rescued, without its frame, but whole and in good shape, according to the inventory of the paintings salvaged from the fire drawn up in 1735 *('57. — Original de Velázquez. — Otro de tres varas de largo y una de alto, Fabula de Argo y Mercurio, sin marco, bien tratado, original de Velázquez')*. See plate *228*.

On 28 May 1746, it was described, again under No. 57, as of the same size in a list of paintings, selected among those rescued from the 1734 fire, to be placed in the Buen Retiro Palace by Don Santiago Bonavía, who signed the corresponding receipt.

It was finally taken to the new Royal Palace at Madrid; the first inventory of this Palace, compiled in 1772, explained that the height of the painting had been increased: '57. — A picture of the myth of Argus and Mercury, three *varas* in width and one *vara* and a half in height, original by Velázquez' On the margin: 'In the old inventories one will find that it was of lesser height; the canvas has been added to' *('57. — Una pintura de la Fabula de Argos y Mercurio, de tres varas de largo y vara y media de caida, original de Velázquez'*. On the margin: *'En los Ymbentarios antiguos se hallará de menos cayda por que está añadido')*.

In metrical terms, the measurements of the enlarged painting were approximately 1.25 m. in height and 2.50 m. in width, almost identical with its present size.

The canvas was, of course, folded out before strips were added at the top and bottom. The height of these strips, measured without removing the painting from its frame, is as follows: top. 24.5 cm; bottom 8 cm. at its highest point (left). The added strips are of a finer grain than the original canvas.

The 1794 inventory of the Madrid Royal Palace described the painting as of the same size as in 1772. The 1794 inventory entry differs, though, from earlier ones in that it describes the subject as Mercury cutting off Argus' head, thus reading the full story into the painting *('57. — La Fabula de Mercurio que corta la Caveza a Argos')*.

Study, p. 148.
Height 1.27 m. Width 2.50 m.
Madrid; Alcázar, Hall of Mirrors (inventories of 1686, 1700 and 1735; the latter refers to the paintings rescued from the 1734 fire).
Madrid: Palacio Real del Buen Retiro (taken there in 1746).
Madrid: New Palacio Real (inventories of 1772 and 1794).
Madrid: Prado (since 1819), No. 1175.
Plates *227, 228* (and colour plate).
C No. 33 — M No. 55 — L-R 1963 No. 62 — G No. 159.

227 *No. 127*

228. Mercury and Argus, radiograph of the original composition.

128. INFANTA MARGARITA

1659.

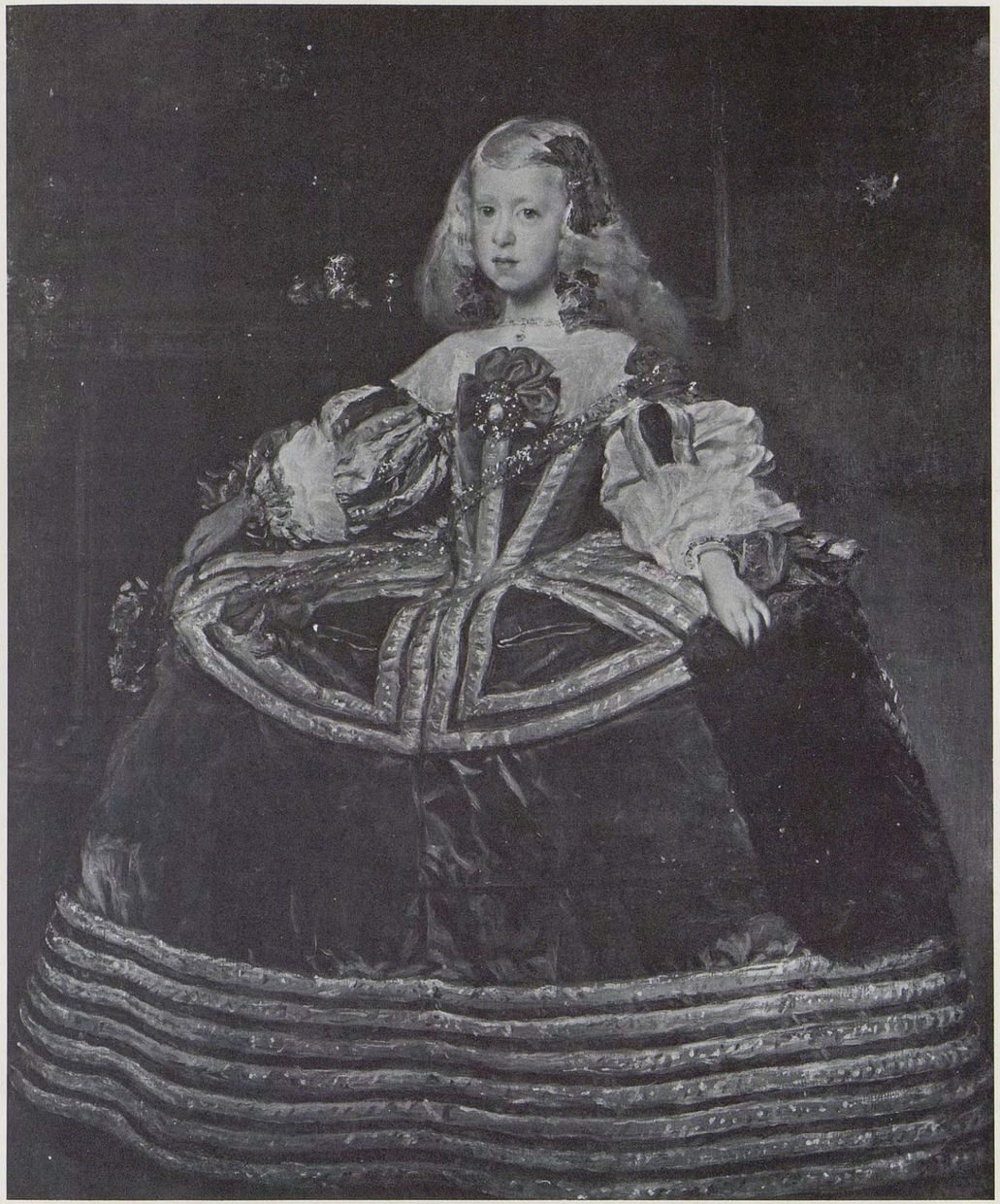
Damaged and restored in several parts, including the face. Cut to an oval in the 18th century for the decoration of the Stalburg. It was later lost sight of for a long time. In 1923 it was rediscovered in the Vienna Museum's store-room, and restored to its rectangular shape though seemingly not to its original height which must have been, as the width still is, larger than in *No. 129* (see G. Glück, 'Velasquez Bildnis der Infantin Margareta Theresia aus dem Jahre 1659', *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, Vienna, 1926, pp. 209–12).

Cleaned in 1953.

It seems to be the portrait that, according to Palomino (pp. 929–30), Velázquez painted, together with that of Prince Felipe Próspero (*No. 129*), in 1659 to be sent to Emperor Leopold I at Vienna. Yet, Palomino's description bears mainly on the background of the painting, which happens to be the part that has suffered most: 'The other portrait was of Her Most Serene Infanta Doña Margarita María of Austria, very excellently painted and with the very majesty and beauty of the sitter; to the right, on a sideboard, there is a clock in ebony, with figures and animals in bronze, and of a very graceful shape; in the centre, it has a circle with the Chariot of the Sun painted on it; and within the same circle there is a small one where the hours are distributed' *('El otro retrato fué de la Serenisima Infanta Doña Margarita María de Austria, muy excelentemente pintado, y con aquella majestad, y hermosura de su original; a la mano derecha está sobre un bufetillo un reloj de ébano, con figuras y animales de bronce, y con muy garbosa forma; en medio tiene un circulo donde está pintado el carro del Sol; y en el mismo circulo hay otro pequeño, en el cual están compartidas las Horas')*.

Though this portrait and the one of Prince Felipe Próspero were painted by Velázquez in 1659 for the Emperor Leopold I, there is no indication that they were intended as companion pieces.

Study, pp. 119, 129, 150.
Height 1.27 m. Width 1.07 m.
Vienna: Imperial Palace.
Vienna: Kunsthistorisches Museum, No. 2130.
Plate *229*.
M No. 534 — L-R 1963 No. 406 — G No. 157.



229 *No. 128*

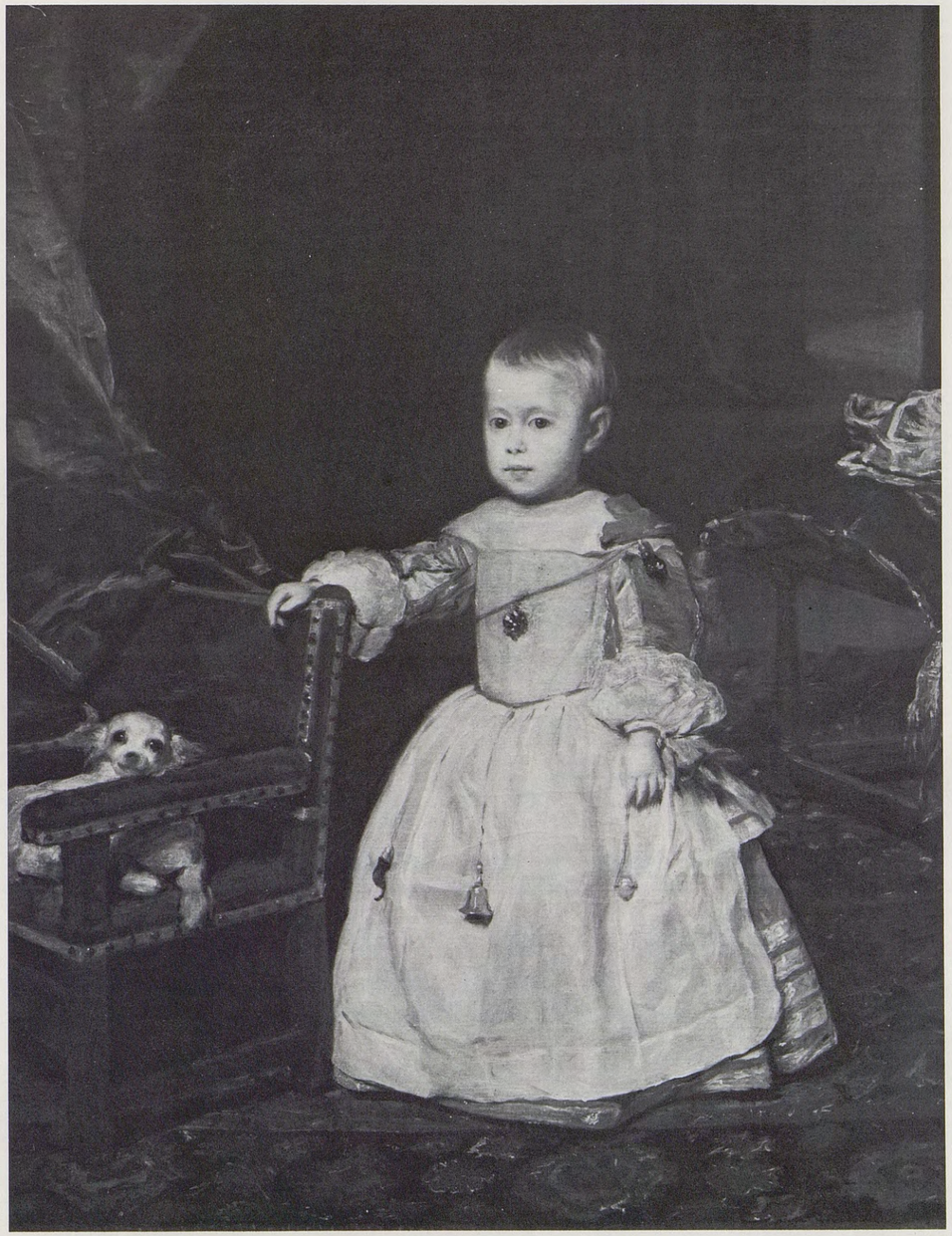
129. PRINCE FELIPE PRÓSPERO

1659.

Son of Philip IV and Queen Mariana; born on 20 November 1657, died on 1 November 1661. Palomino, in the text quoted below, mistakenly gives the date of the birthday as 28 November.

Obviously, this is the portrait sent, together with No. 128 to the Emperor Leopold I, as we know from Palomino (pp. 929–30): 'In this year of 1659, Velázquez executed two portraits, at the command of His Majesty, to be sent to the Emperor in Germany: one was of His Most Serene Prince of Asturias, Don Felipe Próspero, who was born on Wednesday, 28 November 1657, at 11.30 in the morning; it is one of the most excellent portraits that he painted, even though child-portraits are quite difficult on account of the youngster's liveliness and restlessness. He painted him standing, wearing the dress required by his few years; his cloth cap, with a white plume, is by him on a stool; on the other side, there is a crimson chair, and he lightly rests his hand on it; in the upper part of the picture, there is a curtain, in the back of the room, where an open door is simulated, everything done with this illustrious painter's consummate gracefulness and art and with his beauty of colour and great manner; on the chair, there is a little bitch which seems alive, and it is a portrait of one that Velázquez valued a great deal. It would seem that he had the same experience as Publio, excellent painter, who portrayed his dear little bitch, Isa, to make it immortal, as Martial wittily said and as Velázquez too could have said.' *(Este año de 1659 ejecutó Velázquez dos retratos, que Su Majestad mandó hiciese, para enviarlos a Alemania a el señor Emperador; el uno fué del Serenísimo Príncipe de Asturias, Don Felipe Próspero, que nació el año de 1657, miércoles, 28 de noviembre, a las once y media de la mañana: es uno de los más excelentes retratos que pintó, con ser tan dificultosos de niños, por la viveza e inquietud que tienen; pintóle en pie y con el traje que requerían tan pocos años; tiene junto a sí la montera con un plumaje blanco sobre un taburete raso; al otro lado una silla carmesí, y sobre ella descarga blandamente la mano derecha; en la parte superior del cuadro hay una cortina; en lo distante de la pieza, en que se finge una puerta abierta, todo con extremada gracia, y arte, y con aquella belleza de color, y manera grande de este ilustre pintor; sobre la silla está una perrilla, que parece viva, y es retrato de una que estimaba mucho Velázquez. Parece que la sucedió lo mismo que a Publio, excelente pintor, que retrató a su querida perrilla Isa, para hacerla immortal, como lo dijo agudamente Marcial y lo pudo también decir Velásquez').*

Study, pp. 150–1.
Height 1.285 m. Width 0.995 m.
Graz: Imperial Castle, Office of the Treasury.
Vienna: Imperial Palace.
Vienna: Kunsthistorisches Museum, No. 319.
Plate *230* (and colour plate).
C No. 147 — M No. 304 — L-R 1963 No. 334 — G No. 158.



230 *No. 129*

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The following list includes only the publications mentioned in the preceding pages. References to page numbers, whether in books or periodicals, have been omitted; they are given in the corresponding notes to the text.

AINAUD, Juan, 'Pinturas de procedencia sevillana', *Archivo Español de Arte*, 1946.
—— 'Ribalta y Caravaggio', *Anales y Boletín de los Museos de Arte de Barcelona*, July-December 1947.
—— 'Francisco Ribalta: Notas y comentarios', *Goya*, Madrid, September-October 1957.

ALBA, see BERWICK.

ALEMÁN, Mateo, *Guzmán de Alfarache* (first published, Madrid, 1599) ed. Samuel Gil y Gaya, Madrid, 1965.

ALLENDE-SALAZAR, Juan (ed), *Velázquez. Des Meisters Gemälde*, vol. VI of *Klassiker der Kunst*, 4th ed., Berlin and Leipzig, 1925.

ALLENDE-SALAZAR, Juan, and Sánchez Cantón, F.J., *Retratos del Museo del Prado*, Madrid, 1919.

ALPERS, Svetlana, *The decoration of the Torre de la Parada*, vol. IX of *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard*, London, 1971.

ANDRÉS, Gregorio de, 'Los cinco retratos reales de la Biblioteca de El Escorial', *Archivo Español de Arte*, 1967.

ANGULO IÑIGUEZ, Diego, *Velázquez: Cómo compuso sus principales cuadros*, Madrid, 1947.
—— 'Las Hilanderas', *Archivo Español de Arte*, 1948.
—— 'Las Hilanderas: Sobre la iconografía de Aracne', *Archivo Español de Arte*, 1952.
—— '*La imposición de la casulla a San Ildefonso* de Velázquez', *Archivo Español de Arte*, 1960.
—— 'La cuerna de venado, cuadro de Velázquez', *Reales Sitios*, Madrid, 1967.
—— *Pintura del siglo XVII*, vol. XV of *Ars Hispaniae*, Madrid, 1971.
—— see also MENÉNDEZ PIDAL, Gonzalo.

ANONYMOUS, *La vida de Estebanillo González, hombre de buen humor, compuesta por él mismo* (first published, Brussels, 1646), ed. Juan Millé y Giménez, Madrid, 1956.

ARETINO, Pietro, *Lettere*, Paris, 1609.

ARTS COUNCIL OF GREAT BRITAIN, The, *An Exhibition of Spanish Painting*, London, 1947.

ASENSIO, José María, *Francisco Pacheco: sus obras artísticas y literarias*, Seville, 1886.

ASTRANA MARÍN, Luis, see QUEVEDO.

AZCÁRATE, José María, 'Noticias sobre Velázquez en la Corte', *Archivo Español de Arte*, 1960.

BACK-VEGA, Emmerich and Christa, 'A lost masterpiece by Caravaggio', *The Art Bulletin*, March 1958.

BARCIA, Angel M. de, *Catálogo de la colección de dibujos originales de la Biblioteca Nacional*, Madrid, 1906.

BAROCCHI, Paola, see VARCHI.

BARRY, G., *The Siege of Breda*, Louvain, 1627.

BAXANDAL, David, 'A dated Velázquez bodegón', *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. 99, 1957.

BENÍTEZ, Claros, see BOCÁNGEL Y UNZUETA.

BERGSTRÖM, Ingvar, *Dutch still-life painting in the seventeenth century*, London, 1956.
—— *Maestros españoles de bodegones y floreros del siglo XVII*, Madrid, 1970.

BERWICK Y DE ALBA, Duque de, *Discursos leídos ante la Real Academia de San Fernando en la recepción pública del...*, Madrid, 1924.

Beroqui, Pedro, *Adiciones y correcciones al catálogo del Museo del Prado, Parte segunda, Escuelas españolas*, Valladolid, 1915.

—— *El Museo del Prado*, Madrid, n.d. (1933).

—— *Ticiano en el Museo del Prado*, 2nd. ed., Madrid, 1946.

Beruete, Aureliano de, *Velázquez*, Paris, 1898; English edition, revised by the author, London, n.d. (1906); German edition, newly revised by the author, Berlin, 1909. (Unless otherwise indicated, references are to the English edition).

—— *El Velázquez de Parma*, Madrid, 1911.

Beruete y Moret, Aureliano, *The School of Madrid*, London, 1911.

—— *Conferencias de Arte*, Madrid, 1924.

Birkmeyer, Karl, 'Realism and realities in the painting of Velázquez', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, July-August 1958.

Blanco, A., *Museo del Prado, Catálogo de la escultura*, Madrid, 1957.

Blecua, José Manuel, see Quevedo.

Bocángel y Unzueta, Gabriel de, *La lira de las Musas*, Madrid, n.d. (1637).

—— *Piedra cándida, etc.*, Madrid, 1648. Both works are included in *Obras completas de Don Gabriel de Bocángel y Unzueta*, ed. Rafael Benítez Claros, Madrid, 1946.

Bonet Correa, Antonio, 'Velázquez, arquitecto y decorador'. *Archivo Español de Arte*, 1960.

Borelius, Aron, *Etudes sur Velázquez*, Linköping, 1949.

Boschini, Mario, *La carta del navegar pitoresco* (first published, Venice, 1660), ed. Anna Palluchini, Venice, n.d. (1966).

Bottari, G., *Raccolta di lettere sulla Pittura, Scultura ed Architettura*, vol. VI, Milan, 1820.

Bottineau, Yves, 'L'Alcazar de Madrid et l'inventaire de 1686', *Bulletin Hispanique*, Bordeaux, October-December 1958.

—— 'Felipe V y el Buen Retiro', *Archivo Español de Arte*, 1958.

—— *L'art de cour dans l'Espagne de Philippe V, 1700-1746*, Bordeaux, n.d. (1962).

Braham, A., see National Gallery.

Brown, Jonathan, 'A portrait drawing by Velázquez', *Master Drawings*, New York, 1976.

Bulletin du Laboratoire du Musée du Louvre, 1964. «Notes sur les radiographies de deux tableaux appartenant aux Musées de Pau et de Rouen.»

Bürger, W., see Stirling.

Busuioceanu, Al., 'A rediscovered painting by Murillo: *El cuadro de las sombras*', *The Burlington Magazine*, 1940.

Camón Aznar, José, *Velázquez*, Madrid, 1964.

Carderera y Solano, Valentín, see Martínez, Jusepe.

Carducho, Vincencio, *Diálogos de la pintura*, Madrid, 1633 (actually published in 1634).

Carriazo, J. M. de, 'Correspondencia de don Antonio Ponz con el Conde del Águila', *Archivo Español de Arte y Arqueología*, 1929.

Caturla, María Luisa, *Pinturas, frondas y fuentes del Buen Retiro*, Madrid, 1947.

—— 'El coleccionista madrileño don Pedro de Arce, que poseyó "Las Hilanderas" de Velázquez', *Archivo Español de Arte*, 1948.

—— *Un pintor gallego en la corte de Felipe IV: Antonio Puga*, Santiago de Compostela, 1952.

—— *La boda de Doña Ynés, nieta de Velázquez*, Madrid, 1955.

—— 'Cartas de pago de los doce cuadros de batallas para el Salón de Reinos del Buen Retiro', *Archivo Español de Arte*, 1960.

—— 'Devanaderas', *Arte Español*, Madrid, 1962 (actually published in 1968).

—— 'Documentos en torno a Vincencio Carducho', *Arte Español*, 1968–9.

Cavestany, Julio, *Floreros y bodegones en la pintura española*, Madrid, 1940.

Ceán Bermúdez, Juan Agustín, *Diccionario histórico de los mas ilustres profesores de las Bellas Artes en España*, Madrid, 1800.

—— *Diálogo sobre el Arte de la Pintura*, Seville, 1819.

—— *Catálogo de las pintura y esculturas que se conservan en la Real Academia de San Fernando*, Madrid, 1824 (The title-page does not mention the author's name).

Cederlof, Olle, 'Kallorna till "Las Lanzas"', *Konsthistorisk tidskrift*, vol. 26, Stockholm, 1957.

Céspedes y Meneses, Gonzalo de, *Historia de Felipe IIII, Rey de las Españas*, Barcelona, 1634.

Colección litográfica de los cuadros del Rey, N.S., vol. II, Madrid, 1826.

Cook, Walter W.S., 'Spanish Paintings in the National Gallery of Art', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, August 1945.

Corominas, J., *Diccionario crítico y etimológico de la lengua castellana*, Madrid, 1954.

Correa Calderón, E., see Gracián.

Costa, Felix da, *The Antiquity of the Art of Painting*, ed. George Kubler, New Haven and London, 1967.

Cotarelo y Mori, Emilio, *Ensayo sobre la vida y obras de D. Pedro Calderón de la Barca*, Madrid, 1924.

Covarruvias i Leyva, Diego de, *Elogios al Palacio Real de Buen Retiro escritos por algunos ingenios de España...*, Madrid, 1634. Limited edition, Valencia, 1949.

Crombie, Theodore, 'Isabella of Bourbon by Velázquez, A recorded portrait in the Spanish Royal Collections', *The Connoisseur*, June 1958.

—— 'La Reina Isabel de Borbón, por Velázquez', *Archivo Español de Arte*, 1961.

Cruzada Villaamil, Gregorio, *Anales de la vida y de las obras de Diego de Silva Velázquez*, Madrid, 1885.

Curtis, Charles B., *Velázquez and Murillo*, London and New York, 1883.

Díaz Padrón, Matías, 'Gaspar de Crayer, un pintor de retratos de los Austria', *Archivo Español de Arte*, 1965.

Diego Velázquez: Cinquante planches d'après ses œuvres les plus célèbres, Paris, 1906.

Difiniciones de la Orden y Cavallería de Alcántara con la historia y origen de ella, Madrid, 1662.

'Documentos para la historia del Museo de la Academia de San Carlos: Legado de don Francisco Martínez Blanch', *Archivo de Arte Valenciano*, 1920.

Dolce, Lodovico, *L'Aretino*, Venice, 1557.

Emmens, J.A., 'Les Ménines de Vélasquez, miroir des princes pour Philip IV', *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboeck*, 1961.

Fernández Bayton, Gloria (ed.), *Museo del Prado, Inventarios Reales*, I, *Testamentaría del Rey Carlos II, 1701-1703*, Madrid, 1974.

Fichter, William L., 'Una poesía contemporánea inédita sobre las bodas de Velázquez', *Varia velazqueña*, vol. I, Madrid, 1960.

Francis, Henry S., 'Velásquez: Portrait of the jester Calabazas', *The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art*, 1965.

Frick Collection, The, *An illustrated catalogue*, vol. I, Pittsburgh, 1949.

Friedländer, Max J., *Landscape, Portrait, Still-life*, London, 1949.

Frizzoni, Gustavo, 'Intorno al secondo viaggio del Velázquez in Italia', *Rassegna d'Arte*, vol. XVII, 1917.

Gállego, Julián, and Gudiol, José, *Zurbarán*, Barcelona, 1976.

Gallegos, Manuel, 'Silva topográfica', in *Obras varias al Real Palacio del Bven Retiro*, Madrid, 1637.

Gambacorta, A., 'Arte in Puglia: Vincenzo Carducci', *Tempi nostri*, No. 11, 1967.

García de Diego, see Saavedra Fajardo.

García Fígar, Fray Antonio, 'Fray Juan Bautista Maino, pintor español', *Goya*, Madrid, July-August 1958.

Gaya Nuño, Juan Antonio, 'Revisiones sexcentistas: Juan de Pareja', *Archivo Español de Arte*, 1957.

—— 'Juan Bautista del Mazo, el gran discípulo de Velázquez', *Varia velazqueña*, vol. I, Madrid, 1960.

Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, *Katalog der ausgestellten Gemälde des 13.-18. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1975.

Gerstenberg, Kurt, *Diego Velázquez*, Munich and Berlin, 1957.

Gestoso y Pérez, J., *Catálogo de la exposición de retratos antiguos celebrada en Sevilla en Abril de MCMX*, Madrid, 1910.

Gibbs-Smith, C.H., and Percival, H.V.T., *Apsley House: A guide to the Wellington Museum*, London, 1957.

Gil y Gaya, see Alemán.

Gómez Moreno, Manuel, 'El Cristo de San Plácido', *Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones*, Madrid, 1916.

—— '*Los borrachos* y otras notas velazqueñas', *Varia velazqueña*, vol. I, Madrid, 1960.

—— see also: C., 'Un Velázquez en el Museo de Orleans', *Archivo Español de Arte y Arqueología*, 1925.

González Palencia, Angel (ed.), *Noticias de Madrid, 1621–7*, Madrid, 1942.

Gracián, Baltasar, *El político Don Fernando el Católico* (first published, 1640), ed. E. Correa Calderón, foreword by E. Tierno Galván, Madrid, 1961.

—— *El criticón, III*, Madrid, 1657 (Critical edition by M. Romera Navarro, Philadelphia, 1938–40).

Gudiol, José, 'Algunas réplicas en la obra de Velázquez', *Varia velazqueña*, vol. I, Madrid, 1960.

—— *Velázquez*, Barcelona, 1973.

Haraszti-Takács, Marianne, catalogue of the loan exhibition *Spanyol Mesterek* held at the Budapest Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest, 1965.

—— *Budapest Museum of Fine Arts: Spanish Masters*, Budapest, 1966.

Harris, Enriqueta, 'Velázquez en Roma', *Archivo Español de Arte*, 1958.

—— 'Velázquez's portrait of Camillo Massimi', *The Burlington Magazine*, August 1958.

—— 'La misión de Velázquez en Italia', *Archivo Español de Arte*, 1960.

—— 'Velázquez and Charles I', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 1967 (published in 1968).

—— 'Cassiano del Pozo on Diego Velázquez', *The Burlington Magazine*, June 1970.

—— 'Velázquez's portrait of Prince Baltasar Carlos in the Riding School', *The Burlington Magazine*, May 1976.

—— 'Velázquez's Apsley House Portrait: An identification', *The Burlington Magazine*, May 1978.

Harris, Enriqueta, and Elliott, John, 'Velázquez and the Queen of Hungary', *The Burlington Magazine*, January 1976.

Haskell, Francis, *Patrons and painters*, London, 1963.

Herrero García, Miguel, *Ideas de los españoles del siglo XVII*, 2nd. ed., Madrid, 1966.

Hetzer, Theodor, *Tizian: Geschichte seines Farbe*, Frankfurt/a M., 1948.

Hilborn, Harry Warren, *A chronology of the plays of D. Pedro Calderón de la Barca*, Toronto, 1938.

Hind, C. Lewis, *Days with Velázquez*, London, 1906.

Horsely, Carter B., 'Metropolitan reattributes 300 paintings', *The New York Times*, 19 January 1973.

—— 'Who really painted it?', *ARTnews*, March 1973.

Hugo, Herman, *The Siege of Breda*, [Brussels?], 1627. Originally published in Latin (*Obsidio Bredana*, Antwerp, 1626); a Spanish translation, *Sitio de Breda rendida a las armas del Rey Don Phelipe IV, a la virtud de la Infanta Doña Isabel, al valor del Marqués Ambr. Spínola*, was published also in Antwerp in 1627.

Ilustración Española y Americana, La, 15 April 1912.

Instituto Diego Velázquez, *Velázquez: Biografías de los siglos XVII y XVIII. Comentarios a él dedicados en los siglos XVII y XVIII. Su biografía a través de cartas y documentos contemporáneos. Autográfos. Facsimiles de documentos e impresos — Homenaje en el tercer centenario de su muerte*, Madrid, 1960.

Interián de Ayala, Juan, *El pintor christiano y erudito*, Madrid, 1782.

Iñíguez Almech, Francisco, *Casas reales y jardines de Felipe II*, Madrid, 1952.

—— 'La Casa del Tesoro, Velázquez y las obras reales', *Varia velazqueña*, vol. I, Madrid, 1960.

Jordan, William B., 'Juan van der Hamen y León, a Madrilenian still-life painter', *Marsyas*, New York, 1964–5 (actually printed in 1966).

—— *The Meadows Museum: A visitor's guide to the collection*, Dallas, 1974.

Justi, Carl, *Diego Velázquez und sein Jahrhundert*, 3rd ed., 2 vols., Bonn, 1922 and 1923 (The first edition was published in 1888, also in Bonn).

Kahr, Madlyn M., *Velázquez: The Art of Painting*, Toronto, 1976.

Kubler, George, 'Vicente Carducho's allegories of Painting', *The Art Bulletin*, December 1965.

—— 'Three remarks on The Meninas', *The Art Bulletin*, June 1966.

—— see Costa.

Lafuente Ferrari, Enrique, *Velázquez*, London, 1943.

—— *Velázquez*, Barcelona, 1944.

—— 'Velázquez y Felipe IV', *Mundo Hispánico*, Madrid, February 1961.

Levina, Irène, 'Hoboe o Bepackece', *NCKYCCTBO*, Moscow, 1975.

Levy, Michael, *Painting at Court*, New York, 1971.

Ligo, Larry L., 'Two seventeenth-century poems which link Rubens' equestrian portrait of Philip IV to Titian's equestrian portrait of Charles V', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, May-June 1970.

Loga, Valerian von, 'Zur Zeitbestimmung einiger Werke des Velázquez', *Jahrbuch der Preuszischen Kunstsammlungen*, 1913.

—— *Die Malerei in Spanien*, Berlin, 1923.

Longhi, Roberto, 'Un San Tomaso del Velázquez e le congiunture italo-spagnole tra il "500" e il "600"', *Vita Artistica*, 1927.

López Jiménez, José Crisanto, 'Don Nicolás de Villacis Arias, discípulo de Velázquez', *Boletín del Seminario de Arte y Arqueología*, Valladolid, 1964.

López Martínez, Celestino, *Desde Jerónimo Hernández hasta Martínez Montañés*, Seville, 1929.

López Navío, José, 'Velázquez tasa los cuadros de su protector D. Juan de Fonseca', *Archivo Español de Arte*, 1961.

López-Rey, José, 'Idea de la imitación barroca', *Hispanic Review*, Philadelphia, July 1943.

—— 'On Velázquez's portrait of Cardinal Borja', *The Art Bulletin*, December 1946.

—— 'A head of Philip IV by Velázquez in a Rubens allegorical composition', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, January 1959.

—— 'Nombres y nombradía de Velázquez', *Goya*, Madrid, July-October 1960.

—— 'Pincelada e imagen en Velázquez', *Varia velazqueña*, vol. I, Madrid, 1960.

—— 'A great Velázquez critic revived', *Apollo*, September 1962.

—— *Velázquez: A catalogue raisonné of his œuvre*, London, 1963.

—— 'Maino y Velázquez: Dos retratos de Felipe IV en el Metropolitan Museum of Art de Nueva York', *Colóquio*, Lisbon, October 1963.

—— 'A portrait of Philip IV by Juan Bautista Maino', *The Art Bulletin*, December 1963.

—— Foreword to the catalogue of the exhibition *The Golden Age of Spanish Still-life Painting*, Newark, N.J., 1964.

—— 'An unpublished Zurbarán: The surrender of Seville', *Apollo*, July 1965.

—— 'Sobre la atribución de un retrato de Felipe IV a Gaspar de Crayer', *Archivo Español de Arte*, April-September 1966.

—— 'Velázquez's *Calabazas with a portrait and a pinwheel*', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, October 1967.

—— Velázquez' *Philip IV*', *ARTnews*, Summer 1968.

—— *Velázquez' Work and World*, London, 1968.

—— 'Muerte de Villandrando y fortuna de Velázquez', *Arte Español*, 1968–9.

—— 'An unpublished Velázquez: *A knight of Calatrava*', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, July-August 1972.

—— 'The reattributed Velázquez: faulty connoisseurship', *ARTnews*, March 1973.

— Review of José Gudiol's *Velázquez*, *La Chronique des Arts*, January 1974.
— 'Perils of the Prado', *ARTnews*, Summer 1974.
— 'On the matter of attributions', *Museologia 4*, Florence, Universitá Internazionale dell'Arte, 1976.
— 'New data on Velázquez', *La Chronique des Arts*, September 1976.

Lozoya, Marqués de, *La rendición de Breda*, Barcelona, 1953.
— 'El caballo blanco de Velázquez', *Varia velazqueña*, vol. I, Madrid, 1960.

Lurie, Ann Tzeutschler, 'Caravaggio's Crucifixion of St. Andrew from Valladolid', *The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art*, January 1977.

Maclaren, Neil, see National Gallery.

Madrazo, Pedro de, *Catálogo descriptivo e histórico de los cuadros del Museo del Prado*, Madrid, 1872.

Mahon, Denis, *Studies in Seicento art and theory*, London, 1947.

Mancini, Giulio, *Considerazioni sulla Pittura*, ed. Adriana Marucchi, Rome, 1956.

Marino, Giovanbattista, *Dicerie sacre*, Milan, 1618 (Included in *Dicerie sacre e La strage de gl'innocenti*, ed. Giovanni Pozzi, Turin, 1960).
— *La Galeria del Cavalier Marino distinta in pitture e sculture*, Venice, 1620.
— *Epitalami*, Venice, 1646.

Martí y Monsó, José, *Estudios histórico-artísticos relativos principalmente a Valladolid*, Valladolid, 1901.

Martín González, J.J., 'Sobre las relaciones entre Nardi, Carducho y Velázquez', *Archivo Español de Arte*, 1958.
— 'Arte y artistas del siglo XVII en la Corte', *Archivo Español de Arte*, 1958.

Martínez, Jusepe, *Discursos practicables del nobilísimo arte de la pintura*, ed. Valentín Carderera y Solano, Madrid, 1866 (first published by Mariano Nougués Secall, Saragossa, 1853).

Martínez de la Peña y González, Domingo, 'Importante colección de cuadros del Vaticano, sacados en la invasión francesa y trasladados a Madrid', *Arte Español*, 1963–7.
— 'El segundo viaje de Velázquez a Italia: Dos cartas inéditas, en los archivos del Vaticano', *Archivo Español de Arte*, 1971.

Marucchi, A., see Mancini.

Mayer, August L., 'Ein unbekanntes Spätwerk des Velazquez', *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, 1912.
— *Handzeichnungen Spanischer Meister*, Leipzig, 1915.
— *Kleine Velázquez-Studien*, Munich, 1913.
— 'Velázquez und die niederländischen Küchenstücke', *Kunstchronik und Kunstmarkt*, 3 January 1919.
— 'Einige unbekannte Arbeiten des Velázquez', *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, 1921.
— *Diego Velázquez*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1924.
— 'Three studies', *The Burlington Magazine*, June 1927.
— *A study by Velázquez for the Apollo in the Forge of Vulcan*, New York, n.d.
— *A portrait by Velásquez: Francisca Velásquez, daughter of the Master (The woman sewing)*, New York, n.d.
— *Velázquez: A catalogue raisonné of the pictures and drawings*, London, 1936.
— *Velázquez*, Paris, 1940.

Mazón de la Torre, María A., 'La partida de bautismo de Jusepe Leonardo', *Archivo Español de Arte*, 1969.
— 'En torno a Jusepe Leonardo', *Archivo Español de Arte*, 1975.

Mélida, José Ramón, *Los Velázquez de la Casa de Villahermosa* reprint from *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos*), Madrid, 1905.
— *Un recibo de Velázquez* (reprint from *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos*), Madrid, 1906.

Menéndez Pidal, Gonzalo, and Angulo Iñíguez, Diego, '*Las Hilanderas* de Velázquez — Radiografías y fotografías en infrarrojo', *Archivo Español de Arte*, January-March 1965.

Menéndez Pidal, Ramón, 'Onomástica inspirada en el culto mariánico', *Cuadernos del Idioma*, Buenos Aires, 1965.

Mengs, Anthony Raphael, *The Works of*, London, 1796.

Mestre Fiol, Bartolomé, 'El *espejo referencial* en la pintura de Velázquez', *Traza y Baza*, Barcelona, 1973.

Metropolitan Museum of Art, The, *Handbook of the Benjamin Altman Collection*, New York, 1915.

Milanesi, G., see Vasari.

Millé y Giménez, Juan, see Anonymous.

Ministerio de Educación Nacional, Dirección General de Bellas Artes, *Varia velazqueña*, vol. I, *Estudios sobre Velázquez y su obra*; vol. II, *Elogios poéticos — Textos y comentarios críticos — Documentos — Cronología*, Madrid, 1960.

Moreau-Nélaton, E., *Manet raconté par lui-même*, Paris, 1926.

Moreno Villa, José, *Velázquez*, Madrid, 1920 (2nd. ed., Málaga, 1961).
— *Locos, enanos, negros y niños palaciegos*, Mexico, 1939.

Muller, Priscilla E., 'Francisco Pacheco as a painter', *Marsyas*, New York, 1960–1.

Muro Orejón, Antonio (ed.), *Documentos para la historia del arte en Andalucía*, vol. VIII, Seville, 1935.

Musée de l'Ermitage, *Peinture de l'Europe occidentale, Catalogue, 1, Italie, Espagne, France, Suisse*, Leningrad, 1976.

Museo del Prado, *Catálogo de las pinturas*, Madrid, 1972.
— see Madrazo, Pedro.

National Gallery, The, *An exhibition of cleaned pictures (1936–1947)*, London, 1947.
— *The Spanish School* (By Neil Maclaren), London, 1952 (2nd. ed., revised by Allan Braham, London, 1970).
— *June 1962-December 1964*, London, 1965 (Director's report).
— *January 1965-December 1966*, London, 1967 (Director's report).

Nationalmuseum, catalogue of the exhibition *Christina, Queen of Sweden*, Stockholm, 1966.

Nicolle, Marcel, 'Portrait d'un Cardinal par Vélasquez', *Revue de l'Art*, 1904.

Nougués Secall, see Martínez.

Orbaan, Johannes A.F., 'Notes on art in Italy', *Apollo*, July 1927.

Orozco Díaz, Emilio, 'Un aspecto del barroquismo de Velázquez', *Varia velazqueña*, vol. I, Madrid, 1960.

Ortega y Gasset, José, *Papeles sobre Velázquez y Goya*, Madrid, 1950.

Pacheco, Francisco, *Arte de la Pintura*, ed. F.J. Sánchez Cantón, Madrid, 1956 (first published, Seville, 1649).
— *Libro de descripción de verdaderos retratos...* (facsimil edition), Seville, n.d. (1886).

Palluchini, Anna, see Boschini.

Palm, Erwin Walter, 'Diego Velázquez: Aesop und Menipp', *Lebende Antike, Symposium für Rudolf Sühnel*, Berlin, 1967.

Palomino Velasco, Antonio, *El Museo pictórico*, Madrid, 1947 (first ed., Madrid, 1724).

Percival, see Gibbs-Smith.

Pérez de Moya, Juan, *Filosofía secreta*, Alcalá de Herares, 1611.

Pérez Pastor, Cristobal, *Noticias y documentos relativos a la historia y literatura españolas*, Madrid, 1914.

Pérez Sánchez, Alfonso E., *Borgiani, Cavarozzi y Nardi en España*, Madrid, 1964.
—'El paradero de la colección de cuadros del Vaticano trasladados a Madrid en 1798', *Arte Español*, 1968–9.
— Catalogue of the exhibition *Caravaggio y el naturalismo español*, Seville, 1973.

Piçaño de Palacios, Alvaro, *Discurso primero en confirmación de la purissima concepción de la Virgen María*, Seville, 1615.
— *Discurso segundo, etc.*, Seville, 1616.

Picatoste, Felipe, *Estudios sobre la grandeza y decadencia de España*, vol. III, *El siglo XVII*, Madrid, 1887.

Picón, Jacinto Octavio, *Vida y obras de Don Diego Velázquez*, Madrid, 1899 (2nd. ed., Madrid, 1925).
Pidal y Bernaldo de Quirós, Roque, *El Cristo del Sacramento pintado por Velázquez*, Madrid, 1951.
Pita Andrade, José Manuel, 'Los cuadros de Velázquez y Mazo que poseyó el séptimo Marqués del Carpio', *Archivo Español de Arte*, 1952.
—— "Noticias en torno a Velázquez en el Archivo de la Casa de Alba', *Varia velazqueña*, vol. I, Madrid, 1960.
Ponz, Antonio, *Viaje de España*, ed. Casto María del Rivero, Madrid, 1947 (the first edition in 18 volumes appeared in 1772–94).
Pozzi, G., see Marino.

Quevedo y Villegas, Francisco de, *Obras completas*, ed. Luis Astrana Marín, Madrid, 1932.
—— *Obras completas*, ed. José Manuel Blecua, Barcelona, 1963.
'Queen Isabella de Bourbon, a "lost" portrait by Velázquez located', *The Connoisseur*, August 1951.

Real Academia Española, *Diccionario de la lengua castellana*, 6 vols., Madrid, 1726–39.
Real Academia de San Fernando, *Distribución de los premios concedidos por el Rey N.S. a los discípulos de las tres nobles artes*, Madrid, 1760.
Regla y establecimientos, de la Orden y Cavallería del glorioso Apostol Santiago, Patrón de las Españas, con la historia del origen y principio de ella, Madrid, 1655.
Ripa, Cesare, *Iconologia*, with an introduction by Erna Mandowsky, New York, 1970.
Rivero, Casto María, see Ponz.
Rodríguez G. de Ceballos, 'La fecha del nacimiento de Vicente Carducho', *Archivo Español de Arte*, 1975.
Rodríguez de Rivas, Mariano, 'Autógrafos de artistas españoles', *Revista Española de Arte*, 1932.
Rodríguez Villa, Antonio, *Ambrosio Spínola, primer Marqués de los Balbases*, Madrid, 1904.
Romera Navarro, see Gracián.
Rosenblum, Robert, 'The origin of Painting: A problem in iconography of Romantic classicism', *The Art Bulletin*, 1957.
Röthlisberger, Marcel, *Claude Lorrain*, New Haven, 1961.
Royal Academy of Arts, catalogue of the exhibition *Seventeenth-century Art in Europe*, London, 1938.
—— catalogue of the exhibition *The Golden Age of Spanish Painting*, London, 1976.

Saavedra Fajardo, Diego, *República literaria*, ed. Vicente García de Diego, Madrid, 1942. First published posthumously under the title *Juicio de artes y sciencias* and attributed to a certain Claudio Antonio de Cabrera, in 1655.
Salamanca, *Catalogue des tableaux anciens... composant la galerie de M. le M^is de*, Paris, 1867.
Saltillo, Marqués del, 'Artistas madrileños', *Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones*, Madrid, 1953.
—— 'Identificación de un retrato de Velázquez', *Archivo Español de Arte*, 1953.
Salvadori, Fabia Borroni, "Le esposizione d'arte a Firenze dal 1674 al 1767", *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenze*, Dusseldorf, 1974.
Sampere y Guarinos, Juan, *Historia del luxo y de las leyes suntuarias de España*, Madrid, 1788.
Sánchez Cantón, F.J., *Pintores de Cámara*, Madrid, 1916.
—— 'La librería de Velázquez', *Homenaje a Don Ramón Menéndez Pidal*, vol. III, Madrid, 1925.
—— *Fuentes literarias para la historia del arte español*, vol. II, Madrid, 1933.
—— *Dibujos españoles*, vol. III, Madrid, 1930 (actually published several years later).
—— 'La espiritualidad de Velázquez', *Revista de la Universidad de Oviedo*, Oviedo, March-June 1943.
—— 'Cómo vivía Velázquez', *Archivo Español de Arte*, 1942.
—— Review of Enrique Lafuente's *Velázquez* (1944), *Archivo Español de Arte*, 1944.
—— 'New facts about Velázquez', *The Burlington Magazine*, December 1945.
—— 'Sobre la vida y las obras de Juan Pantoja de la Cruz', *Archivo Español de Arte*, 1947.
—— *Retratos de los Reyes de España*, Barcelona, 1948.

—— *Las meninas y sus personajes*, Barcelona, 1952.
—— see also Pacheco and Allende-Salazar.
Sánchez de Viana, Pedro, *Anotaciones sobre los quinze libros de las Trãsformaciones de Ouidio, etc.*, Valladolid, 1589.
Santos, Francisco de los, *Descripción breve del monsterio de S. Lorenzo el Real del Escorial*, Madrid, 1657; second edition: Madrid, 1667.
Saxl, F., *Lectures*, London, 1957.
Silvela, Francisco (ed.), *Cartas de la venerable Madre Sor María de Agreda y del Señor Rey Don Felipe IV*, Madrid, 1888.
Snare, John, *The history and pedigree of the portrait of Prince Charles (afterwards Charles the First) painted at Madrid in 1623 by Velázquez*, Reading, 1847.
—— *Proofs of the autheticity of the portrait of Prince Charles (afterwards Charles the First) painted at Madrid in 1623 by Velázquez contained in observations on the remarks of Sir Edmund Head, Bart. and William Stirling, Esq., M.A.*, Reading, 1848.
Sobrino, Alfonso, *Tratado de la Immaculada Concepción*, Seville, 1615.
Soehner, Halldor, 'Un nuevo Velázquez', *Clavileño*, Madrid, 1951.
—— 'Die Herkunft der Bodegones des Velázquez', *Varia velazqueña*, vol. I, Madrid, 1960.
Sonnenberg, Hubert von, 'The technique and conservation of the portrait' [Pareja's], *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, New York, June 1971.
Soria, Martin S., 'José Leonardo, Velázquez's best disciple', *The Art Quarterly*, vol. 13, 1950.
Sousa Viterbo, *Noticia de alguns pintores portuguezes, e de outros que, sendo estrangeiros, exerceram a sua arte em Portugal*, Lisbon, 1902.
Spear, Richard E., *Caravaggio and his followers*, Cleveland, 1971.
Štěpánek, Pavel, 'La pintura española en la Galería Nacional de Praga', *Ibero-Americana Pragensis*, Prague, 1969.
Sterling, Charles, *La nature morte de l'Antiquité à nos Jours*, Paris, 1952.
Stevenson, R.A.M., *Velázquez*, London, 1962 (first published as *The Art of Velázquez*, London, 1895).
Stirling, William, *Velázquez and his works*, London, 1855. (French translation by W. Bürger, Paris, 1865).

Tapia y Robles, Juan Antonio de, *Ilustración del renombre de grande*, Madrid, 1638.
Tierno Galván, E., see Gracián.
Tietze-Conrat, E., *Dwarfs and jesters in art*, New York, 1957.
Tolnay, Charles de, 'Velázquez's *Las Hilanderas* and *Las Meninas*', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, January 1949.
Tonci, Salvatore, *Descrizione ragionata della Galleria Doria*, Rome, 1794.
Tormo, Elías, *Pintura, escultura y arquitectura en España: Estudios dispersos*, Madrid, 1949.
Trapier, Elisabeth du Gué, 'Velázquez: New data on a group of portraits', *Notes Hispanic*, vol. IV, New York, 1944.
—— *Velázquez*, New York, 1948.
—— 'The cleaning of Velázquez' Count-Duke of Olivares', *Varia velazqueña*, vol. I, Madrid, 1960.
Trésors de la peinture espagnole: Églises et Musées de France (exhibition catalogue), Paris, 1963.
Twiss, Richard, *Travels in Portugal and Spain*, London, 1775.

Valverde Madrid, José, article in the newspaper *Informaciones*, Cordoba, 4 November 1965.
Varchi, Benedetto, *Lezione dalla maggioranza delle arti* (first published, Florence, 1549), in *Trattati d'arte del Cinquecento*, ed. Paola Barocchi, vol. I, Bari, 1960.
Varey, J.E., 'Notas velazqueñas', *Archivo Español de Arte*, 1972.
Vasari, G, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori*, ed. G. Milanesi, 9 vols., Florence, 1878-85.

Velázquez y lo velazqueño (exhibition catalogue), Madrid, 1960. The second edition, published in 1961, is preferable since it contains fewer misprints and factual errors.

Venturi, Adolfo, 'Altro ritratto del Velázquez', *L'Arte*, vol. II, 1899.

Viñaza, Conde de la, *Adiciones al Diccionario histórico de los más ilustres profesores de las Bellas Artes en España de D. Juan Agustín Cean Bermúdez*, Madrid, 1894.

Vlieghe, Hans, *Gaspar de Crayer, sa vie et ses œuvres*, Brussels, 1972.

Vollard, Ambroise, *En écoutant Cézanne, Degas, Renoir*, Paris, 1938.

Voss, Hermann, 'Zur Kritik des Velázquez Werkes', *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, 1932.

Vosters, Simon A., *La rendiciòn de Bredá en la literatura y el arte de España*, London, 1973.

Waterhouse, Ellis, *Italian Baroque Painting*, London, 1962.

Ximénez, Andrés, *Descripción del Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo del Escorial*, Madrid, 1764.

Zimmermann, Heinrich, 'Zur Iconographie des Hauses Habsburg', *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, Vienna, 1904.

—— 'Die Bildnisse der Köningin Marianne', *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, Vienna, 1905.

INDEX TO THE FIRST PART VELÁZQUEZ: THE ARTIST AS A MAKER

(pp. XIII–XVI and 1–152)

For Velázquez' extant works mentioned in the text, only their catalogue numbers are given; page references are included in the corresponding catalogue entries.

Aertsen, Peter, 16, 17.
Aesop, 83.
Aguiar, Tomás de, 124.
Alcalá, Duke of, 7, 8.
Alemán, Mateo, 85.
Alexander VII, Pope, 146.
Alfaro, Juan de, 112, 113, 123, 125.
Angulo Iñiguez, Diego, 102.
Algardi, Alessandro, 111.
Aranjuez, 119.
Aretino, Pietro, 66.
Arce, Pedro de, 102.
Argus, 148.
Arpino, Giuseppe d', 145.
Austria, Juan de (son of Charles V), 85.
Austria, Juan de (buffoon), 85.

Baltasar Carlos, Prince, 48, 50, 51, 55, 107, 109, 121, 130, 138, 139, 140, 141, 150.
Barbari, Daniello, 52.
Barberana, Pedro de, 56, 72.
Barberini, Cardinal Francesco, 112.
Barcelona, 80, 114.
Bassano, Jacopo, 7, 23, 24, 50, 51, 108.
Bedmar, Marquis of, 111.
Benavente, Count of, 24.
Benavente, Count of (supposed portrait), 154, note 6.
Benavente y Benavides, Don Cristobal, 46.
Bernini, 35, 97, 112, 113, 114.
Beruete, Aureliano de, 53, 57, 64, 68, 82, 101, 104, 133, 141.
Beuckelaer, Joachim, 16, 17.
Bocángel, Gabriel de, 90, 109, 124.
Bologna, 46, 111, 112.
Borja, Cardinal Gaspar de, 124.
Boschini, Mario, 110, 112, 114, 115.
Bracamonte, Gaspar de, 30, 37.
Breda, 69, 70, 76.
Brisach, 128.
Brussels, 80, 111.
Burgos Mantilla, Francisco de, 123, 146.

Calderón de la Barca, Pedro, 70.
Callot, Jacques, 90.
Cambiaso, Luca, 24, 50.
Cano, Alonso, 145–6.
Caravaggio, 7, 8, 24, 25.
Carducho, Bartolomé, 24.
Carducho, Vincencio, 21, 24, 25, 29, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 50, 59, 96, 112, 125.
Carlos, Infante Don, 36, 44–5, 107.
Carpio, Marquis of, 89, 92, 93, 108.
Carracci, 24, 25.
Carracci, Agostino, 48.
Carreño de Miranda, 119, 146, 147.
Castagno, Andrea del, 63.
Castelo, Félix, 40.
Castillo, Antonio del, 112.
Caturla, María Luisa, 102.
Caxés, Eugenio, 21, 24, 29, 36, 37, 39, 40, 59–60, 77.
Caxés, Patricio, 24.
Cento, 46.
Cervantes, 13.
Charles I of England, 30, 31, 41, 145.
Charles II of Spain, 78, 82, 119.
Charles V, 85, 147.
Cincinato, Diego de Romulo, 145.
Claude Lorrain, 99.
Colonna, Michele, 114, 147.
Correggio, 110.
Córdoba, 112.
Cotán, see Sánchez Cotán.
Corral, Diego de, 56.
Crescenzi, Giovanni Battista, 39.
Cruzada Villaamil, Gregorio, 51, 67.
Cueva, Cardinal Alonso de la, 111, 112.
Cuevas, Pedro de las, 40, 77, 123.

Daguerre, Louis Jacques Mandé, 141, 142.
Díaz, Diego Valentín, 150.
Díaz del Valle, Lázaro, 123, 139, 147.
Dolce, Lodovico, 9.
Donatello, 62.

Dürer, 99.
Dyck, Anthony van, 123.

Eliche, Marquis of, 95, 108.
Escorial, The, 5, 21, 23, 24, 30, 41, 119, 132, 147, 148.
Este, Francesco d' (Duke of Modena), 110, 111, 114.
Eyck, Jan van, 142.

Fanelli, Giuliano, 111.
Faria y Sousa, Manuel de, 124.
Felipe Próspero, Prince, 148, 149–50.
Ferdinand III, King of Castille, 77.
Ferdinand III, Emperor, 47, 107, 129.
Fuensalida, Don Gaspar de, 46.
Feria, Duke of, 128.
Fernández, Luis, 60.
Fernández de Navarrete, Juan, 24.
Fernando, Cardinal Infante Don, 30, 37, 107, 111.
Ferrara, 46.
Florence, 24, 39, 46, 62, 82, 111.
Fonseca, Juan de, 23, 30, 31, 37, 80.
Fraga, 89, 93, 94, 95, 107.
Fuente, Marquis de la, 110.
Fuenterrabía, 150.

Gallegos, Manuel, 59, 68, 124.
Genoa, 46, 72, 110, 114, 115.
Gerstenberg, Kurt, 52, 83.
Giordano, Luca, 140.
Góngora, Luís de, 23, 29–30.
González, Bartolomé, 21, 29, 36–7, 39, 40.
Goya, 86.
Gracián, Baltasar, 66, 124, 147.
Gramont, Duke of, 147.
Greco, El, 7, 23, 25, 29, 37, 39, 56.
Guercino, 46.

Hals, Franz, 56.
Hamen, Juan van der, 25, 29, 40, 51.
Heraclitus, 83.
Herrera, Francisco de, 4, 5.
Herrera Barnuevo, Sebastián, 146.
Homer, 83.
Hopton, Sir Arthur, 111.
Hugo, Father Herman, 76.

Infantado, Duke of, 114.
Innocent X, Pope, 113, 114, 115, 128, 145.
Io, 148.
Isabel, Queen (wife of Philip IV), 29, 41, 50, 92, 94, 95, 107, 132, 140.

Jordaens, 82, 139, 141.
Jülich, 77.
Julius II, Pope, 112.
Justi, Karl, 141.

Lanchares, Antonio de, 24, 40.
Lebrun, Charles, 152.
Lefranchi, Jerónimo, 145.
Lefranchi, Onofrio, 145.
Legasca, Bartolomé de, 108.
Leonardo, Jusepe, 60, 77–8, 128.
Leopold I, Emperor, 150.
Leopold Wilhelm, Duke, 129.
Lepanto, battle of, 85.
Lerida, 93, 94.
Linz, 107.
Loarte, Alejandro de, 23.
Loeches, 92.
Lope de Vega, 25, 38, 77.
Louis XIV, 129, 147, 148, 150, 152.
Lucena, Diego de, 123.
Ludovisi, Prince, 112.
Ludovisi, Cardinal Ludovico, 46.

Maino, Fray Juan Bautista, 25, 32, 39, 60, 61, 67–8, 70, 94.
Madrid, *passim*.
– , Alcázar or Royal Palace, XII, 4, 30, 41, 43, 48, 63, 64, 89, 92, 95, 102, 103, 108, 109, 111, 118, 119, 121, 125, 138, 139, 145, 147, 152.
– , Buen Retiro Palace, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 68, 70, 92, 94, 99, 109, 128.
– , New Royal Palace, XII.
– , Church of San Juan Bautista, 152.
– , Church of San Martín, 94.
– , Church of San Salvador, 109.
Málaga, 110.
Maldachini, Olimpia, 113.
Malpica, Marquis of, 146.
Mancini, Giulio, 7.
Manet, XIII, 86, 98.
Marcus Aurelius (*cavallo* of), 63.
Margarita, Queen (wife of Philip III), 62.
Margarita, Infanta, 129, 130, 133, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144.
María, Infanta, 8, 30, 47, 48, 107.
María Teresa, Infanta, 109, 118, 139, 147, 148, 150, 152.
Mariana, Queen (wife of Philip IV), 108, 109, 118, 119, 131, 138, 139, 142, 143, 144, 145, 147, 150, 151.
Mari-Bárbola, 139.

Marino, Giovanbattista, 13, 29, 83, 84, 101.
Martínez, Jusepe, 77, 93, 94, 108, 113, 138, 139.
Martínez del Mazo, Gaspar, 145.
Martínez del Mazo, Juan Bautista, 48, 51, 52, 103, 109, 124, 125, 128, 133–9, 141, 145, 147. Extant works mentioned: *Family of the artist*, 133–7; *Infanta Margarita*, 138; Bust portrait of *Philip IV*, 138; *Queen Mariana*, 139, 147; *View of Saragossa*, 139. Lost or unidentified: *Queen Mariana* (1649 or 1650), 109.
Martínez Montañes, Juan, 90–2.
Mayer, August L., 106.
Mazo, see Martínez del Mazo, Juan Bautista.
Medici, Averardo, 46.
Medici, Francesco de' (Commendatore de Sorano), 59.
Medici, Lorenzo de', 82.
Melgar, Diego de, 10, 121.
Michelangelo, 6, 38, 39, 49, 56, 82, 125.
Menippus, 83.
Milan, 45.
Mitelli, Agostino, 114, 147.
Modena, 110, 111, 114, 117.
Modena, Duke of, see Este.
Molière, XI, 13.
Montañés, see Martínez Montañés.
Monterrey, Count of, 47.
Monterrey, Countess of, 47.
Morra, Sebastian de, 89.
Murcia, 123.
Murillo, 107, 146.

Nájera, Duke of, 109, 110.
Naples, 7, 24, 32, 47, 51, 83, 111, 114, 145.
Nardi, Angelo, 37, 39, 40, 77, 146.
Nassau, Justinus of, 69, 70, 71, 72, 76.
Navarrete, see Fernández de Navarrete.
Neri, Pietro Martire, 113–4, 128.
Nieto Velázquez, José, 140.
Núñez del Valle, Pedro, 40.

Ojeda, Pablo de, 3.
Olivares, Count-Duke of, 21, 23, 30, 31, 32, 34, 35, 45, 46, 47–8, 58, 59, 61, 92, 93, 94, 108, 124.
Oñate, Count of, 111, 114.
Orrente, Pedro de, 23, 24.
Ortega y Gasset, José, 79.
Ostend, 69.
Osuna, Duke of, 32.
Ovid, 102, 103, 105, 106, 141.

Pacheco, Francisco, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 12, 17, 19, 23, 29, 30, 34, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 46, 47, 48, 49, 51, 62, 64, 66, 72, 80, 125, 145.
Pacheco, Juana, 9, 152.
Padua, 62.
Palacios, Francisco de, 123.
Palomino, Antonio, 4, 48, 50, 110, 111, 112, 113, 115, 116, 123, 140, 141.
Pamphili, Cardinal, 112.
Pantoja de la Cruz, Juan, 12, 37.
Parada, Torre de la, 58, 59, 78, 79, 80, 81, 83, 88.
Pardo, El, 25.
Paravicino, Fray Hortensio Félix, 23, 29.
Pareja, Juan de, 110, 112, 123.
Pareja, Jusepe, 123.
Parma, 110.
Patinir, Joachim, 99.
Pereda, Antonio de, 60.
Pérez de Araciel, García, 31–2.
Pérez de Guzmán, Archbishop Alfonso, 152.
Pérez de Moya, Juan, 104–5.
Pertusato, Nicolás de, 140.
Pheasants, Isle of, 151, 152.
Phidias, 109.
Philip II, 23, 24, 63, 66, 147.
Philip III, 21, 24, 29, 39, 63, 85, 86, 94, 111, 148.
Philip IV, 12, 21, 25, 29, 30, 31, 32, 34, 35, 36, 37, 39, 40, 41, 42, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 51, 55, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 63, 64, 67, 70, 78, 81, 90, 92, 93, 94, 97, 99, 105, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 113, 114, 115, 118, 119, 121, 123, 128, 129, 131, 132, 138, 139, 140, 141, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 150, 151, 152.
Pinturicchio, 99.
Poggi, Gemignano, 114.
Pontius, Paul, 41.
Porta, Giovanni Battista, 83, 84.
Porto, 3.
Poussin, 112.
Pozzo, Cassiano dal, 29.
Preti, Mattia, 112.
Primo, El, see Acedo.
Puga, Antonio, 60.

Quevedo, Francisco de 13, 45, 71, 124, 147.

Raphael, 6, 38, 47, 49, 56, 108, 115, 125.
Ravesteyn, Jan Anthonisz van, 76.
Rembrandt, 56, 83.
Renoir, 56.
Ribera, José de, 7, 8, 47, 63, 83, 145, 147.
Rioja, Francisco de, 9, 23, 51.

Ripa, Cesare, 85, 104, 106, 107.
Rizi de Guevara, Francisco, 147.
Rodríguez, María, 3.
Rodríguez de Silva, Diego, 3.
Rodríguez de Silva, Fernando, 3.
Rodríguez de Silva, Francisco, 3.
Rodríguez de Silva, Roque, 3.
Rodríguez de Silva, Silvestre, 3.
Rome, 24, 46, 47, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 108, 111, 112, 113, 115, 117, 118, 129, 146.
– , Farnese collection, 51.
– , Vatican, 47, 49, 99.
– , Villa de' Medici, 47.
Rosa, Salvatore, 112, 115.
Rospigliosi, Giulio, 115.
Rubens, 24, 40, 41, 42, 43, 49, 56, 63, 64, 66, 78, 81, 83, 95, 103, 123, 139, 140, 141, 145, 147, 148.

Saavedra Fajardo, Diego de, 35, 124.
Sachetti, Cardinal Giulio, 46.
Salcedo Coronel, García de, 124.
Sánchez Coello, Alonso, 24, 29.
Sánchez Cotán, Juan, 23, 25.
Sánchez de Viana, Pedro, 104–5.
Saragossa, 93.
Sarmiento, María, 140.
Segni, Cristoforo, 113–4.
Seville, 3–7, 12, 21, 24, 77, 90, 146.
Shakespeare, 13.
Silva Velázquez, Inés, 145.
Siruela, Count of, 124.
Smidt, Andrie, 113.
Soplillo, 29, 54.
Sorano, Commendatore de, see Medici, Francesco de'
Spada, Cardinal Bernardino, 46.
Spínola, General Ambrosio, 45, 69, 70, 71, 72, 76, 77.
Stevenson, R.A.M., 56.
Stirling, William, 141.

Tacca, Pietro, 90.
Temptation of St. Thomas Aquinas, The, 153, note 6.
Testi, Count Fulvio, 110, 111.
Timanthes, 147.
Tintoretto, 48, 49, 52, 56, 110, 115, 147.
Titian, XI, 6, 8, 9, 39, 42, 48, 49, 50, 51, 56, 63, 66, 103, 106, 108, 115, 123, 125, 139, 147.
Toledo, 5, 23, 25.
Toledo, Fadrique de, 61.
Tolnay, Charles de, 104, 105.
Tormo, Elías, 59.
Toro, 92.
Trent, 109.
Triunfi, Flaminia, 113.
Tuy, 146.

Uccello, Paolo, 63.
Uceda, Juan de, 9.
Ulloa, Marcela de, 140, 142.
Urban VIII, Pope, 47.

Vaca de Alfaro, Enrique, 123.
Valencia, 80.
Valladolid, 24, 151,
Velasco, Isabel de, 140.
Velázquez, Diego:
birth, family, name, 3–4; perhaps for short time in Herrera's workshop, 4; apprenticed to Pacheco, 4–7; admitted to Guild of St. Luke, 9; marries Juana Pacheco, 9; birth of two daughters, death of one, 9; signs up an apprentice, 12; first journey to Madrid, 21–30; second journey to Madrid and appointment as painter to the King, 30–1; relations with his fellow Court painters, 36–40; as Usher of the Chamber, 39, 80; contacts with Rubens in Madrid, 41–2; first Italian journey, 45–8; marriage of daughter to Mazo, 51–2; busy with decoration of Great Hall of the Buen Retiro Palace, 59–62; appointed Gentleman of the Wardrobe, 79; promoted to Gentleman of the Bedchamber, 79, 92; busy with refurbishing of Torre de la Parada, 78–9; as Assistant Superintendent of Works and Supervisor of Building, 92, 108, 119, 147; second Italian journey, 110–8; is made member of both the Academy of St. Luke and the 'Congregazione dei Virtuosi al Pantheon' in Rome, 113; as chamberlain of the Royal Palace, 118–9, 132, 139, 143, 151; is knighted, 115, 145–7; attends the marriage of Louis XIV and Infanta Maria Teresa on the Isle of Pheasants, 151; his death (and death of his wife), 152; imitators, pupils, assistants and followers, 12, 124–8, 133–9.
Extant works mentioned: *Adoration of the Magi*, cat. No. 13; *Aesop*, cat. No. 92; *Arachne*, cat. No. 108; *The fable of Arachne*, cat. No. 107; *Bacchus*, cat. No. 41; *Barber to the Pope*, cat. No. 113; *Bearded man*, cat. No. 91; *The buffoon Calabazas*, cat. No. 83; *The buffoon Calabazas holding a miniature and a pinwheel*, cat. No. 39; *The buffoon Don Cristobal de Castañeda*, cat. No. 84; *The buffoon Don Juan de Austria*, cat. No. 65; *The buffoon Pablo de Valladolid*, cat. No. 82; *Cardinal Astalli*, cat. No. 117; *Cardinal Borja*, cat. No. 98; *Cardinal Infante Don Fernando as a hunter*, cat. No. 64; *Count-Duke of Olivares*, cat. No. 30; *Count-Duke of Olivares, equestrian*, cat. No. 66; *Christ after the flagellation contemplated by the Christian soul*, cat. No. 35; *Christ in the house of Martha and Mary*, cat. No. 7; *Christ on the Cross*, cat. No 59; *Coronation of the Virgin*, cat, No. 105; *Democritus*, cat. No. 40; *Don Diego del Corral y Arellano*, cat. No. 55; *Don Juan Mateos*, cat. No. 58; *Don Luís de Góngora*, cat. No. 25; *Don Pedro de Barberana*, cat. No. 57; *Doña Antonia de Ipeñarrieta with one of her sons*, cat. No. 54; *Dwarf holding a tome*, cat. No. 102; *Dwarf sitting on the floor*, cat. No. 103; *Dwarf sitting on the floor by a pitcher*, cat. No. 104; *Dwarf Francisco Lezcano*, cat. No. 99; *Forge of Vulcan*, cat. No. 44; *Francesco II d'Este*, cat. No. 89; *Girl, A*, cat. No. 97; *Girl and two men at table*, cat. No. 9; *Head of Apollo*, cat. No. 45; *Head of a girl*, cat. No. 5; *Head of a stag*, cat. No. 33; *Head of a young man in profile*, cat. No. 8; *Immaculate Conception of the Virgin*, cat. No. 11; *Infanta Margarita* (1653), cat. No. 122; *Infanta Margarita* (about 1656), cat. No. 123; *Infanta Margarita* (1659), cat. No. 128; *Infanta María*, cat. No. 48; *Infanta María Teresa* (1648), cat. No. 109; *Infanta María Teresa* (1651–2), cat. No. 118; *Infanta María Teresa* (1652 or 1653), cat. No. 119; *Infante Don Carlos*, cat. No. 37; *Innocent X*, cat. No. 114; *Innocent X* (head and shoulders), cat. No. 115; *Joseph bloody coat brought to Jacob*, cat. No. 43; *Kitchen servant, The*, cat. No. 18; *Knight of the Order of Santiago*, cat. No. 110; *Lady with a fan*, cat. No. 79; *Lass, A*, cat. No. 111; *Man with a goatee*, cat. No. 23; *Mars*, cat. No. 94; *Martínez Montañés at work*, cat. No. 76; *Meninas, The*, see *Velázquez and the royal family*; *Menippus*, cat. No. 93; *Mercury and Argus*, cat. No. 127; *Monsignor Camillo Massimi*, cat. No. 116; *Morra, Sebastian de*, see *Dwarf sitting on the floor*; *Mother Doña Jerónima de la Fuente*, cat. Nos. 20 and 21; *Musical trio*, cat. No. 1; *Needlewoman, The*, cat. No. 81; *Old woman frying eggs*, cat. No. 6; *Pareja, Juan de*, cat. No. 112; *Philip III, equestrian*, cat. No. 68; *Philip IV* (1623–4), cat. No. 28; *Philip IV* (1624), cat. No. 29; *Philip IV* (1628), cat. No. 36; *Philip IV* (fragment, about 1628), cat. No. 38; *Philip IV* (1631–2), cat. No. 52; *Philip IV as a hunter*, cat. No. 63; *Philip IV equestrian*, cat. No. 71; *Philip IV in army dress*, cat. No. 100; *Philip IV*, after Rubens-composition, cat. No. 101; *Philip IV*, bust (1652–5), cat. No. 120, *Priest Cristobal Suárez de Ribera*, cat. No. 19; *Primo, El*, see *Dwarf holding a tome*; *Prince Baltasar Carlos with a dwarf*, cat. No. 51; *Prince Baltasar Carlos* (1632), cat. No. 60; *Prince Baltasar Carlos* (about 1639), cat. No. 90; *Prince Baltasar Carlos, equestrian*, cat. No. 72; *Prince Baltasar Carlos as a hunter*, cat. No. 77; *Prince Felipe Próspero*, cat. No. 129; *Queen Isabel, standing*, cat. No. 53; *Queen Isabel* (three-quarter length), cat. No. 62; *Queen Isabel, equestrian*, cat. No. 70; *Queen Margarita of Austria, equestrian*, cat. No. 69; *Queen Mariana* (full-length), cat. No. 121; *Short-bust portrait of a girl*, cat. No. 4; *St. Anthony Abbot*, cat. No. 86; *St. Anthony Abbot and St. Paul*, cat. No. 85; *St. John writing the Apocalypse*, cat. No. 12; *Supper at Emaus* (*bodegón*-like composition), cat. No. 17; *Supper at Emaus*, cat. No. 42; *Surrender of Breda*, cat. No. 73; *Surrender of Breda*, studies for, cat. Nos. 74 and 75; *Three men at table*, cat. No. 3; *Two young men at table*, cat. No. 24; *Velázquez and the royal family*, cat. No. 124; *Venus at her mirror*, cat. No. 106; *Villa Medici*, cat. Nos. 46 and 47; *Waterseller, The*, cat. No. 16; *Weavers, The*, see *Arachne, Fable of*; *White horse*, cat. No. 67; *Woman as a sibyl*, cat. No. 49 (see also *Arachne*); *Young lady*, cat. No. 80; *Young man* (1623–4), cat. No. 27; *Young man* (1630–1), cat. No. 50.
Mentions of lost or unidentified works:
Apollo flaying Marsyas, 148; see also cat. No. 127; *Cardinal Borja* (oil on canvas), 124; see also cat. No. 98; *Last supper*, after Tintoretto, 48; *Philip III and the expulsion of the 'moriscos' from Spain*, 39 and 94; *Philip IV, equestrian*, 34; *Philip IV on a chestnut horse*, 62; *Philip IV* (miniature), 111; *Prince Baltasar Carlos* (colour sketch), 62; *Prince of Wales* (later Charles I), 30; *Psyche and Cupid*, 148; *Self-portrait*, 48, 49; see also cat. No. 96; *Venus and Adonis*, 148; *Queen Mariana* (miniature), 150.
Velázquez, Francisca, 9, 51–2.
Velázquez, Ignacia, 9.
Velázquez de Silva, Juan, 3, 9.
Velilla, Juan de, 45.
Venice, 46, 48, 49, 52, 62, 108, 110, 114, 115, 117.
Verín, 146.
Verona, 46.
Veronese, Paolo, 108, 110, 147.
Verrochio, 63.
Viana, see Sánchez de Viana.
Vidal, Pedro Antonio, 86.
Vienna, 124, 129.
Vigo, 146.
Villacis, Nicolás de, 123.
Villafranca, Pedro de, 102, 132, 133.

Villandrando, Rodrigo de, 21, 29, 30, 39, 40, 54.
Villanueva, Jerónimo de (Protonotary of Aragón), 50, 51.
Vos, Paul de, 78, 82.

Wales, Prince of, see Charles I of England.

Zuccaro, Federico, 24, 47.
Zurbarán, 60, 77, 146.

INDEXES TO THE CATALOGUE RAISONNÉ

I. Subjects of the catalogued works

Religious:
Adoration of the Magi, *No. 13.*
Christ after the flagellation, *No. 35.*
Christ in the house of Martha and Mary, *No. 7.*
Christ on the Cross, *No. 59.*
Coronation of the Virgin, *No. 105.*
Immaculate Conception of the Virgin, *No. 11.*
Joseph's bloody coat brought to Jacob, *No. 43.*
St. Anthony Abbot, *No. 86.*
St. Anthony Abbot and St. Paul the hermit, *No. 85.*
St. Ildefonso receiving the chasuble from the Virgin, *No. 22.*
St. John writing the Apocalypse, *No. 12.*
St. Paul, *No. 14.*
St. Paul (?), *No. 15.*
St. Thomas, *No. 10.*
Supper at Emaus (*bodegón*-like composition), *No. 17.*
Supper at Emaus, *No. 42.*

From antiquity and the fable:
Aesop, *No. 92.*
Apollo, Head of, *No. 45.*
Arachne, *No. 108.*
Arachne, The fable of, *No. 107.*
Bacchus, *No. 41.*
Democritus, *No. 40.*
Forge of Vulcan, The, *No. 44.*
Mars, *No. 94.*
Menippus, *No. 93.*
Mercury and Argus, *No. 127.*
Venus at her mirror, *No. 106.*

Historical:
The surrender of Breda, *No. 73.*
– , studies for, *Nos. 74 and 75.*

Portraits:
a). Royal persons
Cardinal Infante Don Fernando as a hunter, *No. 64.*
Francesco II d'Este, *No. 89.*
Infanta Margarita (1653), *No. 122.*
Infanta Margarita (about 1656), *No. 123.*
Infanta Margarita (1659), *No. 128.*
Infanta María, *No. 48.*
Infanta María Teresa (1648), *No. 109.*
Infanta María Teresa (1651–2), *No. 118.*
Infanta María Teresa (1652 or 1653), *No. 119.*
Infante Don Carlos, *No. 37.*
Philip III, equestrian, *No. 68.*
Philip IV (1623–4), *No. 28.*
Philip IV (1624), *No. 29.*
Philip IV (1628), *No. 36.*
Philip IV (fragment, about 1628), *No. 38.*
Philip IV (1631–2), *No. 52.*
Philip IV (three-quarter length, 1632), *No. 61.*
Philip IV (bust, 1652–5), *No. 120.*
Philip IV (allegorical composition), *No. 101.*
Philip IV as a hunter, *No. 63.*
Philip IV, equestrian, *No. 71.*
Philip IV in army dress, *No. 100.*
Prince Baltasar Carlos (1632), *No. 60.*
Prince Baltasar Carlos (about 1639), *No. 90.*
Prince Baltasar Carlos as a hunter, *No. 77.*
Prince Baltasar Carlos, equestrian, *No. 72.*
Prince Baltasar Carlos with a dwarf, *No. 51.*
Prince Baltasar Carlos with the Count-Duke of Olivares at the Royal Mews, *No. 78.*
Prince Felipe Próspero, *No. 129.*
Queen Isabel standing, *No. 53.*
Queen Isabel (three-quarter length), *No. 62.*
Queen Isabel, equestrian, *No. 70.*
Queen Margarita, equestrian, *No. 69.*
Queen Mariana (full-length), *No. 121.*
Queen Mariana (fragment, about 1656-7), *No. 125.*
Queen Mariana (about 1656–7), *No. 126.*
See Velázquez and the royal family *in section b).*

b) Other identified sitters
Astalli, Cardinal, *No. 117.*
Bandrés de Abarca, Francisco, *No. 95.*
Barberana, Pedro de, *No. 57.*
Borja, Cardinal, *No. 98.*
Corral, Don Diego del, *No. 55.*
Fuente, Jerónima de la (Prado Museum), *No. 20.*
Fuente, Jerónima de la (private coll.), *No. 21.*

Góngora, Luís de, *No. 25.*
Innocent X, *No. 114.*
Innocent X (head and shoulders), *No. 115.*
Ipeñarrieta, Antonia de (with one of her sons), *No. 54.*
Martínez Montañés at work, *No. 76.*
Massimi, Monsignor Camillo, *No. 116.*
Mateos, Juan, *No. 58.*
Olivares, Count-Duke of (1624), *No. 30.*
Olivares, Count-Duke of (mid-1620's), *No. 32.*
Olivares, Count-Duke of (about 1638), *No. 87.*
Olivares, Count-Duke of (oval, oil on copper, about 1638), *No. 88.*
Olivares, equestrian, *No. 66.*
Pareja, Juan de, *No. 112.*
Self-portrait, *No. 96.*
Suárez de Ribera, Cristobal, *No. 19.*
Velázquez and the royal family, *No. 124.*

c) Court jesters
Austria, Don Juan, *No. 65.*
Calabazas holding a miniature and a pinwheel, *No. 39.*
Calabazas, *No. 83.*
Castañeda, Cristobal de, *No. 84.*
Dwarf holding a tome (sometime thought to be Don Diego de Acedo, nicknamed *El Primo*), *No. 102.*
Dwarf sitting on the floor (sometime thought to be Sebastian de Morra), *No. 103.*
Dwarf sitting on the floor by a pitcher, *No. 104.*
Lezcano, Francisco, *No. 99.*
Valladolid, Pablo de, *No. 82.*

d) Unidentified sitters
Barber to the Pope, so-called, *No. 113.*
Bearded man, *No. 91.*
Boy, Head of, *No. 2.*
Cleric, A, *No. 26.*
Ecclesiastic, Hand of an (fragment), *No. 56.*
Girl, Head of a, *No. 5.*
Girl, Short bust of a, *No. 4.*
Girl, A, *No. 97.*
Knight of the Order of Santiago, *No. 110.*
Lady, Head of a, *No. 31.*
Lady with a fan, *No. 79.*
Lass, A, *No. 111.*
Man, A, *No. 34.*
Man with a goatee, *No. 23.*
Needlewoman, The, *No. 81.*
Woman as a sibyl, *No. 49.*
Young lady, A, *No. 80.*
Young man, A (1623–4), *No. 27.*
Young man, A (1630–1), *No. 50.*
Young man, Head of a, *No. 8.*

Bodegones
A girl and two men at table, *No. 9.*
Kitchen servant, The, *No. 18.*
Musical trio, *No. 1.*
Old woman frying eggs, *No. 6.*
Two young men at table, *No. 24.*
Theree men at table, *No. 3.*
Waterseller, The, *No. 16.*

Garden views:
Villa Medici in Rome, (with the statue of Ariadne), *No. 46.*
Villa Medici in Rome, *No. 47.*

Animals:
A white horse, *No. 67.*
Head of a stag, *No. 33.*

II. Location of the catalogued works

Austria
Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum: *Nos. 61, 62, 90, 119, 122, 123, 128, 129.*

Brazil
São Paolo, Museo de Arte: *No. 30.*

France
Orléans, Musée des Beaux-Arts: *No. 10.*
Rouen, Musée des Beaux-Arts: *No. 40.*

Germany, Federal Republic of
Berlin (West), Gemäldegalerie: *No. 1.*
Munich, Alte Pinakothek: *No. 50.*

German Democratic Republic
Dresden, Staatliche Gemäldesammlung: *Nos. 58, 110.*

Great Britain
Chatsworth, Duke of Devonshire: *No. 80.*
Eccleston, The Grosvenor Estate: *No. 78.*
Edinburgh, The National Gallery of Scotland: *No. 6.*
Kingston Lacy, R. Bankes: *No. 116.*
London, National Gallery: *Nos. 7, 11, 12, 35, 52, 106.*
– , The Wallace Collection: *Nos. 60, 79.*
– , The Wellington Museum: *Nos. 16, 24, 91, 115.*

Hungary
Budapest, National Museum of Fine Arts: *No. 9.*

Ireland
Blessington, near Dublin, Sir Alfred Beit collection: *No. 17.*

Italy
Florence, Uffizi: *No. 101.*
Modena, Pinacoteca: *No. 89.*
Rome, Galleri Doria-Pamphili: *No. 114.*

Spain
Barcelona, Museo de Arte de Cataluña: *No. 14.*
El Escorial, Monastery: *No. 43.*
Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional: *Nos. 4, 5, 74, 75.*
– , Prado: *Nos. 13, 20, 23, 27, 36, 37, 38, 41, 44, 46, 47, 48, 49, 54, 55, 59, 63, 64, 65, 66, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 76, 77, 82, 83, 84, 85, 92, 93, 94, 99, 102, 103, 105, 107, 120, 121, 124, 127.*
Madrid, Palacio Real: *Nos. 31, 56, 67, 88.*
– , Real Academia de San Fernando: *No. 98.*
– , Condesa de Saltes collection: *No 15.*
– , Fernández de Araoz collection: *No. 21.*
– , Marqués de Casa-Torres collection: *No. 33.*
– , Other private collections: *Nos. 2, 26.*
Seville, Museo Provincial de Bellas Artes: *Nos. 19, 22.*
Valencia, Museo de Bellas Artes: *No. 96.*

Switzerland
— —, Private collection: *No. 53.*
Geneva, Private collection: *No. 86.*
Lugano, Fondation Château de Rohoncz: *No. 126.*

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
Leningrad, Hermitage: *Nos. 3, 8, 87.*

United States of America
Boston, Museum of Fine Arts: *Nos. 25, 51.*
Chicago, Art Institute: *No. 18.*
Cleveland, The Cleveland Museum of Art: *No. 39.*
Dallas, The Meadows Museum, *Nos. 28, 108, 125.*
New York, The Frick Collection: *No. 100.*
– , The Hispanic Society of America: *Nos. 32, 97, 117.*
– , The Metropolitan Museum of Art: *Nos. 29, 42, 109, 112, 118.*
– , Private collections: *Nos. 45, 57, 95, 104, 111, 113.*
– , Art market, *No. 34.*
Washington, D.C., National Gallery: *No. 81.*

ILLUSTRATIONS
FIRST PART

pages 1-152

I. Colour plates of Velázquez' works

Old woman frying eggs. 1618. Catalogue *No. 6*. Between pages 14 and 15.
The waterseller. About 1620. Catalogue *No. 16*. Between pages 14 and 15.
Two young men at table. About 1622. Catalogue *No. 24*. Facing page 16.
The Immaculate Conception of the Virgin. About 1619. Catalogue *No. 11*. Between pages 20 and 21.
St. John writing the Apocalypse. About 1619. Catalogue *No. 12*. Between pages 20 and 21.
Count-Duke of Olivares (detail). 1624. Catalogue *No. 30*. Facing page 36.
Bacchus. 1628. Catalogue *No. 41*. Facing page 42.
Philip IV. About 1628. Catalogue *No. 36*. Facing page 44.
The forge of Vulcan. 1630. Catalogue *No. 44*. Facing page 48.
Prince Baltasar Carlos. 1632. Catalogue *No. 60*. Between pages 54 and 55.
Queen Isabel. 1631–2. Catalogue *No. 53*. Between pages 54 and 55.
Don Diego del Corral. 1631–2. Catalogue *No. 55*. Between pages 56 and 57.
Don Pedro de Barberana. 1631–2. Catalogue *No. 57*. Between pages 56 and 57.
Prince Baltasar Carlos, equestrian. 1634–5. Catalogue *No. 72*. Between pages 66 and 67.
Philip IV, equestrian. 1634–5. Catalogue *No. 71*. Between pages 66 and 67.
Count-Duke of Olivares, equestrian. 1634. Catalogue *No. 66*. Facing page 68.
The surrender of Breda. 1634–5. Catalogue *No. 73*. Facing page 70.
The surrender of Breda (detail). 1634–5. Catalogue *No. 73*. Facing page 76.
The buffoon Don Juan de Austria. 1632–3. Catalogue *No. 65*. Facing page 86.
A dwarf sitting on the floor. Mid–1640's. Catalogue *No. 103*. Facing page 88.
Lady with a fan. Mid–1630's. Catalogue *No. 79*. Facing page 94.
A lass. Mid–1640's–1650. Catalogue *No. 111*. Facing page 96.
The Coronation of the Virgin. Mid–1640's. Catalogue *No. 105*. Facing page 98.
St. Anthony Abbot. Mid– or late 1630's. Catalogue *No. 86*. Between pages 100 and 101.
St. Anthony abbot and St. Paul the hermit. Mid– or late 1630's. *No. 85* Between pages 100 and 101.
Venus at her mirror. 1644–8. Catalogue *No. 106*. Facing page 102.
The fable of Arachne. 1644–8. Catalogue *No. 107*. Facing page 104.
Arachne. 1644–8. Catalogue *No. 108*. Facing page 106.
Juan de Pareja (detail). 1650. Catalogue *No. 112*. Between pages 112 and 113.
Juan de Pareja. 1650. Catalogue *No. 112*. Between pages 112 and 113.
Innocent X. 1650. Catalogue *No. 114*. Facing page 116.
So-called Barber to the Pope. 1650. Catalogue *No. 113*. Facing page 118.
The Infanta Margarita. 1653. Catalogue *No. 122*. Between pages 130 and 131.
Queen Mariana. 1652–3. Catalogue *No. 121*. Between pages 130 and 131.
Velázquez and the royal family. 1656. Catalogue *No. 124*. Facing page 140.
Velázquez and the royal family (detail). 1656. Catalogue *No. 124*. Facing page 144.
Mercury and Argus. About 1659. Catalogue *No. 127*. Facing page 148.
Prince Felipe Próspero. 1659. Catalogue *No. 129*. Facing page 150.

II. Black-and-white plates

1. Caravaggio, *The supper at Emaus*. London. National Gallery. Page 10.
2. Joachim Beuckelaer, *Jesus in the house of Martha and Mary*. 1565. Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts. Page 10.
3. Pacheco, *St. Sebastian nursed by St. Irene*. 1616 (destroyed in 1936). Page 11.
4. Pacheco, *The Immaculate Conception of the Virgin*. 1621. Seville, Cathedral. Page 20.

5. Pacheco, *The Immaculate Conception of the Virgin*. 1624. Seville, Church of San Lorenzo. Page 20.
6. Sánchez Cotán, *Still-life*. 1602. Madrid. Duke of Hernani. Page 20.
7. Alejando de Loarte, *The fowlmonger*. 1626. Avila, Duchess of Valencia. Page 22.
8. Bartolomé González, *St. John the Baptist*. 1621. Budapest, Hungarian Museum of Fine Arts. Page 26.
9. Eugenio Caxés, *The fall of the angels*. 1605. Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst. Page 26.
10. Vincencio Carducho, *Colossal head*. Madrid, Academia de San Fernando. Page 26.
11. Antonio de Lanchares, *Adoration of the shepherds*. 1612. Madrid, Art market. Page 27.
12. Van der Hamen, *Don Francisco de la Cueva*. 1625. Madrid, Academia de San Fernando. Page 28.
13. Van der Hamen, *Still-life*. 1622. Madrid, Prado. Page 28.
14. Vincencio Carducho, *Self-portrait*. 1633–5. Glasgow, Pollok House. Page 33.
15. Maino, *Philip IV in parade armour*. Mid–1620's. New York, The Metropolitan Museum. Page 33.
16. Villandrando, *Philip IV with the dwarf Soplillo*. 1619–20. Madrid, Prado. Page 33.
17. Maino, *The recapture of Bahía* (detail). 1635. Madrid, Prado. Page 65.
18. Titian, *Charles V at Mühlberg*. 1548. Madrid, Prado. Page 65.
19. Rubens, *Philip II, equestrian*. 1628. Madrid, Prado. Page 65.
20. Rubens, *Philip IV*. 1628. Zürich, Kunsthaus. Page 65.
21. Velázquez, *The surrender of Breda* (detail). 1634–5. Page 73.
22. Velázquez, *Don Pedro de Barberana* (detail). Private collection. Page 73.
23. Velázquez, *The surrender of Breda* (detail). 1634–5, Madrid, Prado. Page 73.
24. Velázquez, *The forge of Vulcan* (detail). 1630, Madrid, Prado. Page 73.
25. Velázquez, *The surrender of Breda* (detail). 1634–5, Madrid, Prado. Page 74.
26. Workshop of J.A. Ravesteyn, *Justinus of Nassau*, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. Page 74.
27. Maino, *The recapture of Bahía*. 1635. Madrid, Prado. Page 74.
28. Zurbarán, *The surrender of Seville*. 1634. Eccleston, Chester, The Grosvenor Estate. Page 75.
29. Jusepe Leonardo, *The surrender of Jülich*. 1635. Madrid, Prado. Page 75.
30. Pedro Antonio Vidal, *Philip III*. Madrid, Prado. Page 87.
31. Mazo, *Queen Mariana*. 1666. London, National Gallery. Page 120.
32. Carreño, *Charles II in the Hall of Mirrors*. 1673. East Berlin, Staatliche Museen. Page 120.
33. Pareja, *Vocation of St. Mathew*. 1661. Madrid, Prado. Page 120.
34. Titian, *The rape of Europa*. 1560–2. Boston, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum. Page 122.
35. Burgos Mantilla, *Still-life*. 1631. Museum of Yale University. Page 122.
36. Jusepe Leonardo, *The taking of Brisach*. 1635. Madrid, Prado. Page 126.
37. Mazo. *The stag hunt at Aranjuez*. 1630's. Madrid, Prado. Page 126.
38. Neri, *Innocent X with a prelate*. 1650–5. El Escorial, Monastery. Page 127.
39. Neri, *Cristoforo Segni*. Early 1650's. Private collection. Page 127.
40. Vincencio Carducho, *St. Bruno declining the Archbishop's mitre*. 1632. Madrid, Prado. Page 127.
41. Mazo, *Count-Duke of Olivares, equestrian*. Mid–1630's. New York, The Metropolitan Museum. Page 127.
42. Mazo, *View of Saragossa*. 1646–7. Madrid, Prado. Page 134.
43. Mazo, *The family of the artist*. About 1660–1. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum. Page 134.
44. Mazo, *Philip IV*. Mid–1650's. London, National Gallery. Page 135.
45. Mazo, *The family of the artist* (detail). 1660–1. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum. Page 135.
46. Mazo, Sketch for boy in *The family of the artist*. 1660–1. Dulwich College Picture Gallery. Page 135.
47. Roman bust *(Domitia Lucilla?)*. Mid–II century. Madrid, Prado. Page 135.
48. Pedro de Villafranca, *Philip IV* (engraving). 1655. Page 136.
49. Pedro de Villafranca, *Philip IV* (engraving). 1657. Page 136.

50. Velázquez' workshop, *Queen Isabel*. 1639. Hampton Court. Page 136.
51. Mazo, *The Infanta Margarita*. About 1664–5. Madrid, Prado. Page 136.
52. Jan van Eyck, *Jan Arnolfini and his wife*. 1434. London, National Gallery. Page 137.
53. Charles Lebrun (after), *The meeting on the Isle of Pheasants*, Museum of Versailles. Page 149.

THE CATALOGUE RAISONNÉ (plates 54-230), pp. 173-520

Each of the 129 catalogue entries includes a full-page reproduction of the corresponding work; many of those concerning paintings also include reproductions of details or of radiographs of the work under discussion. Pictures by a hand other than Velázquez' are also occasionally reproduced to illustrate certain points.

THIS VOLUME, PUBLISHED IN THE "CATALOGUES DE PEINTRES" SERIES, HAS BEEN PRINTED BY THE IMPRIMERIES RÉUNIES S.A., LAUSANNE, IN A LIMITED EDITION OF NINE HUNDRED AND SIXTY COPIES ON COATED PAPER, NUMBERED FROM 1 TO 960. AN ADDITIONAL PRIVATELY PRINTED EDITION OF 50 COPIES HAS BEEN SET ASIDE FOR THE AUTHOR AND FOR THOSE WHO HAVE COLLABORATED IN THE PRODUCTION OF THE BOOK.

Printed in Switzerland

CORRIGENDA

Page 13, line 3, instead of democratie *read* democratic

Page 99, line 18, insert a semicolon between him *and* it

Page 155, line 17, after 51, *add* 52,

Page 258, line 7, delete one

Page 264, add between lines 30 and 31: The 1747 inventory of the Buen Retiro Palace did not list this portrait, perhaps owing to an oversight or because it was then elsewhere. See though *No. 37* following.

Page 268, line 11, instead of It *read* Possibly but not surely, it

Page 268, line 13, instead of In both inventories, however, *read* If so, in both inventories

Page 268, lines 16-20 should read: The 1772 and 1794 inventories of the Madrid Royal Palace described the portrait, always under No. 352, as 'Philip IV, young' by Velázquez and as of the same size as in 1747. The 1817 catalogue of the Madrid Royal Academy of Fine Arts listed under No. 2 a portrait of the Infante Don Carlos by Velázquez, presumably the portrait of 'an Infante' transferred with other paintings from the Madrid Royal Palace to the Academy, according to a note of 19 August 1819 appended to the 1814 inventory of the Royal Palace. By 1827 it was at the Prado, where the sitter was misidentified as Philip IV in the catalogues published from 1828 till 1858. Thoré, writing under the pen name of W. Bürger, established

Page 280, line 35, instead of 1636 *read* 1637

Page 338, line 11, add at the end (No. 183).

Page 348, lines 19-20, delete the sentence beginning However,

Page 360, line 2, delete the comma after Velázquez'

Page 384, line 29, instead of (Plate; L-R 1963 No. 509; *read* (L-R 1963, No. 509, plate 385;

Page 424, line 12, instead of Salúcar, *read* Sanlúcar

Page 455, line 1, instead of sometimes *read* sometime

Page 465, line 32, instead of kerchief *read* white kerchief

Page 474, add after line 5: Pietro Martire Neri (1591-1661) signed two copies of this portrait (plate **38**). See L-R 1963, Nos. 444-5.

Page 502, last line, instead of Dezember *read* December

*
* *

The photograph used for plate 118 (page 295) is somewhat cropped at the top and leaves out part of Apollo's wreath.

BIBLIOTHÈQUE DES ARTS

LAUSANNE - PARIS

PRINTED IN SWITZERLAND